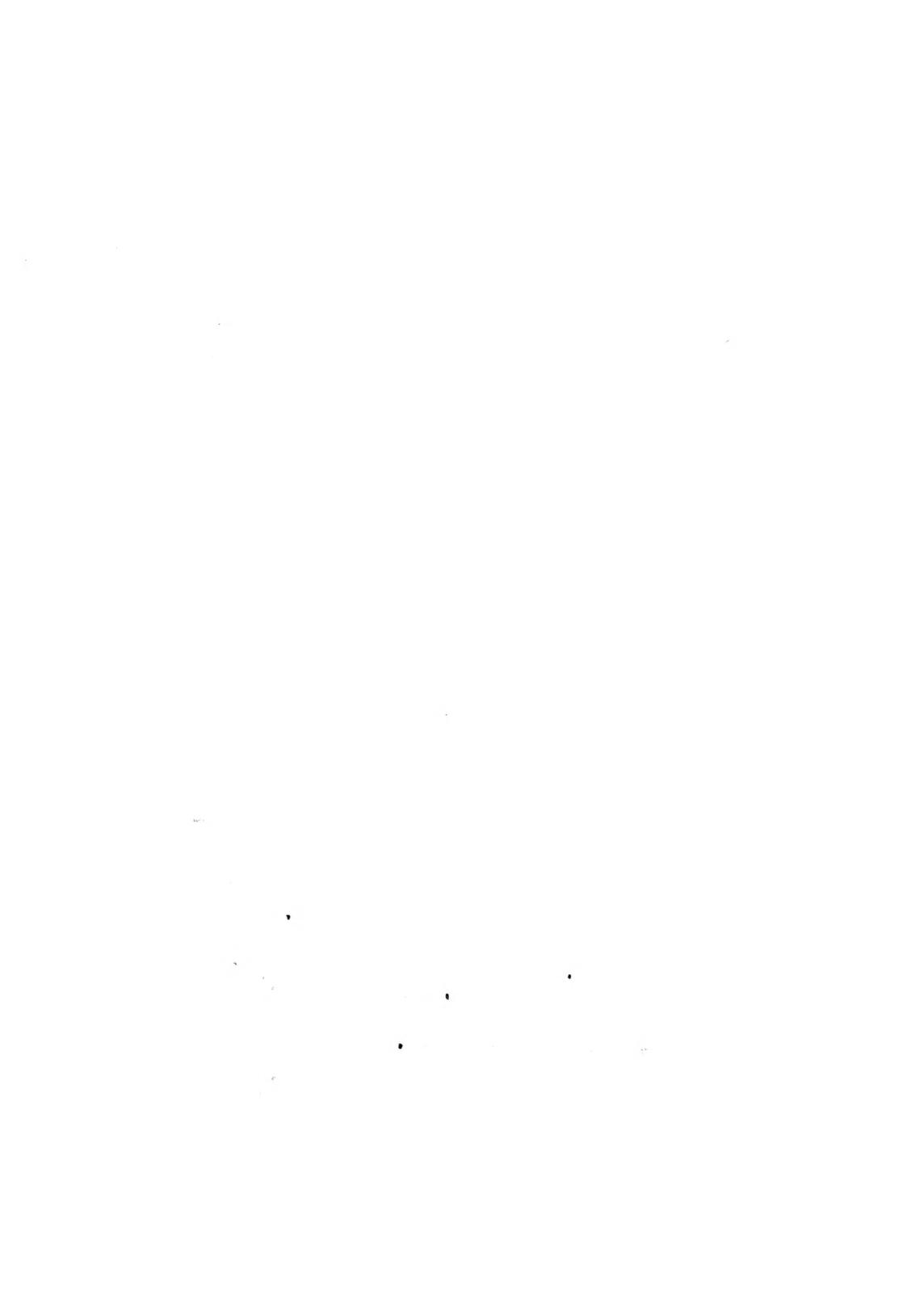




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BEATA NODA RUADH UJ DOMHAILL.

THE LIFE OF HUGH ROE O'DONNELL,

PRINCE OF TIRCONNELL (1586-1602).

By LUGHAIÐH O'CLERY.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED

FROM CUCOGRY O'CLERY'S IRISH MANUSCRIPT IN THE R. I. ACADEMY,

WITH

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION, TRANSLATION, NOTES, AND ILLUSTRATIONS,

BY THE

REV. DENIS MURPHY, S.J., M.R.I.A.,

MEMBER OF THE COUNCILS OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY, OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES (IRELAND), AND OF THE CO. KILDARE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE author of the Irish work now printed for the first time is Lughaidh O'Clery, one of that family to which we owe much of what is most prized in our country's history both sacred and profane. MacFirbis tells us they are descended from Guaire Aidhne, famous in bardic lore, Cleireach, the ancestor from whom they take their name, being seventh in descent from him. In remote times they inhabited the district which now forms the south-eastern portion of the present county of Galway. Soon after the Anglo-Norman invasion they were driven from their home. One of them, Cormac, came to Tirconnell. The monks of Assaroe loved him for his learning and virtue, and kept him as their guest for a time. O'Sgingin, the hereditary ollamh of the O'Donnells, was an old man. His only son, whom he had carefully trained up in his own calling, had died shortly before, and there remained to him but one fair daughter. Her he gave in marriage to Cormac, and the dowry he asked was that their first male child should be sent to study history. A son was born to them; and the name of Giolla Brighde, servant of Brigid, was given to him in memory of the young ollamh deceased. Seventh in descent from him was Lughaidh, the author of the work which we print now. He was, O'Donovan tells us, one of the most distinguished *literati* of his time. Hence he was chosen as the principal poetic combatant on behalf of the northern bards in their contest for supremacy with those of the south, which took place in the beginning of the 17th century.

Lughaidh's sons were Cucogry and Cairbre. The former was in 1632 owner of lands in Co. Donegal. But he was dispossessed of them, being 'a mere Irishman,' and migrated with one of the O'Donnells to Erris, Co. Mayo. He carried with him his books. These, 'his most precious treasures on earth,' he bequeathed to his sons, and so they passed on as a sacred inheritance from father to son, till they came to Patrick O'Clery, who brought them to Dublin in 1817. This book was lent by him to O'Reilly, author of the Irish Dictionary. At his death, in spite of O'Clery's protest, it was sold to W. M. Mason. At the sale of his books by auction in

London this manuscript too was sold, and some time afterwards, chiefly through the exertions of Mr. J. T. Gilbert, whose labours in the field of Irish history are so well known, it found a permanent home in the library of the R. I. Academy.

As to the authorship of the book, there can be no doubt. In the Testimonium of Bernardin O'Clery, Guardian of the Convent of Donegal, prefixed to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, we find among the books enumerated there from which that great work was compiled, 'the Book of Lughaidh O'Clery from 1586 to 1602.' 'This last book,' says O'Curry, 'was probably that known at the present day as *The Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell*, written by Lughaidh O'Clery, from which the Four Masters have taken all the details given in their Annals relating to that brave and unfortunate Prince.' The scribe was his son Cucogry.

The manuscript consists of 85 folios of paper, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by $5\frac{1}{2}$ broad, the text measuring $5\frac{1}{4}$ by 4. The writing is uniform throughout, and extremely neat, as the facsimile shows. It is reproduced here with no other change than the lengthening of the contractions.

The Introduction may seem at first sight to contain little more than a repetition of the facts of the *Life*. But a little examination will show that it is not so. It is intended to fill up the gaps in the *Life*, to add still further details of events mentioned there, and so to complete the biography so far as may be. The account of the battles of the Yellow Ford and of the Curlews, as well as of the cause of O'Donnell's death, will show its purpose. The references at the foot of each page will point out the sources from which the extracts are taken. The Editor has had the special advantage of being able, during a visit made to Simancas three years ago, to examine some of the great historic treasures of that place. The result in part of his researches there will be found in the various letters of O'Neill, O'Donnell, and the other Irish Chiefs, and of the Bishops, to the King of Spain and others. This labour and any other he may have undergone in the preparation of this work he will be amply repaid for, if he succeeds in making better known to his countrymen at home and abroad the history of 'as noble a chief, as stout a warrior, as ever bore the wand of chieftaincy or led a clan to battle.'

D. M.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE CINEL CONAILL or the O'DONNELLS and their correlatives derive their descent from Golamh Milidh, *i.e.*, Golamh the Knight, commonly known as Milesius, who is said by our ancient writers to have come at the head of a colony from Spain to Ireland about fifteen hundred years before the Christian era. They attempted a landing first at Inver-Slainge, now the harbour of Wexford, but were hindered by the Tuatha de Danann, who were then in possession of the island and had established a settled form of government there under a king residing at Tara. These, by means of the incantations of their Druids, brought about such storms that a considerable number of the invaders perished at sea, among them five of the sons of Milesius. The three that survived, with their followers, effected a landing at Inver Colpa, near Drogheda. Immediately they set fire to their ships, in order to cut off all thought of retreat. In two pitched battles, which took place at Slieve Mis¹ and Teltown, they defeated the Tuatha de Danann. These, completely disheartened by the death of their three commanders, submitted to their opponents and handed over to them the government of the country,² withdrawing to Aran, Rathlin, and other remote parts, where two centuries before an older colony, the Firbolgs, worsted by them, had sought refuge³ from their pursuers and built fortresses⁴ to secure themselves from further attack. The two Milesian chiefs Eber and Eremon governed the whole island jointly for a while. A dispute, however, sprung up between them; this was settled by the intervention of their brother Amergin, who assigned

¹ *Slieve Mis.*—Eight miles S. of Tralee, Co. Kerry. Teltown is midway between Navan and Kells, Co. Meath.

² *Country.*—Keating, *History of Ireland*, p. 133; Dublin, 1859.

³ *Refuge.*—*Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁴ *Fortresses.*—As Dun Oengus and Dun Eochil in Aran, and Staigue fort near Sneem, Co. Kerry. See a description of the first in Petrie's *Essay on Military Architecture in Ireland before the English Invasion*; MS. in R. I. Academy.

the northern half of the island to Eremon, the southern to Eber. In an ancient Irish poem attributed to St. Mura¹ of Fahan, it is said that

Eremon took the north
 As the inheritance of his race;
 With its antiquity, with its prosperity,
 With its rights,
 With its fortresses, with its troops,
 Fierce, active,
 With its rash fights,
 With its cattle.

Eber took the south of Eri—
 The order was so agreed on—
 With its activity, with its power,
 With its harmony,
 With its victories, with its grandeur,
 With its hospitality,
 With its vivacity combined with hardiness,
 With its loveliness, with its purity.

Of the race of Eremon are the Lagenians,²
 Of fame renowned,
 Leith Cuinn,³ Connaught, Niall of the south,⁴
 Niall of the north.⁵

But dissensions soon sprung up between them again owing to the covetousness of Eber's wife, who, dissatisfied with her husband's share, wished to be queen of the three most fruitful valleys of the island. The battle of Geashil⁶ was the result, in which Eber was slain. Eremon became in consequence the sole monarch, and reigned undisturbed for fifteen years. From him were descended all the kings of Ireland, with but few exceptions, up to the time of the English invasion.⁷ Here is their genealogy from

¹ *St. Mura*.—He was of the Cinel Eoghain. His feast is on March 12th. Fahan is on Lough Swilly, ten miles N. W. of Derry. See Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, p. 587; Louvain, 1645.

² *Lagenians*.—The Leinster tribes, O'Conors Faly, O'Byrnes, MacMurroughs.

³ *Leith Cuinn*.—i.e., Conn's half. See Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 54, for a detailed account of the division of Ireland in the 2nd century between Conn and Eoghan Mor. The line of sandhills running due west from

Dublin to Clarenbridge, Co. Galway, called Eiscir Reada, was the boundary.

⁴ *Of the South*.—The O'Melaghlines, O'Molloys, MacGeoghegans are so called; they are descended from Niall's son Conall Crimthann.

⁵ *North*.—This poem will be found in *The Book of Leinster*, fol. xcix.

⁶ *Geashil*.—Midway between Portarlington and Tullamore.

⁷ *Invasion*.—See O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, p. 184; London, 1685.

Ugaine Mor, twenty-third in descent from Milesius, as it is set down in our ancient chronicles¹:

1. Ugaine Mor, ardrigh	A.M. 4567	16. Eochaidh Feidleach	A.M. 5058
2. Cobhthach Cael Breagh	„ 4609	17. Finneamhnas	
3. Melghe Molbhthach	„ 4678	18. Lughaidh Sriabnderg	„ 5166
4. Irereo	„ 4720	19. Crimhthann Niadhnair	„ 5193
5. Connla Caemh	„ 4738	20. Fearadhach Finnfachtnach	A.D. 15
6. Oiliol Caisfhiachlach	„ 4758	21. Fiacha Finnfolaidh	„ 40
7. Eochaidh Ailtleathan	„ 4788	22. Tuathal Techtmar	„ 76
8. Aengus Tuirmheach	„ 4816	23. Feidhlimidh Rechtmar	„ 111
9. Enna Aigneach	„ 4888	24. Conn Ceadcathach	„ 123
10. Labhra Luirc		25. Art	„ 166
11. Blathacta		26. Cormac MacAirt	„ 227
12. Easamhuin Emha		27. Cairbre Liffeachair	„ 268
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14. Finlogha		29. Muireadhach Tireach	„ 327
15. Finn		30. Eochaidh Muighmeadhoin	„ 358
		31. Niall Naoighiallach	„ 379

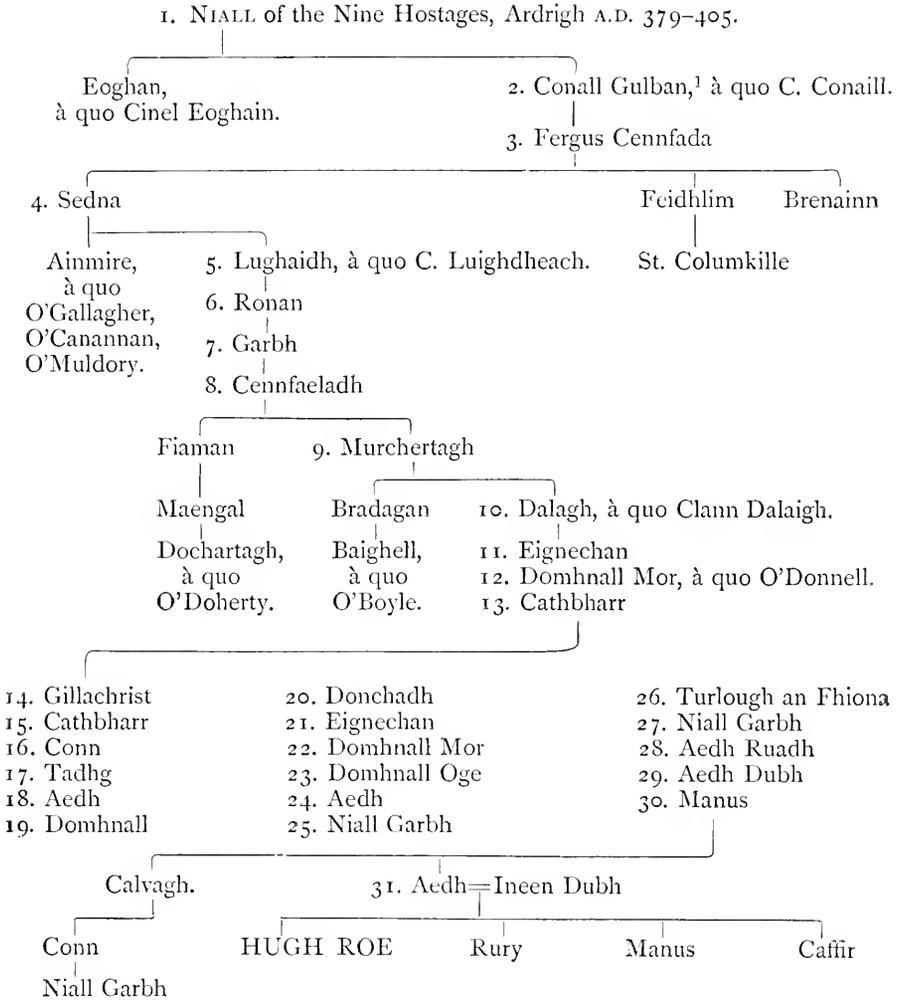
A.D. 379. Niall ascended the throne of Ireland. He is known in history as Niall Naoighiallach, *i.e.*, of the Nine Hostages, five of these being taken from the provinces of Ireland and four from Scotland, in order to secure the submission of both countries.² His conquests extended even to Gaul; after a successful incursion he brought home from that country among his captives a youth who was destined to become the apostle of Ireland. He had eight sons, all of whom left a numerous posterity; from these some of the noblest families of Ireland derive their descent. The eldest was Laoghaire, who succeeded his father as ardrigh, and was reigning at Tara when St Patrick came there to preach the gospel. The fourth and youngest³ of his sons were Eoghan and Conall, ancestors respectively of the Cinel Eoghain or O'Neills and of the Cinel Conaill or O'Donnells. Here is the pedigree⁴ of the latter of these tribes from King Niall:

¹ *Chronicles*.—The names and dates are taken from the *Annals of the Four Masters*; Dublin, 1856. In plate 14 of the folio edition of Keating's *History of Ireland* will be found 'The Regall Pedigree of Eremón, son of Milesius, à quo the Great O'Neill,' and the O'Donnells too.

² *Countries*.—Keating, *H. of I.*, p. 325.

³ *Youngest*.—*The Battle of Magh Rath* says they were born at one birth, p. 147; Dublin, 1841.

⁴ *Pedigree*.—*Ibid.*, p. 335. O'Donovan says: 'If the pedigree of any Irish line is correct, it is that of the northern HyNeill from the introduction of Christianity.' *Ibid.*, p. 325. The family name is derived from Niall Glundubh, ardrigh from A.D. 915 to 917, at which last date he was slain by the Danes at the battle of Kilmashogue, near Rathfarnham, Co. Dublin. See *Annals F. M.*, 11. 593, where an account of this battle is given.



¹ *Conall Gulban*.—So called because he was fostered at Ben Bulbin, Co. Sligo. See *The Tribes and Customs of Hy Many*, p. 313; Dublin, 1843. He was converted by St. Patrick, who made a cross with the point

of his staff on the chief's shield, bidding him adopt the motto: *In hoc signo vinces*. See Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga*, p. 95; Louvain, 1645, and O'Curry's *MS. Materials of Irish History*, p. 330; Dublin, 1861.

During the lifetime of King Niall his son Conall went on an expedition against the clann Colla and the tribes of north Connaught to punish them for slaying his tutor Fiacha.¹ He wrested from them a large territory, which he kept for himself and his brothers. An ancient poem² in the Irish language, the author of which is supposed to be Flann, surnamed of the Monastery, written in praise of Conall and his tribe, gives us a history of these events, and also describes the division of territory made between the brothers.

Conall, chief of the sons of Niall,
Came from smooth-sided Tara,
To avenge his wrongs in the northern land,
On the province of Uladh³ of hard weapons.

Conall gained fifty battles
After coming forth from Tara ;
Against him was not won—it was great luck—
Battle, conflict, or combat.

No evil was done to a man
Of the clann Neill of great renown,
That was not reported to him,
To valorous Conall Gulban.

No evil was done to the friends
Of Conall—regal his great bounty,
Their source he is, and fierce his fame—
That a knight's head should not repay.

Conall accorded nor justice nor right
To an enemy—regal the rule—
But to destroy hosts for the affront
And devastate all his country.

He allowed no justice to the northern land
Till he vigorously contested it.
After contesting it—no weak step—
He quickly divided its domains.

The half for himself he took by his right,
For with him the expedition went ;
Half for his closely united brothers,
For Cairbre, Enna, and Eoghan.

¹ *Fiacha*.—See O'Curry's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, ii. 161 ; Dublin, 1873.

² *Poem*.—In *The Book of Fenagh*, pp. 313-317 ; Dublin, 1875.

³ *Uladh*.—Anglicised Ulster. This pro-

vince in ancient times included only the territory to the east of Glenrìghe and of the lower Bann and Lough Neagh, which is now represented by the counties of Down and Antrim.—*Topographical Poems*, xv. ; Dublin, 1862.

Eoghan's land is known to me;
 From Srubh Brain¹ to Glas nEnncha,
 Enna's land³ from that to the west,
 To Bearnas Mor⁴ to Sruthail.⁵

Cairbre to the west of him, great honor ;
 Enna betwixt him and Eoghan ;
 Fergus and stout Boghuine,
 His two good sons, to the north of him.

Conall himself had, as share of the division,
 The three districts of Conall's land,
 From Fertas⁶ to the constant Dobhar,⁷
 And from Dobhar to Eidnech.⁸

From Eidnech—not a crooked track—
 Till it reaches southward to Cromchall;⁹
 From Bearnas without weakness of tribes
 To Ros iter dha inbher.¹⁰

Cairbre's share westward after that
 To Faenglas¹¹ in Tircorainn.¹²
 In this manner, not by chance,
 Did they parcel out their lands.

And the poet goes on to extol the valour of Conall:

'Tis comparing silk to yarn
 To compare the sons of Niall to any ;
 'Tis comparing weaklings to heroes
 To compare the sons of Niall to Conall.

¹ *Srubh Brain*.—Now Shreeve Point, in the parish of Lower Moville, barony of Inishowen.

² *Glas nEnncha*.—Name is obsolete.

³ *Enna's land*.—Lying between Loughs Foyle and Swilly.

⁴ *Bearnas Mor*—*i.e.*, the great gap, now Barnesmore, a passage in the range of mountains six miles N.E. of the town of Donegal, through which the railroad to Stranorlar passes.

⁵ *Sruthail*.—Now Sruell, in the parish of Killyward, barony of Banagh.

⁶ *Fertas*.—Now Farsitmore, *i.e.*, the great ford, on the Swilly, in the parish of Leck, barony of Raphoe.

⁷ *Dobhar*.—The Gweedore river.

⁸ *Eidnech*.—The river Eany, which flows into Inver bay, seven miles west of the town of Donegal.

⁹ *Cromchall*.—Not identified.

¹⁰ *Ros iter dha inbher*—*i.e.*, the wooded promontory between the two estuaries, one of the Rosses on Boylagh bay.

¹¹ *Faenglas*—*i.e.*, the green slope ; the name is now obsolete.

¹² *Tircorainn*.—This territory included not only the present barony of Corran, Co. Sligo, but also the barony of Leyny, in the same county, as well as Gaileanga, in Co. Mayo. See O'Rourke's *History of Sligo*, ii. 155 ; Dublin, 1889.

The prowess of brave Conn of the Hundred Battles
 Was in mighty Niall of the Nine Hostages ;
 But the valour of Niall of noble deeds
 Was in no son of his except in Conall.

Of the descendants of Cairbre, another of the sons of Niall, and of their territory conterminous in great part with that of the descendants of Conall, Mac Firis says :

Of the dividend¹ of the Hy Fiachrach¹ themselves
 Is the land of Cairbre of the level plains ;
 But of the Hy Neill is the lineage of the men,
 Easy for poets to enumerate them.

Though noble the race of the men,
 The clann Cairbre of the flowery white mansions
 Are under the steward of the western people.²

So, too, *The Book of Caillin*³—

Ardmacha belongs to Eoghan's race,
 And Derry to the race of Conall.
 The seed of mild Cairbre have Drumucliaibh,⁴
 Though the Connacians like it not.

May their thanks and their blessings
 Conduce unto my soul's quiet.
 But I grieve for my good people,
 How Cairbre upon them pressed.⁵

The Book of Rights, setting forth 'the stipends of the kings,⁶ from the king of Cashel, if he be king of Eire, and his visitation and refection among them on that account,' says in reference to the Cinel Conaill: 'Twenty rings, twenty chessboards, and twenty steeds to the king of Cinel Conaill,

¹ *Hy Fiachrach*.—The descendants of Fiachra, a brother of Niall; they inhabited the present baronies of Carra, Erris, and Tirawley, Co. Mayo, and that of Tireragh, Co. Sligo. See *The Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 3; Dublin, 1844.

² *People*.—*Ibid.*, p. 277.

³ *Caillin*.—He was a contemporary of St. Columba. His church is at Fenagh, near Ballinamore, Co. Leitrim. The book is called also the *Book of Fenagh*.

⁴ *Drumucliaibh*.—Now Drumcliff, four miles west of Sligo. There was in ancient

times a religious establishment here. Some old crosses and a portion of a round tower still remain.

⁵ *Pressed*.—*The Book of Fenagh*, p. 399.

⁶ *Kings*.—In reference to the Irish custom of giving the title of king to independent chiefs, O'Flaherty says: 'The ancients called those kings who had only the government of one little town. Thus Ulysses was king of Ithaca, whose territories Cicero compares to a small nest on the side of a rock. Joshua strangled thirty kings in Palestine.' *Ogygia*, p. 32.

and a month's refectation from the Cinel Conaill to him, and to escort him to Tir Eoghain.¹ The king of Tir Conaill and the king of Tir Eoghain as such were independent of each other, or as our author puts it clearly: 'The Cinel Conaill had no right to obedience on the part of the Cinel Eoghain, but only to be accompanied by them when the sovereignty was held by the Cinel Conaill; and the Cinel Conaill were bound to accompany the Cinel Eoghain when these had the sovereignty.' In the ancient poem of Flann Mainistrech already quoted the rights of the supreme chief and of those too who held a limited sway under him, as well as the obligations of these to him, are set forth in great detail:

Here is a history, not mean,
For the king of bright Es Ruadh.²
What he is bound to give is not unknown,
And what he receives from his chief tribes.

Twelve vats of good ale,
And thrice the measure of good malt,
A hundred pigs, a hundred fat beeves,
A hundred garments, a hundred fine cloaks,



Three times three hundred cakes,
Is the tribute of Cairbre to the arch king
Every year, a choice without fault,
And to be conveyed to his chief abode.

.....

Cinel Luighdeach are not bound to supply
But the guardianship to their arch king,
Their chief may come on a visit to them,
Without their being bound to give him food.

.....

I know three tribes in his land
Who do not owe rent or tribute:
Clann Murchada,³ of fierce exploits,
Clann Dalaigh, and clann Domhnaill.

¹ *Tir Eoghain*.—*Book of Rights*, p. 31; Dublin, 1847.

² *Es Ruadh*.—Properly Eas Aedha ruaidh Mhic Badhairn, the cataract of Aedh Ruadh, son of Badharn, ardrigh, who was drowned here A.M. 4518. He was buried in the

mound close by, called in consequence Sith Aedha. See *Annals F. M.*, i. 71.

³ *Clann Murchada*.—The O'Canannans and O'Muldorys, who were descended from Murchadh, son of Flaithbertach, lord of Cinel Conaill in 762. *Ibid.*, i. 365.

The reason why they are not bound
 To give rent or tribute to any king
 Is because the kingship is their due,
 And none his kindred should aggrieve.

When strong Tara to him does not belong
 And the archkingship of Ireland,
 The king of ESRUADH is not entitled
 To rent, or tribute, or attendance.

Though the king of Conall goes afar
 In the hosting of great Tara's king,¹
 'Tis not compulsion that takes him from home,
 But to earn recompense.

If together into battle go
 The host of Conall with the king of Ireland,
 The king of Tara is bound to pay
 For all of them in the battle slain.

The warriors of fair-trooped Conall
 Are not bound to take food on the march ;
 But whilst they may be in the field
 The king of Ireland must supply them.

Though great [the wrong] they commit on the march,
 It must not be against them charged.
 The stipend of a brave provincial king
 Is due to the king of ASSAROE.

The stipend of three noble dynasts
 Is due to each dynast in Conall,
 Until they come safe to their homes,
 Without deceit or charge against them.

The stipend of another dynast
 Is due to each leader of a tribe ;
 The stipend of a leader then
 Is due to each BRUGHAIÐH² of them.

The reason why to this are entitled
 The clans of Conall GULBAN the brave
 Is for going on hostings not due from them,
 And the greatness and valour of their battle-deeds.

¹ *Tara's king*.—*i.e.*, the ardrigh.

² *Brughaidh*.—This was a farmer of a certain rank. He settled disputes about land

and gave entertainment to all who were legally entitled to it at the public expense. See O'Curry, *Manners, &c.*, I. ccxlix.

Patrick¹ bequeathed it to them,
 By him it was written in books
 What they are entitled to for all time.
 May Christ preserve it as it is!²

Among the geasa or 'prohibitions' of the king of Tir Eoghain was one, very necessary for warlike tribes living side by side, forbidding him to make war against the king of Tir Conaill.³ This, if faithfully observed, would have changed the whole future not only of both tribes, but perhaps of the entire nation. Their common origin ought to have united them in firm bonds of friendship against the invader and their common enemy. 'In whom is it more becoming,' said Domhnall, son of Aedh, son of Ainmire, 'to check the unjust judgments of Congal and to humble the haughty words of the Ultonians or to protect the race of Conall from violent assaults than in the princes of Aileach?'⁴ For no two tribes of the old surname of the race of Erin are the vessels formed by one hand, the race of one father, the offspring of one mother, of one conception, of one fostering,⁵ but we and you. Wherefore our fathers Conall the defensive, and Eogan the renowned, have bequeathed unto us the same prowess and gifts, freedom and nobleheartedness, victory, affection, and brotherly love.⁶ Unhappily, disputes, battles, and wars were of constant occurrence between them, and though they were bound together not only by reason of their descent from a common stock but also by the closest family ties arising from frequent intermarriages, their contentions passed on from one generation to another like a vendetta, and at last enabled an enemy whose forces were few and weak, and who would never have dared to set foot in their territory if they were united, to overpower them and make their land the inheritance of strangers. No wonder that the English feared that Hugh O'Neill and Hugh O'Donnell 'would join in friendship and alliance'⁷ with each other, or that those who were said to pry into the future predicted that Ireland would be regenerated by their union; and if we will believe our author and there is no good reason why we should not, their rivalry and dispute

¹ *Patrick*.—See Colgan's *Trias Thaum.*, p. 142. St. Caillin's promises will be found in *The Book of Fenagh*, p. 141.

² *It is*.—*Ibid.*, p. 355.

³ *Tir Conaill*.—*The Book of Rights*, p. 267.

⁴ *Aileach*.—The palace of the O'Neills. It was situated on a hill five miles N. W. of Derry. See *The Ordnance Survey of Co. Derry*, p. 217; Dublin, 1837.

⁵ *Fostering*.—Eoghan is said to have died of grief for the death of Conall. *Annals F. M.*, i. 147.

⁶ *Love*.—See *The Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 145.

⁷ *Alliance*.—After the inauguration of Manus O'Donnell in 1537 as chief of Tyrconnell, the Deputy and Council wrote to Henry VIII.: 'O'Donnell is deceased, whose place Manus, his son, has obtained by the assent of the country and the favour of O'Neill, whose two strengths joined together is a great power, and to be feared by your subjects.' *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts*, i. 125; London, 1867.

though only brief and passing, was no small part of the cause that brought about the defeat of the Irish at Kinsale and the disastrous consequences so touchingly set forth by him as arising from it.

As time went on the Cinel Conaill grew in numbers, and when surnames¹ were established we find permanently settled in their territory the O'Muldorys, O'Canannans, O'Donnells, O'Boyles, O'Gallachers, O'Freels, O'Dohertys, and several other families, and later the MacSwinys.² The O'Canannans³ and O'Muldorys, both descended from Flaithbertach, sixth in descent from Sedna, grandson of Niall and ardrigh from 727 to 734, would seem to have been the chiefs of Tyrconnell before the clann Dalaigh, as the O'Donnells were usually styled, rose to power. In *The Annals of the Four Masters* we read :

896. Maelbresail, son of Maeldoraidh, lord of Cinel Conaill, was slain in the battle of Saitin.⁴

899. Fogartach, son of Maeldoraidh, lord of Cinel Conaill, fell on his own spear and died in consequence. He took a deadly dangerous draught after persecuting the descendant of Jesse, i.e., Christ.

948. Ruaidhri O'Canannan, lord of Tir Conaill, was slain by the foreigners.

955. Maelcoluim O'Canannan, lord of Cinel Conaill, died.

960. Aenghus O'Maeldoraidh, lord of Cinel Conaill, was slain by the Cinel Conaill themselves.

962. Murchertagh O'Canannan, lord of Cinel Conaill, was slain by his people.

965. Maolisa O'Canannan, lord of Cinel Conaill, was slain.

975. Gillacoluim O'Canannan, lord of Cinel Conaill, was slain by Domhnall O'Neill, monarch of Ireland.

978. Tighernan O'Maeldoraidh, lord of Cinel Conaill, was slain.

989. Aedh O'Maeldoraidh, lord of Cinel Conaill, died.

996. Ruaidhri, son of Niall O'Canannan, lord of Cinel Conaill, died

999. Flaithbertach O'Canannan, lord of the Cinel Conaill, was slain by his own people.

1010. Maelruanaidh O'Maeldoraidh, lord of Cinel Conaill, was captured by Brian Borumha.

1026. Maelruanaidh O'Maeldoraidh, lord of Cinel Conaill, went on a pilgrimage⁵ over the sea and died the next year on his pilgrimage.

1029. Murchertagh O'Maeldoraidh was slain by the O'Canannans.

¹ *Surnames*.—They were introduced by Brian Borumha.—Keating, *H. of Ireland*, p. 485.

² *MacSwinys*.—They are descended and take their family name from Suibhne Meann, 5th in descent from Eoghan; he was ardrigh from 622 to 635. There were three leading families of the name in Donegal in the 16th century.

³ *O'Canannans*.—Canannan, from whom they derive their name, was 14th in descent from Niall of the Nine Hostages. Mael-doreidh, à quo the O'Muldorys, was 13th.—*Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 355.

⁴ *Saitin*.—In the parish of Oughterard, barony of Carrigallen, Co. Leitrim.

⁵ *Pilgrimage*.—To Rome, or to Compostella in Spain.

1030. Ruaidhri O'Canannan, lord of the Cinel Conaill, was slain at the Mourne.¹
 1045. Flaithbertach O'Canannan, lord of Cinel Conaill, died.
 1059. Niall O'Maeldoraidh, lord of Cinel Conaill, died penitently.
 1071. Ruadhri O'Canannan, lord of Cinel Conaill, was slain.
 1075. Donnchad O'Canannan, lord of Cinel Conaill, was slain.
 1083. Domhnall O'Canannan, lord of Cinel Conaill, was slain by his own people.
 1085. Murchadh O'Maeldoraidh, lord of Cinel Conaill, tower of magnificence, hospitality, and valour of the north, died.

For the whole of the next century the supreme power seems to have been in the hands of the O'Canannans exclusively. In 1167 we again find one of the O'Maeldoraidhs appointed chief. The Four Masters speaking of his death in 1197, say: 'Flaithbertach O'Maeldoraidh,² lord of Cinel Conaill, Cinel Eoghain, Oriel,³ defender of Tara, heir presumptive to the crown of Ireland, died on the 2nd day of February, in the thirtieth year of his reign, and the fifty-ninth of his age.'⁴ During all that time, extending over three and a half centuries, only two of the direct line of the O'Donnells held supreme power, viz., Dalach, from 868 to 896, and his son Eignechan, from 901 to 955. In the time of O'Dugan, who wrote in 1372, these two families that had held sway so long, had fallen from their high estate wholly. He says of them:

Our journey is a tour of prosperity,
 Let us leave the vigorous host of great Macha,
 Let us not refuse good luck to the people,
 Let us proceed to Cinel Conaill.

Let them come a journey of prosperity,
 Rugged is the land of this tribe,
 To meet us at the cataract of Aedh,
 The prosperity of the splendid-faced people.

The O'Maeldoraidhs, if they were living,
 Would come, but they will not come,
 Without slowness or slow delay,
 To meet us, as would the O'Canannans.

¹ *Mourne*.—This was in ancient times the name of the river now called the Foyle, but is now applied to one of its tributaries. A mile below the confluence of the rivers Berg and Strule they are joined by the Douglas Burn; from that to Lifford the united rivers go by the name of the Mourne. At Lifford it joins the Finn, and both united are called the Foyle.

² *F. O'Maeldoraidh*.—He founded the Cistercian monastery of Assaroe in 1178. See Archdall's *Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 93; Dublin, 1786.

³ *Oriel*.—Oirghialla, the present counties of Armagh, Louth, and Monaghan. For the fanciful origin of this name see *Topog. Poems*, xix.

⁴ *Age*.—*Annals F. M.*, iii. 111.

But others will come, stout their chief,
The clann Dalaigh of brown shields ;
With them, through contest, has not withered
Heirship to the sovereignty.¹

The surname of O'Donnell² was first taken by Cathbarr, great-grandson of Domhnall Mor, who died in 1106. He is called 'a pillar of defence and warfare, of the glory and hospitality of the Cinel Luighdheach.'³ Under the date 1010 we read:—'Maclruanaidh Ua Domhnaill, lord of Cinel Luighdheach, was slain by the men of Magh Ith.'⁴

The cantred of Cinel Luighdheach, so named from Lughaidh, son of Sedna, who was grandson of Conall Gulban, extended from the Dobhar to the Swilly.

From the rapid flood of Dobhar
The cantred of Lughaidh, son of Sedna,
Extends to that bright-coloured river,
Which is named the Swilly.⁵

Kilmacrenan,⁶ *i.e.*, the church of the sons of Enan, whose mother was Mincoleth, a sister of St. Columba, was in the middle of the territory ; here was the chief church of the tribe. Hence it would appear that their territory, so late as the beginning of the twelfth century, included only the present barony of Kilmacrenan. When and how they extended it and got possession of the territory of Cinel Moen, now the barony of Raphoe, originally possessed by the O'Gormleys, we do not know. We read in *The Annals of the Four Masters* :

1200. Eignechan O'Donnell, lord of Tyrconnell, sailed with the fleet of Tyrconnell by sea, and despatched his army by land, and pitched his camp at Gaeth an Chairgin.⁷ . . . They attacked and defeated the Cinel Eoghain and the Clann Dermott.⁸

¹ *Sovereignty*.—*Top. Poems*, p. 41.

² *O'Donnell*.—Domhnall, *i.e.*, the great or proud chief. See O'Donovan's *Intro.* to *Topog. Poems*, p. 54.

³ *C. Luighdheach*.—*Annals F.M.*, ii. 983.

⁴ *Magh Ith*.—Now the Lagan, a beautiful tract to the north of the town of Raphoe. It has its name from Ith, son of Breogan, who was the grandfather of Milesius. He was slain there in a fight with the Tuatha de Danann. Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 123.

⁵ *Swilly*.—*Book of Fenagh*, p. 397. This river rises in Meenroy in west Donegal, and flowing eastwards by Letterkenny falls into the head of Lough Swilly.

⁶ *Kilmacrenan*.—See Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, edited by Reeves, p. 247 ; Dublin, 1857. A Franciscan monastery was founded here by one of the O'Donnells on the site of the ancient abbey ; its remains are still in existence. Archdall's *Monasticon*, p. 101.

⁷ *Gaeth an Chairgin*.—*i.e.*, the inlet of Carrigin. This is a small village on the western bank of the Foyle, three miles south of Derry.

⁸ *Clann Dermott*.—The O'Carellans. This tribe dwelt on both sides of the river Mourne and of the narrow part of Lough Foyle. *Annals F. M.*, iii. 150, n.

1207. Eignechan O'Donnell set out on a predatory excursion into Fermanagh.¹ . . . The men of Fermanagh pursued him, and slew O'Donnell, lord of Tyrconnell, tower of the warlike prowess and hospitality of the province in his time.

His successor, Domhnall Mor, seems to have extended his sway into northern Connaught, for we read :

1213. Finn O'Brollaghan, steward of Domhnall Mor, went to Connaught to collect O'Donnell's tribute. He first went to Carbury² Drumcliff, where, with his attendants, he visited the house of the poet Murray O'Daly,³ of Lissadill.⁴ . . . He began to wrangle with the poet very much, though his lord had given him no instructions to do so ; who, being enraged at his conduct, seized a very sharp axe, and dealt him a blow which killed him on the spot.

The history goes on to tell how O'Donnell collected an army and went in pursuit of O'Daly, and forced MacWilliam, Donough Cairbreach O'Brien, the people of Limerick, and those of Dublin in succession, to drive the offender from among them. He was forced to seek shelter in Scotland, and he remained there until he composed three pieces in O'Donnell's praise, imploring pardon and forgiveness from him. 'He obtained peace for his panegyrics, and O'Donnell afterwards received him into his friendship, and gave him lands and possessions, as was pleasing to him.'⁵

1219. An army was led by Domhnall Mor into the Rough Third of Connaught,⁶ and he obtained hostages and submission from O'Rourke and O'Reilly, and from all the heroes of Aedh Finn.⁷

1223. An army was led by Domhnall Mor O'Donnell to Croghan,⁸ in Connaught, thence into the Tuathas of Connaught, and westwards across the Suck, and he plundered and burnt every territory which he entered, until he had received their hostages and submissions.

1236. Domhnall Mor O'Donnell marched with an army to Iubhar Chenn Choiche (Newry), in Ulidia, and destroyed every territory through which he passed ; he also obtained hostages and submission from most of the Ulidians.

¹ *Fermanagh*.—This territory was conterminous with the county of the same name.

² *Carbury*.—Now a barony in north Sligo. It has its name from Cairbre, son of Niall. See O'Rourke's *H. of Sligo*, i. 27.

³ *O'Daly*.—See his genealogy in O'Daly's *Tribes of Ireland*, p. 5 ; Dublin, 1852.

⁴ *Lissadill*.—On the north side of Sligo Bay.

⁵ *To him*.—*Annals F. M.*, iii. 179.

⁶ *The Rough Third of C.*—It included Leitrim, Longford, and Cavan. *Annals F. M.*, iii. 198, n.

⁷ *Aedh Finn*.—He was 7th in descent from Brian, brother of Niall, and ancestor of the O'Reillys, O'Rourkes, and their cor-relatives. *Ibid.*

⁸ *Croghan*.—Now Rathcroghan, six miles south of Frenchpark, Co. Roscommon. In Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 198, will be found an account of the erection of Queen Meadhbh's palace there, A.M. 3940. The antiquities still existing there are described by O'Donovan, *Annals F. M.*, iii. 204, and by Petrie, *Eccl. Architecture of Ireland*, p. 98 ; Dublin, 1845.

1241. Domhnall Mor, the son of Eigneachan O'Donnell, lord of Tyrconnell, Fermanagh, and Lower Connaught as far as the Curlew Mountains, and of Oriel from the plain northwards, died in the monastic habit, victorious over the world and the devil, and was interred with honour and respect in the monastery of Assaroe.

1247. Melaghlin O'Donnell, lord of Tyrconnell, Cinel Moen, Inishowen, and Fermanagh, was slain by Maurice Fitzgerald.¹

1256. Godfrey O'Donnell marched with an army into Fermanagh, by which he obtained property and hostages. From thence he proceeded to Brefny O'Rourke,² where they gave him his own demand.

1262. An army was led by Domhnall Oge first into Fermanagh and thence into the Rough Third of Connaught, and to Granard or Teffia,³ and every territory through which he passed granted him his demands and gave him hostages; and he returned home in triumph.

1263. An army was led by Domhnall Oge O'Donnell into Connaught. He proceeded across the rivers Shrule⁴ and Robe,⁵ through Tirawley,⁶ and afterwards across the Moy,⁷ and obtained his full demands from all.

1272. Domhnall Oge O'Donnell collected vessels and boats upon Lough Erne,⁸ and (proceeded) thence to Lough Outer.⁹ The goods and valuables of the surrounding country, which were upon the islands of that lake, were seized and carried off by him, and he acquired control and sway in every place in the neighbourhood on this expedition.

1281. In the battle of Disert da Chrioch¹⁰ Domhnall Oge O'Donnell, the most illustrious of the Irish for hospitality, prowess, splendour, and nobility, and the greatest commander in the west of Europe, was slain, and he was interred in the monastery of Derry, having obtained the palm in every goodness up to that time.

*The Annals of Loch Ce*¹¹ say of him :

He was the best Gaeidhel for hospitality and dignity, the general guardian of the west of Europe, the knitting-needle of the archsovereignty, and the rivetting-

¹ *M. Fitzgerald*.—2nd baron of Offaly. He built the castle and monastery of Sligo. He died in 1207 in the Franciscan monastery of Youghal, where he had taken the monastic habit shortly before. See *The Earls of Kildare*, by the Marquis of Kildare, p. 11; Dublin, 1858.

² *Brefny O'Rourke*.—The present Co. Leitrim. Brefny O'Reilly was Co. Cavan.

³ *Teffia*.—A territory including the greater part of Longford and the western half of Co. Westmeath.

⁴ *Shrule*.—A river flowing through a village of the same name ten miles west of Tuam. It was the northern boundary of Clanricarde. Colgan's *Trias Thaum.*, p. 140.

⁵ *Robe*.—This river flows in a westerly course through the southern part of Mayo and enters the east side of Lough Mask.

⁶ *Tirawley*.—A barony in the north-east of Co. Mayo. It has its name from Amalgadh, a contemporary of St. Patrick.

⁷ *Moy*.—It rises in Leyny, Co. Sligo, and falls into Killala bay.

⁸ *Lough Erne*.—In Co. Fermanagh.

⁹ *Lough Outer*.—A little to the east of the town of Cavan. Owen Roe O'Neill died in Lough Outer castle in 1649.

¹⁰ *Disert da Chrioch*.—Now Disertcreaght, a townland in the north of the barony of Dungannon, Co. Tyrone.

¹¹ *A. of Loch Ce*.—i. 486; London, 1871.

hammer of every good law, the parallel of Conaire,¹ son of Edirscel, in purity when assuming sovereignty, the top nut of the Gaoidhel in valour, the equal of Cathal Crobhdearg² in battle and attack.

The Annals of the Four Masters go on to say :

1333. Aedh, the son of Domhnall Oge O'Donnell, lord of Tyrconnell, Cinel Moen, Inishowen, Fermanagh, and Brefny, and a materies³ for a King of Ulster, of all the Irish the most successful and the most dreaded by his enemies; he who had slain the largest number both of the English and Irish who were opposed to him, the most eminent man of his time for jurisdiction, laws, and regulations, and the chief patron of the hospitality and munificence of the west of Europe, died victorious over the world and the devil in the habit of a monk, on the island of Inis Saimer,⁴ and was interred with great honour in the monastery of Assaroe.

1348. Niall Garbh O'Donnell, lord of Tyrconnell, after having experienced much contention before and during the term of his lordship, was treacherously and murderously slain by Manus Meablach⁵ O'Donnell, his kinsman, at Inis Saimer. Niall was a brave, puissant, and defensive hero, and it was a sorrowful thing that he should have died in such a way.

1423. Turlough, son of Niall Garbh O'Donnell, lord of Tyrconnell, Cinel Moen, and Inishowen, a peaceable, affluent, and graceful man, died in the habit of a monk in the monastery of Assaroe after the victory of unction and penance.

1434. O'Neill and O'Donnell, with the whole forces of the province, marched to Meath to destroy and plunder the English there. . . . O'Donnell and his son Turlough went in search of plunder and booty in another direction; and their evil fortune brought them into collision with a large body of English cavalry, who surrounded them. . . . Turlough and many others were slain. After the loss of his people, O'Donnell was taken prisoner and delivered up to the son of Sir John Stanley,⁶ the King's deputy, who sent him to be imprisoned in Dublin.

1439. O'Donnell (Niall Garbh) died in captivity in the Isle of Man. He was the chosen hostage of the Cinel Conaill and Cinel Eoghain and of all the north of Ireland, and the chief theme of conversation in Leith Cuinn during his time, the harasser and destroyer of the English until they took revenge for all that he had committed against them, and the protector and defender of his tribe against such of

¹ *Conaire*.—Ardrigh from 5091 to 5160. 'The cattle were without keepers in Ireland in his reign, on account of the great peace and concord.'—*Annals F. M.*, i. 91.

² *Cathal Crobhdearg*.—He was King of Connaught from 1198 to 1224. *Ibid.*, iii. 211.

³ *Materies for a King*.—There was no invariable rule of succession to the sovereignty in Ireland in ancient times. Yet the practice was that the eldest son should succeed the father unless he was disqualified by youth, deformity, or crime. He was called

the tanist, *i.e.*, the second. The other sons, being eligible in case of his failure, were called Roydamna, materies regis. See O'Brien on Tanistry in Vallancey's *Collectanea*, i. 264; Dublin, 1774.

⁴ *Inis Saimer*.—An island in the Erne, close to Ballyshannon, Co. Donegal.

⁵ *Meablach*—*i.e.*, the treacherous.

⁶ *Stanley*.—He was Lord Deputy from 1389 to 1391. His death was said to have been caused by the virulent satires of the bards. O'Daly's *Tribes of Ireland*, p. 17.

the English and Irish as were opposed to him, both before and after he assumed the lordship.

1442. Henry, the son of Eoghan O'Neill, repaired to the English, and brought a very great army of the English to Castlefin.¹ O'Donnell (Neachtain) went to oppose him; but as he had not an equal number of forces, he made peace with O'Neill, giving him up the castle, the territory of Cinel Moen, and the tribute of Inishowen.

1474. The monastery² of Donegal³ was commenced by the O'Donnell, *i.e.*, Hugh Roe, son of Niall Garbh O'Donnell, and his wife Finola, the daughter of O'Brien⁴ (Conor na Srona), and was granted by them to God and the friars of St. Francis for the prosperity of their own souls, and that the monastery might be a burial-place for themselves and their posterity, and they not only granted this but also conferred many other gifts upon them.

1475. A circuitous hosting was made by O'Donnell (Hugh Roe, grandson of Niall Garbh), accompanied by Maguire, O'Rourke, and the chiefs of Lower Connaught. . . . He proceeded through Clanricarde,⁵ Conmaicne Cuile,⁶ and Clann Costello,⁷ and marched back again through Machaire Connacht,⁸ and from thence to his own country, having received submission and gained victory and triumph in every place through which he passed.

1476. A great army was led by MacWilliam Burke⁹ into Lower Connaught,¹⁰ and another army was led by O'Donnell to oppose him. They remained for some time face to face, until at last they made peace. They divided Lower Connaught into two parts between them; O'Dowda's country,¹¹ the territory of Leyny, and half of Carbury was ceded to MacWilliam, and the other half to O'Donnell.

(About 1491 O'Neill wrote to O'Donnell, demanding his chief rent, which the other refused to pay: 'Send me my rent; or if you don't'—But O'Donnell replied: 'I owe you no rent; and if I did'—The result was a bloody battle, wherein the loss was almost equal.¹²)

¹ *Castlefin*.—A village in the barony of Raphoe, Co. Donegal.

² *Monastery*.—See Meehan's *Franciscan Monasteries*, p. 4; Dublin, 1877.

³ *Donegal*.—*i.e.*, the fort of the foreigners. O'Donovan thinks this is the old fort in the townland of Reolin, opposite the monastery. *Annals F. M.*, v. 1344, n.

⁴ *O'Brien*.—He was king of Thomond from 1466 to 1496. See O'Donoghue's *Hist. Memoir of the O'Briens*, p. 146; Dublin, 1860.

⁵ *Clanricarde*.—This territory included the south-east of the present county of Galway. See *Tribes, &c., of Hy Many*, p. 18.

⁶ *Conmaicne Cuile*.—Now the barony of Kilmaine, Co. Mayo.

⁷ *Clann Costello*.—The Nangles in Connaught took this name from an ancestor Osdallah. O'Donovan, *Top. Poems*, p. 23.

⁸ *Machaire Connacht*.—Called also Magh Naoi, now the Maghery, an extensive plain lying between the towns of Roscommon and Elphin, Castlerea and Strokestown.

⁹ *MacWilliam B.*—The De Burgos of Connaught assumed the name of Mac William from their ancestor William Fitz-adelm, and became divided into two branches, Mac W. Uachtar and Mac W. Iochtar, *i.e.*, upper and lower; the former were seated in Co. Galway, the latter in Co. Mayo. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹⁰ *Lower Connaught*.—This is still the local name of northern Connaught.

¹¹ *O'Dowda's Country*.—Called also Hy Fiachrach of the north. *Ibid.*, xxxiii.

¹² *Equal*.—Cox, *Hibernia Anglicana*, i. 183; London, 1689. See also *The Ulster J. of Archaeology*, ii. 148; Belfast, 1854.

1497. O'Donnell (Aedh Ruadh) resigned his lordship in consequence of the dissensions of his sons, and his son Conn was nominated O'Donnell in his place.

O'Neill marched with a great force into Tyrconnell. . . . The young O'Donnell (Conn) met this army at Bel atha doire,¹ but he was defeated and killed there.

1505. O'Donnell (Aedh Ruadh), son of Niall Garbh, son of Turlough of the Wine, lord of Tyrconnell, Inishowen, Cinel Moen, and Lower Connaught, died; a man who had obtained hostages from the people of Fermanagh, Oriel, Clannaboy,² and the Route,³ and from the O'Kanes, and also the English and Irish of Connaught, with the exception of MacWilliam of Clanricarde, who, however, did not go unpunished for his disobedience, for O'Donnell frequently entered his territory and left not a quarter of land from the river Suck⁴ upwards, and from Slieve O nAedha⁵ westwards that he did not make tributary to him. This O'Donnell was the full moon of the hospitality and nobility of the north, the most jovial and valiant, the most prudent in war and peace, and of the best jurisdiction, law, and rule of all the Gaels in Ireland. For there was no defence made in Tyrconnell during his time except to close the door against the wind only; the best protector of the church and the learned, a man who had given great alms in honour of the Lord of the Elements; the man by whom a castle⁶ was first raised and erected at Donegal, that it might serve as a sustaining bulwark for his descendants; and a monastery of Friars de Observantia⁷ in Tyrconnell, namely the Monastery of Donegal; a man who had made many predatory excursions around through Ireland, and a man who may be justly styled the Augustus of the north-west Europe. He died after having gained the victory over the devil and the world, and after extreme unction and good penance, at his own fortress in Donegal, July 20th, in the seventy-eighth year of his age and forty-fourth of his reign, and was interred in the monastery of Donegal.

1511. O'Donnell (Aedh), son of Aedh Ruadh, went upon a pilgrimage to Rome.

¹ *Bel atha doire*.—The mouth of the ford of the oak wood. The name is now obsolete.

² *Clannaboy*.—An extensive district to the east of Lough Neagh, in the present counties of Down and Antrim. It had its name from Hugh Buidhe O'Neill, chief of the territory in 1283.

³ *The Route*.—The northern part of Co. Antrim. The name is a corruption of Dal Riada.

⁴ *Suck*.—This river rises near Ballyhaunis, Co. Mayo. It runs through Lough O'Flynn, by Castlereagh and Ballymoe, and joins the Shannon near Shannon-bridge, forming during the greater part of its course the boundary between the counties of Roscommon and Galway.

⁵ *Slieve O nAedha*.—The northern part of Slieve Aughty, on the confines of Clare and Galway.

⁶ *Castle*.—It would seem an addition was made to it later, about 1564. See *Annals F. M.*, v. 1599. This castle was destroyed by Hugh Roe O'Donnell about 1601, to prevent its falling into the hands of Niall Garbh and his English allies, as we learn from a poem of Maelmurry Mac an Ward. See *The Irish Penny Journal*, p. 186; Dublin, 1840, and *The Dublin Penny Journal*, ii. 117; Dublin, 1833. The present castle was built by Sir Basil Brooke, the grantee of that portion of O'Donnell's territory. His arms empaling those of Leicester, his wife's family, are on the chimney-piece.

⁷ *Friars de Observantia*.—This was a reform of the Franciscan Order, established in the year 1370 by St. Bernardine of Sienna. See Rohrbacher, *Hist. de l'Eglise*, x. 350; Paris, 1872. All the Irish houses of the Order belonged to it.

While he was abroad his adherents and friends were in grief and sadness after him ; his son Manus was left by him to protect the country while he was absent.

1537. O'Donnell (Hugh), son of Hugh Roe, lord of Tirconnell, Inishowen, Cinel Moen, Fermanagh, and Lower Connaught, died ; a man to whom rents and tributes were paid by other territories over which he had extended his jurisdiction and power, such as Moylurg,¹ Machaire Connacht, Clann Conway,² Costello Gaileanga,³ Tirawley, and Connaicne Cuile to the west ; and to the east Oireacht Ui Chathain,⁴ the Route, Clannaboy ; for of these there was not one territory that had not given him presents, besides his tribute of protection. It was this man also that compelled the four lords who ruled Tyrone during his time to give him new charters of Inishowen,⁵ Cinel Moen, and Fermanagh, as a further confirmation of the old charters which his ancestors had held for these countries ; so that he quietly and peaceably had lordship over them and commanded their rising out. This was not to be wondered at, for never was victory seen with his enemies, never did he retreat one foot from any army great or small ; he was the represser of evil deeds and evil customs, the destroyer and banisher of rebels and thieves, and enforcer of the laws and ordinances after the justest manner ; a man in whose reign the seasons were favourable, so that the sea and land were productive ; a man who established every one in his country, in his proper hereditary possessions, that no one of them might bear enmity towards another ; a man who did not suffer the English to come into his country, for he formed a league of peace or friendship with the King of England when he saw that the Irish would not yield superiority to any one among themselves ; a man who only protected their termon lands⁶ for the friars, churches, poets, and ollamhs.⁷ He died on the 5th of July, in the monastery of Donegal, having first taken upon him the habit of St. Francis, and having wept for his crimes and iniquities and done penance for his sins and transgressions. He was buried in the same monastery with great honour and solemnity, as was meet, and Manus O'Donnell

¹ *Moylurg*.—This territory extended from Lough Gara, near Boyle, to Carrick-on-Shannon, from the Curlew mountains to near Elphin, and from Lough Key to the northern boundary of the parish of Kilmacumshy. It is now known as the Plains of Boyle. *Annals F. M.*, vi. 2038, n.

² *Clann Conway*.—A territory in the barony of Ballymoe, Co. Galway, inhabited by the O'Finaghtys. Shortly after the English invasion it was taken possession of by a branch of the De Burgos, the head of whom was called MacDavid. *Top. Poems*, xxxv.

³ *Gaileanga*.—This territory included the diocese of Achonry in north Mayo, and the part of Sligo inhabited by the O'Haras and O'Garas. The inhabitants were descended from Cormac Galeng, great-grandson of Olioll Olum, King of Munster in the 2nd century. *Ibid.*, p. xxxix.

⁴ *Oireacht Ui Chathain*.—*i.e.*, O'Kane's territory, which at this time included the baronies of Tirkeeran, Keenaght, and Colerane in Co. Derry.

⁵ *Inishowen*.—'About this country of Inishowen and the Castle of Liffer (Lifford), there was many years together strife and wars between O'Neill and O'Donnell, and yet this day the challenge is not forgotten, but is revived upon every small occasion.' *C.C., MSS.*, i. 205 and 214.

⁶ *Termon lands*.—Church lands which afforded sanctuary. See O'Hanlon's *Life of St. Malachy*, p. 143 ; Dublin, 1859.

⁷ *Ollamhs*.—The ollamh was one who after long training had reached the highest degree of learning in history and literature. His rank was very elevated and his privileges very great. See O'Curry's *M.S. Materials*, &c., pp. 204, 239.

was inaugurated in his place by the successors¹ of Columkille, with the permission and by the advice of the nobles of Tirconnell, both lay and ecclesiastical.

1542. O'Donnell (Manus) gave Tuath Ratha² and Lurg³ to Maguire (John), son of Cuconnacht. . . . For this Maguire gave up himself, his country, and his land to O'Donnell, and in particular the privilege of calling for the rising out of his country, or a tribute in lieu of the rising out not obtained.

1563. O'Donnell (Manus), son of Aedh Dubh, son of Aedh Ruadh, lord of Tyrconnell, Inishowen, Cinel Moen, Fermanagh, and Lower Connaught; a man who never suffered the chiefs who were in his neighbourhood to encroach upon any of his superabundant possessions, even to the time of his decease and infirmity; a fierce, obdurate, wrathful, and combative man towards his enemies and opponents until he had made them obedient to his jurisdiction; a mild, friendly, benign, amicable, bountiful, and hospitable man towards the learned, the destitute, the poets, and the ollamhs, towards the Orders and the Church, as is evident from the old people and the historians; a learned man, a man skilled in many arts, gifted with a profound intellect and the knowledge of every science; died on the 9th of February, at his own mansion at Lifford,⁴ a castle which had been erected in despite of the O'Neill and the Cinel Eoghain, and was interred in the burial-place of his predecessors and ancestors at Donegal, in the monastery of St. Francis, with great honour and veneration, after having vanquished the world and the devil.

Manus was succeeded by his eldest son Calvagh;⁵ but he held sway for two years only, dying in 1566, 'a man so celebrated for his goodness that any good act of his, be it ever so great, was never a matter of wonder or surprise.' He was succeeded by a younger brother Hugh, surnamed Dubh. As might be expected, great dissensions sprung up and continued between Conn, the son of Calvagh, and his uncle. In 1581 Conn gained over Turlough Luineach O'Neill⁶ to his side, and obtained from him a large body of men. With these and a few of the O'Donnells and many of the MacSwinys he defeated Hugh at Kiltole, near Raphoe. If we would take to the letter the panegyric pronounced on him by the Four Masters, he was endowed with all the qualities that constitute a great chief. After his death, which took place in 1583, they say 'the Cinel Conaill might be

¹ *Successors*.—*i.e.*, The O'Ferghils, descended from Ferghil, great-grandson of Aedh, son of Eoghan, a brother of St. Columba. See Adamnan's *Life of C.*, p. 281.

² *Tuath Ratha*.—Now Toorah, in the barony of Magheraboy, Co. Fermanagh.

³ *Lurg*.—A barony in the north of Co. Fermanagh.

⁴ *Lifford*.—A town on the eastern boundary of Donegal, at the junction of the Finn and the Mourne. The castle went by the name of Port na dri namhad, and stood

on the Tyrone side of the river, and therefore within the territory of the O'Neills, just opposite the town of Lifford, as we see by Mercator's map of Ireland. It was built in 1526. *Annals F. M.*, ad ann. No trace of it remains.

⁵ *Calvagh*.—His mother was Joan, sister of Conn Bacagh O'Neill, the first Earl of Tyrone.

⁶ *Turlough Luineach O'Neill*.—His name will occur frequently throughout this work. His pedigree will be given later.

likened to harp without a ceis,¹ a ship without a pilot, and a field without a shelter.⁷

Hugh took as his second wife Ineen Dubh,² the daughter of James MacDonnell, elected Lord of the Isles³ in 1545, and of the Lady Agnes Campbell, daughter of Archibald, 4th earl of Argyle. By both parents she was of Irish descent, for our author tells us she was of the race of Colla Uais, *i.e.*, Colla the noble. This prince, a grandson of Cairbre Liffechair, aided by his two brothers Colla Mean and Colla da Crioch, had risen in rebellion against their uncle Fiacha Sraibhtine. A battle took place at Dubhcomair, near Teltown, in which Fiacha was defeated. Colla Uais seized his crown and ruled supreme for four years. At the end of that time Muireadach Tireach, the son of the deceased sovereign, assembled a large force of his followers, and drove the usurper from the kingdom. He and his brothers fled to Scotland, and were hospitably received by the reigning monarch, who was their mother's father. Here they remained for three years. A druid had told them that if they fell by the hand of the King of Ireland, the crown should devolve on their posterity. Determined to seek the accomplishment of this prophecy at all hazards, they returned to their native country, and to their surprise were received with much kindness by the King, who not only condoned their past crimes but gave them signal marks of his favour. He found welcome employment for them by sending them at the head of his army to avenge the insult put upon Cormac MacAirt, their relative, by the King of Ulster. They entered his territory, gave him battle, and defeated him utterly. The conquerors next marched against the royal palace of Emania,⁴ and set it on fire. They then seized all the territory of Oirghialla and divided it between them. Colla Uais settled in Ui Mac Uais, and he and his brothers became the founders of several powerful families in Louth, Armagh, Monaghan, and Fermanagh, as the MacMahons, O'Hanlons, Magennisses, and other correlative septs.⁵ In the fifth century some of their descendants crossed the sea and established themselves between the Picts of the north and the Britons of the south in their lands, and on the west coast of Caledonia, in the district since known as Argyle.⁶ The following pedigree shows Ineen Dubh's descent; it proves also how frequent the intermarriages were then between the Irish and Scottish Gaels.⁷

¹ *Ceis*.—On the meaning of this phrase see O'Curry's *Manners*, &c., iii. 248.

² *Ineen Dubh*.—*i.e.*, The dark little Agnes, a common name among the Irish.

³ *Lord of the Isles*.—See his pedigree in *Annals F. M.*, vi. 1892, n.

⁴ *Emania*.—Now the Navan Fort, two miles west of Armagh. See Stuart's *H. Memoirs of Armagh*, p. 578; Newry, 1891,

for a description of this fort, and Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 182.

⁵ *Septs*.—*Ibid.*, p. 303.

⁶ *Argyle*.—*i.e.*, Ainer Goidhel, the region of the Gael. Bryant's *Celtic Ireland*, p. 43; London, 1889.

⁷ *Gaels*.—An account of these intermarriages will be found in the *Miscellany of the Maitland Society*.

1. Somhairle,¹ Thane of Argyle in 1165
 2. Randal.
 3. Domnall, à quo MacDonnell.
 4. Angus Mor.
 5. Angus Oge=Agnes, dr. of O'Cahan.
 6. John of Islay=Margaret, dr. of Robert II., king of Scotland.
 7. John Mor=Mary, dr. of Bissett.²
 8. Donald Ballach=Joanna, dr. of O'Donnell.
 9. John of Islay=Sadhbh, dr. of Phelim O'Neill.
 10. Shane Cathanach³=Celia, dr. of Savage⁴ of the Ardes.⁵
 11. Alexander Carragh⁶=Catherine, dr. of MacEoin.
 12. James Agnes,⁷ dr. of 4th Earl of Argyle.
- INEEN DUBH=HUGH O'DONNELL.
- HUGH ROE O'DONNELL.

Ineen Dubh is described by our author as being 'slow and very deliberate, excelling in all the qualities that become a woman, yet possessing the heart of a hero and the soul of a soldier.' O'Donnell had other children by a previous marriage. One of these was Donnell. *The Annals of the Four*

¹ *Somhairle*.—Usually anglicised Sorley.

² *Bissett*.—See *The Ulster J. of Archaeol.*, ii. 155.

³ *Cathanach*.—*i.e.*, fostered by O'Cathan.

⁴ *Savage*.—This family settled in the Ardes soon after the English invasion. See D'Alton's *King James' Army List*. i. 41; Dublin, n. d.

⁵ *The Ardes*.—A peninsula in the north-east of Co. Down, between Strangford Lough and the Irish Sea.

⁶ *A. Carragh*.—Ancestor of the Earls of Antrim; his second son Sir Ragnall was created Viscount Dunluce and Earl of Antrim. Hill's *MacDonnells of Antrim*, p. 375; Belfast, 1873.

⁷ *Agnes*.—She is described by Sir Henry Sydney as 'a grave, wise, well-spoken lady in Scottish, English, and French.' *C. C. MSS.*, ii. 350; London, 1863. After her first husband's death she married Turlough Luineach O'Neill.

Masters make mention of his prowess. 'He was a mighty champion and a leader in battle, and it was never heard that at any time he had turned his back on his enemies.' Shortly before Hugh's escape, he made an attempt to depose his father, 'now grown weak and feeble, and his other son was imprisoned in Dublin; so that he brought under his power and jurisdiction that part of Tyrconnell westward from Bearnas to the Drowes,¹ and also the people of Boghaine² and Boylagh. It was a great cause of anguish and sickness of mind to Ineen that Donnell should make such an attempt, lest he might obtain the chieftainship of Tyrconnell in preference to her son Hugh Roe, who was confined in Dublin, whatever time God permitted him to return from his captivity; and she, therefore, assembled all the Cinel Conaill who were obedient to her husband, and a great number of Scots with them. . . . Donnell assembled his forces to meet them. The place where he happened to be was at the extremity of Tir Boghaine. The other party did not halt till they came to that place, and a battle ensued, which was fiercely fought on both sides. The Scots discharged a shower of arrows from their elastic bows, by which they pierced and wounded great numbers, and among them the son of O'Donnell himself, who not being able to display prowess or to defend himself, was slain at Doire Lathan, on the east side of Teelin bay,³ on the 14th of December, 1590.⁴

Hugh Roe,⁵ for so he is usually styled, the subject of this work, was the eldest son of the second marriage. The exact date of his birth is not given. According to O'Clery, in 1587 he had not passed his fifteenth year, and when he died, in 1602, he had not quite completed his thirtieth. His birth, his virtues, his prowess, his fitness to be a leader of men, the terror he would cause among his enemies, his triumphs over them, his undisputed regal sway, all these things were said to have been foretold by St. Columkille, the chief prophet⁶ of heaven and earth and the special patron of the Cinel Conaill.⁷ The prophecy in due time reached the ears of the Lord Deputy

¹ *Drowes*.—It flows from Lough Melvin, and falls into Donegal bay two miles south of Bundoran. In ancient times it was the boundary between Connaught and Ulster. Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 55.

² *Boghaine*.—It was so called from Enna Boghaine, son of Conall Gulban. It extended from the Eany to the Gweedore river. *The B. of Fenagh*, p. 397. It forms the present barony of Banagh.

³ *Teelin bay*.—Twenty-five miles west of the town of Donegal. The place where the battle was fought is a little to the east of the harbour.

⁴ 1590.—See *Annals F. M.*, vi. 1889.

⁵ *Hugh Roe*.—Aedh, though metamorphosed into Hugh, is not synonymous with it, for Aedh means fire, and Hugh means high, lofty. O'Donovan, *Introd. to Top. Poems*, p. 52. Roe, *i.e.* Ruadh, from the colour of his complexion or hair.

⁶ *Prophet*.—See Adamnan's *Life of C.*, p. 19, and O'Curry's *MS. Materials*, p. 399.

⁷ *Cinel Conaill*.—He was third in descent from Conall Gulban. Adamnan's *Life*, p. 8. 'Dearer to me are all the Gaedhel than the men of the world, and the race of Conall than the Gaedhel, and the family of Lughaidh than Conall's race.' *Leabhar Breac*, fol. 108 b.

Fitzwilliam.¹ In 1593 he wrote to Lord Burghley:² 'An old-devised prophecy flieth among them in no small request, importing that when two Hughs, lawfully, lineally, and immediately succeed each other as O'Donnells, being so formally and ceremoniously created according to the country's custom, the last Hugh forsooth shall be a monarch in Ireland, and banish thence all foreign nations and conquerors.'³

In his early youth he was given not only to some chiefs of his own clan, the O'Donnells and MacSwinys, but to others too, as O'Cahan, to be fostered by them, as was the universal custom of the Celts. 'Fostering,' says Sir John Davis, 'hath always been in the opinion of the Irish people a stronger alliance than blood, and the foster-children do love, and are beloved by their foster-parents and their sept more than their natural parents.'⁴

The talents and virtues displayed by Hugh Roe from his earliest years are dwelt on with admiration by our author. They were such as to spread his fame throughout Ireland and to make the English fear him, and the Irish hope that he would one day be the avenger of their wrongs.

To Sir John Perrott⁵ attaches all the credit, such as it is, of Hugh Roe's capture. 'O'Donnell was suspected because his people began to play some bad parts, not fitting for him to do or to insist upon,'⁶ his most heinous crime being the exclusion of an English sheriff and other such officials, whose object was to plunder the people. Here is the account given of these transactions by an Englishman:⁷ 'A great part of the unquietness of

¹ *Fitzwilliam*.—He was three times Lord Deputy between 1559 and 1596. In 1596 he returned to England, and was made Constable of Fotheringay Castle while Mary Queen of Scots was imprisoned there. See Archdall's *Peerage*, ii. 173; Dublin, 1789.

² *Burghley*.—See Meehan's *Flight of the Earls*, p. 98; Dublin, 1886.

³ *Conquerors*.—*C. S. P. I.*, v. 107; London, 1850. On the proneness of the Irish to believe prophecies, see Campion's *History of Ireland*, p. 19; Dublin 1810, Rinuccini's *Nunziata*, p. 69; Florence, 1884, O'Curry's *M.S. Materials*, p. 382, and Fitzpatrick's *Life of Rt. Rev. Dr. Doyle*, i. 104; Dublin, 1878.

⁴ *Parents*.—*A Discovery of the True Cause why Ireland was never entirely subdued by the English*, p. 179; London, 1612. The Brehon laws, the code by which the ancient Irish were governed, enter into great details as to the treatment to be given by

fosterers to the children under their charge and the penalties to be inflicted on them in cases of neglect.

⁵ *Perrott*.—He was supposed to be a natural son of Henry VIII. Cox, *Hib. Angl.*, i. 87. He was sworn in Lord Deputy, June 26th, 1584, having been previously President of Munster. The instructions given to him will be found in Cox's *Hib. Angl.*, i. 368. In 1588 he was recalled, and on his arrival in London cast into prison, and later brought to trial on a charge of attempting a rebellion in England and Ireland. He was condemned to death, but the Queen reprieved him. He died soon after in the Tower.—*Ibid.*, p. 387.

⁶ *Insist upon*.—*Life of Sir John Perrott*, p. 227; London, 1728.

⁷ *Englishman*.—Captain Lee, in his 'Brief Declaration of the Government of Ireland, opening the many corruptions in the same,' in *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, i. 106; Dublin, 1772.

O'Donnell's country came by Sir William Fitzwilliam placing there of one Wallis (Willis) to be sheriff, who had with him three hundred of the very rascals and scum of that kingdom, who did rob and spoil the people, ravished their wives and daughters, and made a havoc of all; which bred such discontent as that the whole country was up in arms against them, so as if the Earl of Tyrone had not rescued and delivered him and them out of the country, they had all been put to the sword'; and he blames Fitzwilliam 'for making choice of such base men as Conwell, Fuller, and Willis, being such as a well-advised Captain of that kingdom could not admit into office in his company.'¹ Perrott's biographer continues: 'The Lord Deputy and Council entered into consultation how he might be apprehended. Some of them advised to send forces into O'Donnell's country and to bring him by force. But the Lord Deputy argued against that project, alleging that it could not be done without an army of 2,000 or 3,000 men; which would be both hazardous and chargeable to the State and the Queen's Majesty. Yet said, "You shall give me leave to try one conclusion which I have in hand and do hope to have O'Donnell thereby without the loss of men or expense of money; and if that take not effect, then let us fall to force or see what other means we can devise for his apprehension."² From this and O'Sullivan's account it may be inferred that the capture of Hugh Roe's father would have satisfied Perrott and the Council quite as well as that of the son. The latter historian says the agent employed by Perrott to fit out the ship, supply it with merchandise, and take it to the north, was an Anglo-Irish merchant named Bermingham, who was induced to undertake the task partly by rewards present and future, partly by threats.³ Fifty soldiers were put on board. Here is Perrott's own account of the transaction in a letter to the Queen,⁴ bearing date September 26th, 1587:

Inasmuch as I found Sir Hugh O'Donnell to be one that would promise much for the delivery of his pledges and the yearly rent of beeves set upon that country and perform little, and that in respect he was married to a Scottish lady, the sister of Angus MacConnell, by whom he had a son, Hugh Roe O'Donnell, who ruled that country very much, and thereby not only nourished Scots in those parts but also certain of the MacSwynes (a strong and disordered kind of people there), who

¹ *Company*.—Willis, while in command of the garrison in Clones later, was killed by the MacMahons. See Shirley's *Dominion of Farnley*, p. 83; London, 1845.

² *Apprehension*.—See *Life of Perrott*, p. 277.

³ *Threats*.—*Historiæ Catholicæ Hiberniæ Compendium*, p. 132; Dublin, 1852. We shall often quote from this work. It was first

published in Spain in 1621. Though the author was but a mere boy when he left Ireland in 1602, yet he will have often heard what he narrates from those who took a leading part in the events which he describes. See Rev. M. Kelly's preface to the Dublin edition.

⁴ *Queen*.—*Calendar of MSS. at Hatfield House*, pt. iii. p. 285; London, 1889.

have been ready to send aid to any that were evil-disposed in your kingdom, as of late they did to Granye ne Male¹ to see if they would make any new stir in Connaught, I devised to send a bark hence under the charge of one Nicholas Skipper² of this city with certain wines, to allure the best of the country aboard, who had such good success as he took and brought hither yesterday in the said bark without any stir at all the said Hugh Roe O'Donnell, the eldest son of the galloglasse called MacSwyne Fana, the eldest son of the galloglasse called MacSwyne ne Doe, and the best pledge upon the O'Gallahores, all being the strongest septs of Tyrconnel. Whereby now you may have (in those parts) your pleasure always performed, and specially touching Sir John O'Doghertye, Hugh O'Donneil, and MacSwyne Bane, in whose behalf it pleased you and the Council to write unto me of late to show them favour, because they had served you well, and were therefore beaten down by the said MacSwynes and others. The having of Mr. Hugh Roe O'Donnell, in respect he is come of the Scots and matched in marriage with the greatest of Ulster, will serve you to good purpose.

The imprisonment of 'pledges' taken from the leading families of Ireland was a device of Perrott's, not unlike that adopted by a late lamented statesman, intended to secure the obedience of the chiefs. In his 'Brief Declaration of the Services which he had done to her Majesty during his Deputation in Ireland,' written probably during his imprisonment in the Tower of London for the purpose of soothing the wrath of his royal mistress, Perrott informs her that 'he had left behind pledges in the Castle of Dublin,'³ and in other places upon all the strong and doubtful men of the realm, whereby the state of the realm will continue long in quiet.'⁴ He sent for all the chief lords of each country, requiring them to put in pledges for the maintenance of peace and defending the realm against foreign invasion; to which they all yielded willingly or seemingly willingly . . . and by having them he had a foot upon the several provinces of Ireland.

The gentlemen that were left pledges in the Castle of Dublin by the Lord Deputy on the 19th of September, 1588, were: *Sons to Shane O'Neill*: Henry O'Neill, Art O'Neill. *Pledges for Munster*: Philip O'Realie, Patrick Fitzmorris, Edward Fitzgibbons, *alias* the White Knight, Patrick Condon, John FitzEdmunds,

¹ *Grayne ne Male*.—'There came to me also a most famous sea-captain called Grany O'Malley, and offered her services to me, wheresoever I would command her, with three galleys and two hundred fighting men, either in Ireland or Scotland. She brought with her her husband, for she is as well by sea as by land more than Mrs. Mate with him. He was of the nether Burkes, and now as I hear MacWilliam eiter, and called by nickname Richard in Iron. This was a notorious woman in all

the coast of Ireland.' Sir Henry Sydney's Memoir of his Government in Ireland, in the *C.C. MSS.*, ii. 533; London, 1868. This was the well known Grace O'Malley, about whom see *C.S.P.I.*, v. 132.

² *Skipper*.—So Cox, *Hib. Angl.*, i. 396.

³ *Castle of Dublin*.—No part of the Castle as it then was remains. Nor is there any plan or drawing from which an accurate idea can be had of itself and its immediate surroundings three centuries ago.

⁴ *In quiet*.—*C.S.P.I.*, iv. 85; London, 1885.

alias the Seneschal. *Pledges for O'Neill and his Country*: Mahon M'Gilson, Rory Ballach, John Croam. *Pledges for O'Donnell and his Country*: O'Donnell himself left prisoner, Hugh Roe O'Donnell, Donnell Gorm, MacSwynie Fanatt, Owen MacSwynie, Owen O'Galagho. *Pledges for Maguire and his Country*: Owen MacHugh, James MacManus. *Pledges for MacMahon and his Country*: Brian MacMahon, John O'Duffe. *Pledges for Feach M'Hugh and his Country*: Redmond M'Feagh, Brian M'Feagh, Hugh O'Toole. *Pledges for Walter Reagh and his Country*: Kedagh O'Toole, Garrett Fitzmorris, Richard Fitzmorris, James Fitzmorris. *For MacGnyllie and his Country*: Richard MacGnyllie. *For O'Cané and his Country*: Donagh O'Malla. *For O'Donnell and his Country*: Neale Groome O'Donnell. All these the Lord Deputy left in the Castle of Dublin before his departure from Ireland, as pledges for the peace of the several countries within that kingdom.¹

These pledges fared but badly while in prison. The Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam described them 'as lying in the grate to beg and starve, for so they use their pledges, of what quality soever.' And again, in reply to Perrott, who, as we have seen, had boasted of the services which he had rendered to the State in seizing these pledges, the Lord Deputy says: 'There were three of Feagh MacHugh's pledges, whereof one 10 or 11 years, the 2 Bourkes, the 3rd 17 or 18, and the rest; but these before my coming and shortly after till their breaking out were bestowed in the grate, and there lived upon common alms,² so good account did those for whom they lay make of them. Moreover, the chief jailer had charge twice in every twenty-four hours to search their irons,³ in order to prevent their escape.'⁴

Hugh's father asked that his son should be set free. He put forward as a claim for the merciful treatment of the youth the services⁵ which he had rendered to the Crown in various ways. Soon after Hugh's capture, Hugh O'Neill wrote to the Earl of Leicester, asking him to be 'a mean for the enlargement of the prisoner upon security.'⁶ He also addressed himself to Walsingham, asking him to use his influence with her Majesty for the same purpose: 'The Lord Deputy hath caused O'Donnell's son called Hugh O'Donnell to be taken, who now remaineth a prisoner in the Castle of Dublin. He is my son-in-law,

¹ *Kingdom*.—*Ibid.*, p. 11. Chicester, in a letter to the Privy Council, dated from Dublin, July 4th, 1609, suggested that the children of Hugh O'Neill and of Caffir O'Donnell, as well as those of the O'Mores of Leix, should be 'sent to England and put to trades, that they might forget their fierceness and pride.' *C.S.P.I.*, iii. 240; London, 1874.

² *Common alms*.—*C.S.P.I.*, iv. 163.

³ *Irons*.—O'Clery says expressly they were

kept in irons. So too Captain Lee tells of 'a youth, the heir of a great country, who never having offended, was imprisoned with great severity, many irons being laid upon him, as if he had been a notable traitor.' *Desid. Cur. Hib.*, i. 96.

⁴ *Escape*.—*C.S.P.I.*, iv. 154.

⁵ *Services*.—*Ibid.*, pp. 142, 453.

⁶ *Security*.—*Carew MSS.*, vol. 619, p. 10. Leicester seems to have done some friendly acts to O'Neill.

and the only stay that O'Donnell hath for the quieting of his country, and the detaining of him in prison is the most prejudice which might happen to me. Your Honour is the only man next unto the Earl of Leicester on whom I rely, and O'Donnell hath no friends but mine. I therefore and for that O'Donnell will deliver unto the Lord Deputy the said Hugh's second brother, by one father and mother, and any other pledge in Tyrconnell that his Lordship will choose, I beseech your Honour, as ever you will bind O'Donnell and me to depend upon you during our lives, to work all the means you may with her Highness for the present enlargement of the said Hugh; the rather for that Hugh, son of the Dean,¹ who was at court at my last being there, hath almost driven O'Donnell out of his country.² Walsingham's efforts, if indeed he made any, were of little avail, for a few days after the receipt of his letter Elizabeth wrote to him ordering that he should not be released. 'And hereto we add the remembrance of one thing that being well ordered may breed quietness in those parts, viz., the continuancing in prison of O'Donnell's son and O'Gallagher's son, lately seized upon and remaining in our Castle in Dublin.'³ At the same time Fitzwilliam received a joint letter from the Lords of the Council, drawing his attention to the fact that the formidable Scotch woman was not likely to stir so long as Hugh Roe remained in the Castle at Dublin, who with O'Gallagher's son be also good pledges for the Earl of Tyrone.

After pining in prison for three years and three months, 'in anguish and sickness of mind,' the sole solace of their weary round being their lamentation over the wrongs which their countrymen were suffering at the hands of the English, Hugh and some of his fellow-prisoners found an opportunity of escaping. The companions of his flight were Daniel Mac Swiny and Hugh O'Gallagher. Our author describes in detail the means they employed to escape from the Castle. The fugitives sought shelter from Phelim O'Toole, then dwelling at Castlekevin.⁴ 'Phelim resolved,' says O'Sullevan, 'to send him away against the wish of the Queen's Ministers, though he knew full well the risk he was running, involving the loss of his property, perhaps of his life. His sister Rose,⁵ who was married

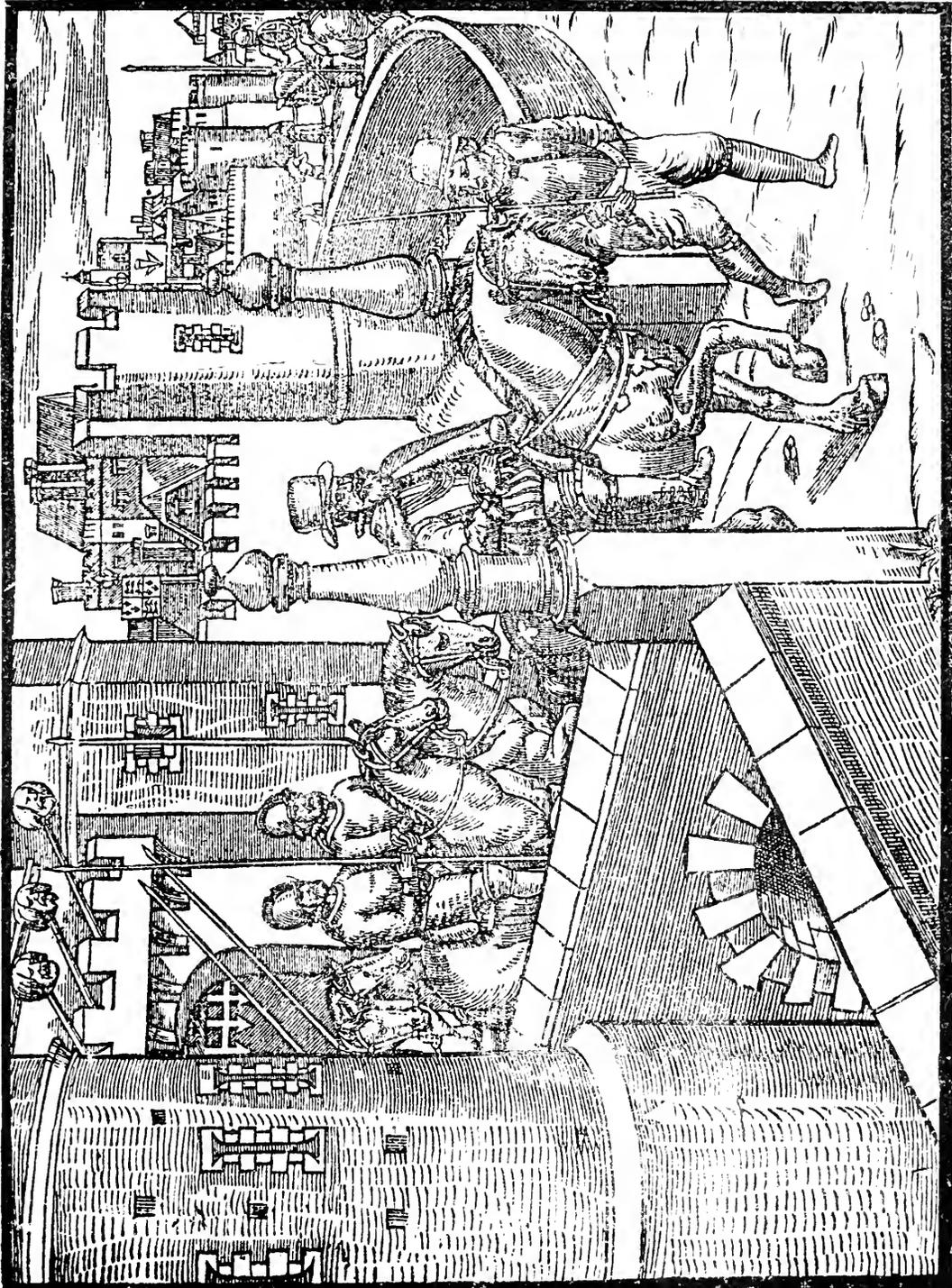
¹ *Son of the Dean*.—This was Hugh, an illegitimate son of Calvagh O'Donnell. He had slain Alexander MacDonnell, a kinsman of Ineen Dubh, Hugh Roe's mother. At her instigation her Scotch mercenaries slew him. See *Annals F. M.*, v. 1855 and 1873.

² *Country*.—December 10th, 1587. See O'Grady's *Red Hugh's Captivity*, p. 121; London, 1889.

³ *Dublin*.—Dec. 23rd, 1587. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

⁴ *Castlekevin*.—Eight miles N.W. of the town of Wicklow. The castle was built by Piers De Gaveston. The sides of the building, to the height of twenty feet, are still standing.

⁵ *Rose*.—In 'Russell's Journal,' under the date May 26th, 1595, we find: 'Rose Toole, Feagh MacHugh's wife, arraigned, and by a jury found guilty of treason.' May 27th: 'Feagh's wife sentenced to be burned.'—*C.C. MSS.*, iii. 231; London, 1869.



THE CASTLE OF DUBLIN IN 1566

to Fiach O'Byrne,¹ fearing such a result, persuaded her brother to follow a course by which he would save himself from all evil consequences and secure the liberty of Hugh Roe. She proposed that he should receive Hugh into his house at Castlekevin for the night; she would send word to her brother to come with armed men and set Hugh free against the wish of Phelim as it were, for she was more anxious to take precautions for her brother than for her husband, who was in a state of constant rebellion, and had determined to sacrifice even his life, if necessary, in resisting the Protestants.² This plan was adopted, and Fiach set off to give aid to Hugh.

The Viceroy, too, being told of Hugh's movements, sent off soldiers to bring him back to Dublin. The rain fell so heavily during the night that the river Annamoe³ overflowed its banks, and Fiach could not cross it. Meantime the English, who did not need to cross the river, came and seized on Hugh. In the *Carew Manuscripts* will be found a letter from the Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam to Sir George Carew, authorizing him 'to repair to Castlekevin with such forces as he had, and to take the command of other forces ordered to repair to his aid, for the safe bringing hither of Hugh Roe O'Donnell and other pledges lately escaped out of the Castle of Dublin.'⁴ And so the Lord Deputy could write the good news to Burghley, April 29th, 1589: 'The best of them I have again; the rest were not of any value to speak of, and some of them boys of 10, 12, 16 years, or thereabouts.'⁵ Phelim O'Toole's subsequent conduct when he accompanied Hugh Roe after his second escape through Dublin with a troop of horse, a fact mentioned with great gratitude by O'Clery and calculated to establish an everlasting bond of friendship between the Cinel Conaill and the descendants of Cathaeir Mor,⁶ proves that he had no part in handing the fugitive over to his pursuers.

When Hugh Roe was brought back to Dublin he was put into the same prison and committed to a more vigilant guard. He was again cast into chains too, or to use the expressive language of the Four Masters: 'Iron

¹ *Fiach O'Byrne*.—His pedigree is given by O'Donovan, *Annals F. M.*, v. 1747, n.

² *Protestants*.—*Hist. Cath.*, p. 154.

³ *Annamoe*.—It rises in north Wicklow, and flows southwards by Annamoe and Laragh. After passing the latter place it takes the name of Avonmore.

⁴ *Dublin*.—*C.C. MSS.*, iii. 48. The date of the warrant is January 15th, 1589. Carew was then Master of the Ordnance and a Privy Councillor. Later he was made President of Munster.

⁵ *Thereabouts*.—*C.S.P.I.*, iv. 154.

⁶ *Cathaeir Mor*.—He was descended from Ugaire Mor through Laeghaire Lorc, and was ardrigh A.D. 122. The eldest of his sons was Rossa Failge, ancestor of the O'Conors Faly, O'Dempseys, and O'Dunnes. The youngest was ancestor of the MacMurrroughs, Kavanaghs, Kinsellaghs, O'Tooles, O'Byrnes. See *The Battle of Magh Leana*, edited by O'Curry, p. 170; Dublin, 1853. and Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 242. The O'Toole pedigree will be found in Rev. P. L. O'Toole's *History of the Clan O'Toole*, p. 532; Dublin, 1890.

fetters¹ were bound on him as tightly as possible, and they watched and guarded him as closely as they could.' Our author tells, moreover, of the joy of the Council at his return, and of the importance they attached to his recapture.

After a further imprisonment of a year and three months, O'Donnell again managed to make his escape from confinement. He had planned it with his fellow-captives Henry and Art, sons of the famous Shane O'Neill, and had contrived to get into his prison somehow a file and a very long silken rope.² Well-wishers outside had promised their aid. Edward Eustace, a young friend, would have four horses in waiting; Fiach Mac Hugh would send them a trusty guide to lead the way to Glenmalure,³ and he would see that later they were sent safe to their homes in the north. On the night appointed, Christmas eve,⁴ 1591, Hugh cut through the chains that bound himself and his companions. Then fixing the rope securely to the top of the shaft that went down to the sewer, Henry slipped down sailorwise, and groped his way to the moat surrounding the castle. He climbed the opposite bank, and taking no further heed of his companions, set off for Ulster, which he reached safe.⁵ Hugh Roe followed, and he, too, reached the outer bank of the moat. Art came last, but as he was descending a loose stone fell and struck him on the head, so that he could hardly go farther. However, he, too, got out into the street. Unhappily the horses which Eustace had promised to keep ready for them had been taken away some hours before by a friend of his from the stable where they had been, without his knowledge. The guide sent by Fiach MacHugh met the fugitives outside the castle gate and covered their retreat through the streets. They set off, making their way to Glenmalure, Fiach's dwelling. The Clann Rannall,⁶ of which he was then the admitted head, was at all

¹ *Fetters*.—O'Sullivan's account agrees with this. 'In eadem arce diligentiori custodiae mandatus, in vincula quoque coniectus.' *Hist. Cath.*, p. 155.

² *Rope*.—'Limam et sericam telam longissimam.' *Ibid.*

³ *Glenmalure*.—A narrow glen, four miles in length, a short distance to the west of Rathdrum, Co. Wicklow. O'Byrne's castle, called Ballinacor, was on the side of the hill, a little to the N.W. of the village of Greenane. The building has disappeared, but there are some remains of the entrenchments that surrounded it.

⁴ *Christmas Eve*.—So O'Clery; O'Sullivan says a few days before Christmas. *Ibid.*

⁵ *Safe*.—In 'The Summary Collection of the State of the Realm,' delivered by Fitz-

william to his successor, Sir W. Russell, it is stated that 'the three sons of Shane O'Neill, Henry, Conn, and Brian, were in hand with the Earl of Tyrone, and were detained by him in prison, notwithstanding he hath been required by letter from the Deputy and Council to send them to her Majesty.' The date is August, 1594. *C.C. MSS.*, iii. 94. The reason of this pretended anxiety of Fitzwilliam and the other English officials for their welfare is obvious: 'Their followers will embrace their liberty and cast off the yoke of such a tyrant' (the Earl). See A Brief Discourse, by Mr. Francis Shane. *Ibid.*, p. 201.

⁶ *Clann Rannall*.—See an account of this branch of the O'Byrne family in *Annals F. M.*, v. 1712, n.

times amongst the fiercest opponents of the English. From their mountain fastnesses they would often swoop down on the settlers in the plains of Dublin and Kildare and spread ruin and desolation everywhere. Even the city itself was long kept in a constant state of dread and alarm by them. 'Black Monday' was long observed as a day of mourning in memory of the citizens who were slain at the very gates of the city by a sudden attack of these bold mountaineers;¹ and when Lord Grey, with the choicest English troops, led on by their most famous captains, strove to assail them in the defiles of Wicklow, he and his army were utterly defeated and all but annihilated.²

To learn what manner of man Fiach was, we need but to go to the writings of his contemporaries, remembering, however, that they are the dicta of his enemies. A biographer of Perrott styles him 'the great fire-brand of the mountains between Wexford and Dublin';³ and Carew says 'he was the very gall of Ireland, and the flame whence all other rebels took their light.'⁴ Even Spenser⁵ forgets 'his fine frenzy,' and descends to the vilest language when he has occasion to speak of Fiach's misdeeds. 'Being himself of so mean condition, he hath through his own hardiness lifted himself up to that height that he dare now front princes and make terms with great potentates; the which as it is to him honourable, so it is to them most disgraceful to be bearded by such a base varlet, that being but of late grown out of the dunghill, beginneth now to overcrow so high mountains, and make himself the great protector of all outlaws and rebels that will repair unto him.'⁶

To him they directed their flight, sure of protection if they could but reach his strong castle. Our author gives in detail the hardships they underwent in their journey over the mountains. All that night and the following day they continued their flight. When the next night came on, though but a few miles from Glenmalure, they were so worn out with hunger and fatigue that they could go no further. They took shelter in a cave, and sent on their guide to tell Fiach of their wretched condition. A good part of the second day passed and yet no help came to them. They

¹ *Mountaineers*.—See Hanmer's *Chronicle of Ireland*, p. 370; Dublin, 1809, Cox, *Hib. Anglic.*, i. 49.

² *Annihilated*.—See *Annals F. M.*, v. 1737, and O'Sullivan's *Hist. Cath.*, p. 112.

³ *Dublin*.—*Life of Perrott*, p. 14; London, 1626.

⁴ *Light*.—*C. C. MSS.*, iii. 44.

⁵ *Spenser*.—*A View of the State of Ireland*, p. 178; Dublin, 1763.

⁶ *Unto him*.—On May 18th, 1597, he was betrayed by a relative, at the instigation of

the Lord Deputy. 'His body was brought to Dublin, to the great comfort and joy of all that province.' *C. C. MSS.*, iii. 258. Gilbert, in his *History of the Confederation and War in Ireland*, ii. 167; Dublin, 1882, gives an account of the manner in which Fiach's son was robbed of his lands, 'a case,' says Carte, 'containing such a scene of iniquity and cruelty that, considered in all its circumstances, is scarce to be paralleled in the history of any age or country.' *Life of Ormond*, i. 55; Oxford, 1851.

had taken no food since they had left the castle, and were now utterly exhausted. . . . 'Art,' said Hugh, 'see how the brute beasts feed on grass and leaves. We, too, though endowed with reason, are animals; why should we not support life as they do? We shall soon have food sent us by our friend.' He chewed the leaves and swallowed them. Art would not use them. Meantime Fiach was taking every means in his power to send them assistance, but he had to use caution as every movement and look of his were closely watched. The third night he contrived that aid should reach them.¹ Our author describes at length the state of wretchedness in which the messengers found them. Art died² in consequence of the hardships he had gone through; Hugh Roe bore with him for the rest of his life the tokens of the sufferings he had endured during that journey.

Fitzwilliam, the Lord Deputy, was supposed by some to have connived at, perhaps facilitated, Hugh Roe's second escape. He thought his important services in dealing with the Spaniards, who by the wreck of the Armada were cast on the Irish coast, and his seizure of Monaghan by putting its chief, M'Mahon, to death, entitled him to some special recompense. When he asked for a fitting reward for his labours, he was told that the government of Ireland was a preferment and not a service, and he endeavoured ever afterwards to make whatever profit he could of that office.³ Perrott declared he could have had £2,000 paid him in ready money for the enlarging of Hugh Roe,⁴ an offer that would prove a sore temptation to one as covetous as Fitzwilliam. 'Two of Shane O'Neill's sons were prisoners in Sir William Fitzwilliam's government,' says Fynes Moryson. 'They, together with Philip O'Reilly, a dangerous practitioner, and the eldest son of old O'Donnell, both imprisoned by Sir John Perrott in his government, shortly afterwards escaped out of prison. Neither did the Irish spare to affirm that their escape was wrought by corrupting one Segar, constable of the Castle of Dublin, who, having large offers made to him to permit of the escape of O'Reilly and acquainting the Lord Deputy therewith, was shortly afterwards displaced, and one Maplesdeane, servant to the Lord Deputy, put in his place, in whose time these prisoners escaped.'⁵ Russell, his successor in the office of Deputy, repeats the charge in a letter to Burghley,⁶ dated April, 1595: 'Fitzwilliam discharged the former constable of the Castle, and left his own man in his stead, which urgeth suspicion of great composition in that matter.' Fitzwilliam's answer to the

¹ *Reach them.*—O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, p. 155.

² *Died.*—'The younger of Shane O'Neill's sons, Art O'Neill, for aught that I can learn, is dead.' The Deputy to Burghley, June 2nd, 1592. *C.S.P.I.*, iv. 518.

³ *Office.*—Cox, *Hib. Angl.*, i., 397.

⁴ *Hugh Roe.*—*C.S.P.I.*, iv. 165.

⁵ *Escaped.*—*Rebellion of the Earl of Tyrone*, p. 10; London, 1617. 'All being prisoners of great moment.' *Ibid.*

⁶ *Burghley.*—*Flight of the Earls*, p. 149, n.

accusation was: 'For the escape of the three prisoners, it was within the time of John Maplesdeane's extremity of sickness. The bell tolled for him within a day or two about their breach of prison. Nevertheless, I did forthwith discharge him of the place, and presently commit the chief jailer under him, who had charge twice every twenty-four hours to search their irons, to a dungeon with good store of irons, where yet he remains.'¹ Whether the accusation was well founded, or the reply satisfactory, cannot well be determined now.

O'Donnell's flight caused a flutter not only among the officials at home but even in high places in England. The Queen was highly incensed at what she conceived to be the corrupt conduct of her officials in Ireland. Their crime remained rankling in her mind. In May, 1592, she wrote to Lord Borough, then Lord Deputy, bidding him to take strenuous measures to find out and punish the offenders. 'O'Donnell escaped by the practise of money bestowed on somebody. Call to you the Chancellor,² Chief-Justice Gardiner,³ and the Treasurer,⁴ and inquire who they are that have been touched with it.'⁵ Fitzwilliam, seeing the storm that was impending over his head, wrote to Burghley: 'Upon her Highness's mislike conceived of the mistake, I do humbly beseech you to be a means to her Majesty that it would please her to pardon me the same.'⁶

Statesmen set to work to devise measures for counteracting the stir that might ensue in Ulster on the late escape of the three pledges out of Dublin Castle. 'There is no readier way to cross Hugh O'Donnell,' wrote an adviser of the Government, 'if he shall attempt any alteration in Tyrconnell, than for the Lord Deputy to send presently into that country from the State a sheriff for her Majesty, and he to have instructions to countenance Hugh Duff⁷ MacDonnell and Sir Hugh O'Donnell's eldest son by his first wife, for these are the opposite faction against O'Donnell's wife and her children, being Scottish. Hugh Duff is a man of action, and the other strong in the opinion of the country because he is the eldest son and by an Irishwoman.'⁸ O'Clery says this Hugh aspired to the chieftaincy of Tyrconnell, and he was well fitted for such a position, for in bravery he was equal to Lughaidh Lamhfadha and Cuchullin, the foremost of the Gadelian heroes.⁹

¹ *Remains*.—The Lord Deputy to Burghley, January 2nd, 1592. *C.S.P.I.*, iv. 518.

² *The Chancellor*.—Adam Loftus. See O'Flanagan's *Lives of the Lord Chancellors of Ireland*, i. 263; London, 1870. An account of his ecclesiastical career will be found in Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 62; Dublin, 1864.

³ *Gardiner*.—He was Chief Justice of the King's Bench. Ware's *Antiquities*, ii. 110; Dublin, 1764.

⁴ *Treasurer*.—Sir Henry Wallop.

⁵ *With it*.—*C.C. MSS.*, iv. 219; London, 1885.

⁶ *The Same*.—*C.S.P.I.*, iv. 519. The date is June 2nd, 1592.

⁷ *Hugh Duff*.—He is spoken of by the author, ad ann. 1592.

⁸ *Irishwoman*.—*Ibid.*, p. 457. The date is January, 1592. Neither O'Clery nor the Four Masters give her name.

⁹ *Heroes*.—See ad ann. 1592, *postea*.

One of Hugh Roe's first acts on his return to his home at Ballyshannon was to gather together his people in arms and at their head to go to Donegal and drive out the English who had taken possession of the monastery,¹ and were using it as a stronghold from whence to issue at will and ravage the whole territory. The religious houses of Tyrconnell and of Tyrone had been granted to the King by the Irish Parliament in 1538, yet the Commissioners appointed to reduce them into charge did not proceed (for excellent reasons) to hold their usual inquest on their possessions, to inventory their chapel ornaments, or expel their peaceful inhabitants.² Even so late as 1592 Myler Magrath complained³ that in Ulster and in Connaught, and even within the Pale itself, 'divers friaries of divers sorts remained and were standing,' and he set down the number of monasteries in their possession in Ulster alone as sixteen. On his arrival there he summoned the garrison to depart in all haste and not profane further the church; they might go away by whatever road they pleased, but they should not take with them any of the cattle or other property which they had seized. And though they had been reinforced by a body of two hundred men, sent there from Connaught by order of the English of Dublin, 'when news came to them that O'Donnell had reached Donegal in safety, quaking fear and great terror seized on them. They resolved to leave the country, and they went away as they were ordered to do, glad to go away alive, and returned to Connaught whence they had come.' 'Hugh O'Donnell is returned to his own country,' wrote Chief Justice Gardiner to Lord Burghley, 'and has freed the pledges of that country out of the Abbey of Donegal, and has expelled Captain Willis and the Sheriff with his band of 100 soldiers.'⁴

His father was at this time advanced in years, and 'old age lay heavy on him'; dissensions too had arisen among his own people, and they were not obedient to their prince as they should be, for he was not able to unite his people and to secure their hostages and pledges.⁵ In the face of these domestic difficulties and of the dangers arising from the attempts of the English, he wisely resolved to resign his authority to one more vigorous. The nobles and leaders in battle, all the chiefs of districts under his sway, took counsel together and agreed to his proposal without a

¹ *Monastery*.—It is on the water's edge, close to the town. Here *The Annals of the Four Masters* were written, and several other works on Irish history. A great part of the church and of the monastic buildings is still standing.

² *Inhabitants*.—'The abbeys and religious houses of Tyrone and Tyrconnell were never surveyed nor reduced into charge,

but were continually possessed by the religious persons till his Majesty that now reigns (James I.) came to the crown.' Davis, *A Discovery*, &c., p. 253.

³ *Complained*.—'The State of Ireland,' *C.S.P.I.*, iv. 500.

⁴ *Soldiers*.—The date of this letter is February 27th. 1592. *Ibid.*, p. 462.

⁵ *Pledges*.—See ad ann. 1591, postea.

dissenting voice. The young chief was duly inaugurated, and thenceforth he was the ruler of Tyrconnell.

The inauguration¹ was in part civil, in part religious. The civil ceremony took place on the rock of Kilmacrenan, a mile to the west of the village of this name; the religious, in the church of the monastery close by the village, 'the clergy of the church praying to the Lord on his behalf, and singing psalms and hymns in honour of Christ and Columb for the success of his sovereignty, as was the custom.' Of the details of the ceremony there is no authentic account. Spenser's description of it is correct as far as it goes: 'They use to place him that shall be their captain upon a stone always reserved for that purpose, and placed commonly on a hill, in some of which I have seen engraven a foot, which they say was the measure of their first captain's foot; whereon he standing receives an oath to preserve all the ancient former customs of the country inviolable, and to deliver the succession peaceably to his Tanist, and then he hath a wand delivered to him by some one whose proper office that is. After which, descending from the stone, he turneth himself round thrice forward and thrice backward. The Tanist setteth but one foot on the stone, and receives the like oath that the captain did.'² O'Ferghil,³ the comarba or hereditary warden of Kilmacrenan,⁴ performed the religious ceremony of the inauguration of the O'Donnell. O'Gallagher was his marshal; and the ollamh who presented to him the book containing the laws and customs in accordance with which he should govern, and handed him the straight white wand, emblem at once of his power and of the unblemished rectitude demanded of him, was surely an O'Clery. The description of the disgusting practices which Giraldus Cambrensis⁵ says took place at the inauguration of the chiefs of the O'Donnells, Keating declares to be a fiction compounded of ignorance and malice, and directly opposed to the testimony of Irish antiquaries.⁶

O'Donnell's first 'feat of arms,' our author tells us, was to make an incursion into the territory of Turlough Luineach⁷ O'Neill. This chieftain, then the O'Neill, was an enemy of the Cinel Conaill; he had laid waste their territory during Hugh Roe's imprisonment, at a time too when the

¹ *Inauguration*.—See *Tribes, &c., of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 426, and White's *Apologia pro Hibernia*, p. 97; Dublin, 1849.

² *Did.*—*View of Ireland*, p. 11.

³ *O'Ferghil*.—See p. xxviii. *antea*.

⁴ *Kilmacrenan*.—See p. xxii. O'Donovan says the Inauguration Stone was in the church so late as fifty years ago.—*Ordnance Survey Letters*, Co. Donegal, p. 101. The places and churches connected with St. Columbkille's early life, Gartan, Temple Douglas, Ramochus, are all in the neigh-

bourhood. See Colgan's *Trias Thaum.*, p. 393.

⁵ *Giraldus Cambrensis*.—*Topographia Hibernie*, d. 3, c. 25; v. 169; London, 1867.

⁶ *Antiquaries*.—Preface to *H. of Ireland*, xix.

⁷ *Luineach*.—So called from his fosterer, O'Luinigh of Muintir Luinigh, Co. Tyrone. He was inaugurated The O'Neill after the death of Shane, in 1567, and continued to the end of his life the adherent of the English. *Annals F. M.*, v. 1623.

head of this clan was so feeble, owing to age, that he could not take the field against his foes. Besides, he was the friend and supporter of the English. There was a time when he too was 'the principal maintainer of rebellion'¹ in Ulster, for they had striven to rob him and his people of their lands. But in 1572 he had made his submission, abandoning all territorial claims, and undertaking to serve the Queen against all persons on whom she should make war, and to deliver up his sons as pledges for the due performance of his promise. In return he was to receive a grant of all the lands from Lough Foyle to the Blackwater,² and from the Bann to Maguire's country. He was now old and feeble, unable to unite his people or keep his enemies in check; and he was satisfied with what was little better than a mere empty title. Besides, he was face to face with a rival of no ordinary kind, Hugh O'Neill.³

Hugh was the son of Ferdoragh, son of Conn Bacagh, son of Conn O'Neill, and consequently nephew of the famous Shane, than whom none was more hated and feared by the English of his time.⁴ In 1542 Hugh's grandfather, Conn, had been created Earl of Tyrone for life. The title after his death was to descend to his son Matthew,⁵ *alias* Ferdoragh, and his heirs male. Matthew during his father's lifetime was the Baron of Dungannon, a title to be borne in future by the heirs apparent of the Earl. He was slain in 1558 by his elder brother Shane, 'because he was appointed to the dignity of his father if his father should die before him.'⁶ Shane himself was slain nine years after by the MacDonnells, whose father he had killed. Hugh, Matthew's eldest son, was brought up by the English after their fashion. He passed some time at the Court, and was employed in the army. He petitioned the Parliament held in Dublin in 1585 that in virtue of the letters patent granted to his ancestors, he might have the place and title of Earl of Tyrone, and be admitted to the inheritance heretofore annexed to the earldom. The Parliament gave him the title, leaving the disposal of the possessions attached thereto to the good pleasure of her Majesty. Two years later Elizabeth granted to him by letters patent the earldom and the inheritance annexed to it, without any reservation of

¹ *Rebellion*.—C.C. MSS., i. 461.

² *Blackwater*.—This river, sometimes called the Ulster Blackwater, to distinguish it from several others of the same name, rises near Fivemiletown, in the barony of Clogher, Co. Tyrone. For a good part of its course it forms the boundary between this county and those of Monaghan and Armagh. It falls into the south-western corner of Lough Neagh, nine miles east of Dungannon.

³ *Hugh O'Neill*.—See *The Life and Times*

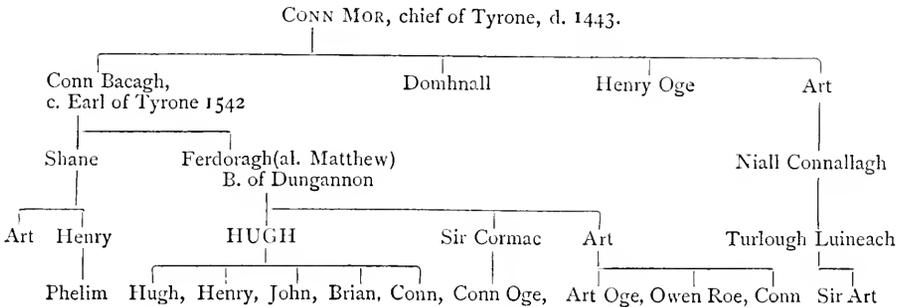
of Hugh O'Neill, by John Mitchel; Dublin, 1846.

⁴ *Time*.—See Richey's *Lectures on Irish History*, 2nd Series, p. 273; London, 1870.

⁵ *Matthew*.—Shane, to obtain the earldom for himself, asserted that Matthew was not the legitimate son of Conn. This statement had often been repeated. Yet the Parliament of 1588 decided that Hugh, Matthew's son, was the true heir to the earldom. See *The Ulster J. of Archæol.*, vi. 57.

⁶ *Before him*.—*Annals F. M.*, v. 1563.

rent. But it was provided that he should allow a fort to be built on the Blackwater; moreover, he should claim no right of chieftainry over the former vassals of the O'Neill, Turlough Luineach being still chief of the name; and the sons of the late Shane O'Neill should be set free and provided with a sufficiency. Throughout this work he is styled the Earl. But Hugh O'Neill was not satisfied with a barren title. He would get back the honours¹ and power of the O'Neill. Yet, for the present, he was outwardly submissive to the English, though at heart their enemy, and willing, when a suitable occasion should offer, to rise in arms against them. O'Neill was in truth a dangerous enemy. Moryson describes him in the following terms: 'He was of mean stature but a strong body, able to endure labours, watching, and hard fare, being withal industrious and active, valiant, affable, and apt to manage great affairs, and of a high, dissembling, subtle, and profound wit.'² So, too, Camden: 'His industry was very great, his soul large and fit for the weightiest business. He had much knowledge in military affairs, and a profound dissembling heart, so as many deemed him born either for the good or ill of his country.'³ The following table will show the exact degree of relationship⁴ that existed between the several members of the O'Neill family whose names occur throughout this work:



¹ *Honours*.—The Act of Attainder of Shane O'Neill says: 'The name of O'Neill in the judgment of the uncivil people of this realm (Ireland) doth carry itself so great a sovereignty, as they suppose all the lords and people of Ulster should rather live in servitude to that name than in subjection to the Crown of England.' And Camden: 'The title of O'Neill, in comparison with which the very title of Cæsar is contemptible.'—*History of Elizabeth*, p. 479; Dublin, 1675. 'He (the Earl) would often boast he would

rather be O'Neill of Ulster than King of Spain.'—Cox, *Hib. Angl.*, i. 389. 'O'Neill, a name more in price than to be entitled Cæsar.'—Carew in *C.S.P.I.*, v. 231.

² *Wit*.—*Rebellion of the Earl of Tyrone*, p. 7.

³ *Country*.—*H. of Elizabeth*, p. 446. See also Lombard's *De Regno Hiberniæ Commentarius*, p. 151; Dublin, 1868.

⁴ *Relationship*.—See Appendix to *An Aphorismical Discovery*, edited by J. T. Gilbert, i. 297; Dublin, 1879.

Hugh O'Neill and Hugh Roe O'Donnell were united by the closest family ties. O'Neill was married to Joan,¹ sister of Hugh Roe, and Hugh Roe was betrothed to O'Neill's daughter. On the 5th February, 1589, O'Neill had written to Walsingham that he had 'matched a daughter of his to O'Donnell, who for his father lieth as a pledge in Dublin Castle,' and he adds: 'As I have great care of his well-doing, I would willingly see some proofs of him in his father's time. I humbly beg of you to procure his liberation.'² O'Donnell was declared by foreign practice quite alienated from royalty, and by his marriage with Tyrone's daughter wholly devoted to his faction and service.³

It would seem even that O'Neill wished Hugh O'Donnell to just live then on terms of peace with the English government. Our author speaks of the fear the English had that these two might unite in opposition to the English power. But in truth their object was little more than self-defence. Munster had been laid waste when the Earl of Desmond fell, its inhabitants had been robbed of their lands, and Undertakers were introduced in their stead.⁴ The men of the north saw clearly that the whole strength of the English power would be directed against them now, and they prepared for the contest. Indeed they seem to have been willing to admit the supremacy of the Crown, but they would not submit to the tyranny of the officials. This is the description which one who was himself in the service⁵ of the Queen gives of the hardships which the people endured at the hands of English sheriffs and their followers:

The demands I made for your Majesty were these, that they should receive your Majesty's forces into their countries, and your laws to go current as they did in other places, and some part of their countries to be reserved for your Majesty to dispose unto them who should govern them, and they to charge themselves with that proportion that was fit for them to bear. To those demands they all yielded, so that they might have such gentlemen chosen as they knew would use no treachery nor hard measures towards them, but live upon that which your Majesty would allow; and that they should give of their free consents, and to be no farther charged, and they would be as dutiful as any other county in Ireland now is. . . . The cause they have to stand upon these terms and to seek for better assurance is

¹ *Joan*.—She died in 1590. An account of O'Neill's romantic marriage with Mabel, youngest daughter of Marshal Bagnal, will be found in *C.S.P.I.*, iv. 435, and *The Flight of the Earls*, p. 288. She died in 1596. He married lastly Catherine, daughter of Magennis Lord Iveagh, whom Lombard calls 'a truly accomplished and devout lady.' She survived him. *De Reg. Hib.*, p. 168.

² *Liberation*.—*C.S.P.I.*, iv. 119.

³ *Service*.—Ware's *Antiquities*, p. 16; Dublin, 1705.

⁴ *Stead*.—See Spenser's account of the desolation of Munster at the end of the Desmond war in his *View of Ireland*, p. 158; and for the manner in which the war was carried on in Ulster by Chichester and Mountjoy, and the condition of the province in consequence, see Moran's *A. of Dublin*, p. 123.

⁵ *Service*.—Captain Thomas Lee, in *Desid. Cur. Hib.*, i. 87.

the harsh practises used against others by those who have been placed in authority to protect men for your Majesty's service, which they have greatly abused and used in this sort.

They have drawn unto them by protection three or four hundred of these country péople, under colour to do your Majesty service, and brought them to a place of meeting where your garrison soldiers were appointed to be, who have there most dishonourably put them all to the sword ; and this hath been by the consent and practise of the Lord Deputy for the time being. If this be a good course to draw these savage people to the State, to do your Majesty service, and not rather to enforce them to stand upon their guard, I humbly leave to your Majesty.

There have also been others pardoned by your Majesty who have been held very dangerous men, and after their pardon have lived very dutifully and done your Majesty great service, and many of them have lost their lives therein ; yet, upon small suggestions to the Lord Deputy that they should be spoilers of your Majesty's subjects, notwithstanding their pardon, there have been bonds demanded of them for their appearance at the next Sessions. They, knowing themselves guiltless, have most willingly entered into bonds and appeared, and there (no matter being found to charge them) they have been arraigned only for their being in company with some one of your Highness's servitors at the killing of notorious known traitors, and for that only have been condemned of treason and lost their lives ; and this dishonest practise hath been by the consent of your Deputies.

The reasons why O'Donnell took up arms against the English we learn from the account of an interview that took place in January, 1596, between him and O'Neill on the one side, and certain Commissioners of the Queen on the other.

The Commissioners asked : 'What cause had you, O'Donnell, to enter into rebellion, the rather her Majesty making account that you and all your ancestors had been always loyal.' Unto which he said, he was unjustly long imprisoned. Also, he said, Wyllis, with great strength, sought not only to invade Fermanagh, M'Guyr's country, being his next neighbour, which warned him the like would happen to himself, but also came upon the borders of his own country. Also, he feared the great extortion of Shryves¹ and officers if his country should be under laws, which he found true by experience of other parts.² . . . In the rebellion of the late Earl of Desmond,³ Sir Turlough Luineach, the late O'Neill, sought by bribery to induce O'Donnell to join with him against her Majesty, and take part with the Earl that he might not be banished, which O'Donnell refused to do, though the reward that O'Donnell had for these and many other services was that Sir

¹ *Shryves*.—i.e., Sheriffs. Cox says that after the unjust execution of Hugh Roe MacMahon by order of Fitzwilliam, the Irish loathed sheriffs and the English neighbourhood, as fearing in time they might all follow the fate of MacMahon. *Hib. Anglic.* i. 399.

² *Parts*.—C.C. MSS., iii., 152.

³ *Desmond*.—Earl Gerald, 'ingens rebellibus exemplar,' who after carrying on war against the English for four years, was slain at Gleanageenty, near Castleisland, November 11th, 1583. See *Annals F. M.*, v. 1793.

John Perrott, in the time of his government, sent Captain Boyne with 150 soldiers into Tyrconnell, under colour to help O'Donnell to set the country in good civility; to whom O'Donnell gave divers pledges and four of the best towns for the relief of his forces; but he not only took ransom for the pledges, but sent some of them to Dublin, and also surrendered the same towns to a supposed base son of Callough O'Donnell's named Hugh,¹ the son of the Dean of Galchoule, an utter enemy of O'Donnell. By this indirect dealing Tyrconnell grew then in uproar against O'Donnell, and was utterly wasted.

The said Lord Deputy, desiring to suppress the same O'Donnell, did countenance the said Dean O'Galchouly's son against O'Donnell, and sent his letter of special favour with him to her Majesty, from whom he obtained a yearly pension. By O'Donnell's suppression Tyrconnell was to have been brought into her hands. But this hard course against him was stopped by the death of the said Hugh, the Dean's son.

When the said O'Donnell was ordered to send in his second son as a pledge, he would have performed the same; but before he could be in his country, the Lord Deputy sent one Skipper with a bark, who took the now O'Donnell and brought him to Dublin, where he was committed to the Castle, from which he escaped; but through the vehemency of the weather and his travail at that time, he was forced to cut off both his toes to the second joint, and at his coming to Tyrconnell he found all his followers dispersed, the country ruined, and one Captain Willis beared such sway in the country there as he kept the last O'Donnell with him as a thrall or vassal to be as it were a guide for him in the country.

These and many like courses, together with the base practises daily used against his neighbours in Fermanagh and Connaught, caused O'Donnell to fall into his disloyalty, fearing his own turn would come to be banished.²

The Irish chieftains knew that without foreign aid the forces which they could bring together would be no match for the power of England. Hence they turned to other countries, those especially that were bound to them by the tie of a common religion. Spain was then the great Catholic power; its King, Philip II., was the staunchest supporter³ of the Catholic religion at home and abroad. Some years before the Queen of England complained through the Ambassador of Spain at her Court, that 'having heard that some fugitives and rebels of the kingdom of Ireland had come to Spain and persuaded his Majesty to give them aid, in which purpose they had been helped by some of his Majesty's Council of State, and his Majesty having given them good hope, and ordered that they should be written to, and knowing the ancient friendship of the King

¹ *Hugh*.—See p. xxxvi. antea.

² *Banished*.—*C.C. MSS.*, iii. 152.

³ *Supporter*.—'Philip, King of Spain, the firmest bulwark of the Christian religion and of the Catholic Church, moved with compassion on account of the

calamities that had befallen the church of Ireland, provided and made a most generous provision for the faith of the island almost rooted out, by establishing and endowing seminaries,' &c. O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, p. 295.

for the Queen, and that she had given no cause of offence to his Majesty though entreated to do so by many, and having learned that among them was Thomas Stuckley,¹ a man of evil life and dissolute habits and a traitor, that a fleet was preparing and Julian Romero was captain of the same, she wished to know clearly and plainly the intention and purpose of his Majesty.² In 1578 she repeated the same complaint, and declared that she and her people would be found prepared in self-defence.

A report, often repeated and renewed, has reached our ears, and now each day and by more sure tokens it has reached us, that your Highness, all of a sudden, when we expected nothing of the kind, means to do us a great wrong, to seize on our kingdom of Ireland, to stir up a rebellion there, to help the rebels, and to endeavour to strip us of the kingdom that has come down to us from our ancestors; that your Highness has not only got ready ships and supplies, but appointed Julian Romero and other captains and soldiers to pass over into Ireland. And that your Highness may understand how honestly and sincerely we deal in this matter, we send a nobleman of our household, Henry Cobham, in whom we wish you to put all trust; in the first place, to let you know how unexpected and annoying to us this is, and next, that if your Highness should hear we are preparing forces—for it is not right that we should not be prepared against such a storm—you should know that our sole reason and aim in so doing is to defend ourselves and what belongs to us.³

To this letter the King replied :

As to what your Highness states about the reports and sure proofs that we have treated with the rebels about taking possession of the kingdom of Ireland and stirring up a rebellion there, and bringing together a fleet and supplies, and appointing leaders for this purpose, the matter itself shows what credit is to be attached to these false reports originating in the thoughtlessness or evil designs of some persons; nor need we give any answer on that subject, nor is there any reason for offence or suspicion for what we have done in reference to them, for, as is the habit of kings, we are accustomed to receive in a kindly manner Catholics from other countries coming hither, especially noblemen. . . . Some of our subjects who had rebelled and were flying from the penalty due to their crimes, went to England, and having been aided with ships, supplies, soldiers, and every thing else they needed, overran the seas, plundered the sea-coast, entered English harbours laden with booty, and were received in a friendly way by your Highness's subjects and ministers.⁴

O'Donnell solicited the aid of the Irish in foreign countries, especially

¹ *Stuckley*.—An account of this adventurer's strange career will be found in O'Sullivan's *Hist. Cath.*, p. 113, and in Lombard's *De Hib. Com.*, p. 143.

² *His Majesty*.—Archives at Simancas, 'Inglaterra,' no. 822; the letter bears no date.

³ *To us*.—*Ibid.*, no. 825.

⁴ *Ministers*.—*Ibid.*, no. 826.

those in the armies of foreign princes. To Maurice Fitzgerald,¹ Fitzmaurice,² and the other Irish gentlemen in Spain, he addressed the following letter³ from Donegal, April 8th, 1593 :

You will have heard, my beloved friends, how I found a means of escaping from the prison in which I was, and how after much labour and hardship I reached my own territory. There I found an Englishman, agent of the Queen, and with him many soldiers; all of whom, with the help of God's grace, I slew or drove out in a very short time, and never since have the English returned here, though not for want of will and desire to destroy me and do me all the harm they could. This is why I and the other chiefs who have united with me and are striving to defend ourselves, cannot hold out long against the power of the Crown of England without the aid of his Grace the Catholic⁴ King. Wherefore, by common consent, we have thought it well to send the Archbishop of Tuam,⁵ though his presence is very necessary here, to treat of this matter with his Majesty, and to give you, gentlemen, who are there our letters, that you may all speak to his Majesty and beg of him immediate aid to assist us in fighting and combating for the service of God, and to protect and get back our lands, for it is right that we should be all of one mind, and that we should help each other in this undertaking. This I will do for my part till death, with the aid which I hope for from his Grace and with your presence and help. I will say no more, but pray God may be with you, and enable the Lord Archbishop to return with this favour.

Fitzmaurice addressed a letter to the King in his own name, and on behalf of his companions in arms, asking for aid and beseeching the royal license to take part in any expedition that might be sent for the relief of their country :

SIRE—Maurice Fitzmaurice, heir of the Earl of Desmond, and the other Irish gentlemen in your Majesty's service have received, through the Archbishop of Cashel,⁶ at present at Court, letters from the principal Catholic gentry now united. They write that they are agreed to carry on war against the Queen of England, and they have asked us to implore your Majesty to send them aid in all possible haste.

¹ *Fitzgerald*.—He is called in *C.S.P.I.*, iv. 453, Maurice Fitz John, and is said to be in great credit with the King of Spain in 1592.

² *Fitzmaurice*.—He was probably the grandson of Sir Maurice Dubh, 3rd brother of John, 14th Earl of Desmond. See Archdall's *Peerage*, i. 72.

³ *Letter*.—Archives, Simancas. The original was in Irish; it is not in the Archives. Our translation is from the Spanish version which is there, no. 839.

⁴ *Catholic*.—This title was given to Ferdinand and Isabella after the capture of

Granada from the Moors, and now belongs by right of inheritance to the Spanish Sovereign, as that of Apostolic to the King of Portugal.

⁵ *A. of Tuam*.—James O'Hely, of whom more later.

⁶ *Cashel*.—This must be a mistake, as there was no Archbishop of Cashel from May, 1584, the date of Dermot O'Hurley's martyrdom, to the appointment of David Kearney in 1605. See Renehan's *Collections*, i. 256; Dublin, 1861. The writer refers no doubt to the Archbishop of Tuam, mentioned in the preceding letter.

We know that these Lords are Catholics, and among the strongest and most powerful in Ireland, and uniting thus of their own free will, they risk their lives and estates to serve God and your Majesty. We have thought it right to implore your Majesty, for the love of God, to be pleased to take their needs to heart, and to send the aid you will think fit; and with it to send us to defend and uphold the said undertaking, for we hope, with God's help, your Majesty will be victorious and conquer and hold as your own the kingdom of Ireland, and obtain thereby an entrance into England, for it would be a great pity that these lords should be lost for want of aid, as was the Earl of Desmond,¹ who rose in arms in the same way. We trust in God that your Majesty and the Council will weigh well the advantages that will ensue to Christendom from this enterprise, and since the opportunity is so good, the cause so just and weighty, and the undertaking so easily completed, your Majesty will do what is best for the service of God and of your Majesty; seeing that by so doing the Queen of England will be compelled to withdraw the forces she is accustomed to send to Flanders and France, and cannot employ English on the coast of Spain. This is what we can say and beg of your Majesty, on this subject; we are ready to do whatever your Majesty may command. May our Lord preserve your royal person, as Christendom requires.

In Lisbon, 4th of September, 1593.

DON MAURICIO GERALDINO.²

James O'Hely,³ Archbishop of Tuam, was deputed by the Irish chieftains and bishops to go to Spain and inform the King of their needs. In a letter to the King from Ferrol, bearing the date April 4th, 1593, he informs his Majesty that on his arrival in Ireland he had gone through the country and consulted the nobles, whose fidelity and constancy were undoubted. They declared that they had spent all their substance in trying to appease the English. He had found all the bishops anxious to obtain aid from his Majesty, in order to put an end to these calamities. He asks Diaz to implore his Majesty to send aid. All promised to take up arms and join the forces that would be sent. He encloses a commission given to him by all the Catholic bishops assembled together, who are convinced of his singular wisdom and prudence in advancing the welfare of his country and defending the Catholic faith, and saying that they expect his return soon after Christmas with help.⁴ His petition would seem to have been warmly

¹ *E. of Desmond*.—See p. xlvii. antea.

² *Don M. Geraldino*.—Archives, Simancas, no. 839.

³ *O'Hely*.—He succeeded Nicholas Skerrett, who died in exile, at Lisbon, in 1583. The ship in which he was returning to Ireland, with assurance of support from the King of Spain, foundered in a storm, and all on board were lost. O'Sullivan's *Hist. Cath.*, p. 162.

⁴ *With help*.—Archives, Simancas, no. 839. He was sent to Spain by O'Donnell about the time when he attacked Enniskillen Castle. There is in the Simancas Archives a report by him on the extent of territory under the rule of each of the northern Chiefs, and of the forces which O'Donnell, O'Rourke, Maguire, and others had. O'Sullivan alludes to this. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 162.

supported by some one at the Court, as we learn from the following document presented to the King :

The Archbishop of Tuam in Ireland says that for years past he has been anxious, and has laboured much both in public and in private, to unite and combine in a league and in friendship the Catholics of Ireland, for the purpose of making them take up arms on behalf of the Catholic faith and of your Majesty's service against the English heretics. In this he has been successful, for the most powerful Lords of the Catholic party in the northern part of the kingdom have united and risen against the Queen with great unanimity, and many other Catholics mean to do the like. Wherefore, the said Archbishop, on behalf and in the name of all these, as is evident from the letters which they wrote to your Grace, has come to ask your Grace to help, on such a favourable opportunity as this of making war on the Queen at home, the said Lords and their people ; and the Irish gentlemen who are now serving your Majesty in this kingdom, will give very great help in this undertaking, especially Maurice Fitzmaurice and the Viscount Baltinglas.¹ Wherefore, the said Archbishop humbly beseeches your Grace to order some aid both of men and arms for this purpose, and that they should be given so that he may be able to return with an answer suitable to the good-will and earnestness with which they offer to serve your Majesty. He says it will be of much importance for the success of the confederation if your Majesty will order a friendly letter to be written to the Earl of Tyrone, called O'Neill, that he may enter into the confederation publicly, seeing that he belongs to it already in secret, assuring him that your Majesty's aid will not be wanting.²

Cornelius O'Mulrian,³ bishop of Killaloe, wrote to the King from Lisbon ; the letter bears date September 3rd, 1593 :

SIRE,—By letters from Ireland I have learned that many very powerful gentlemen have risen in the north of Ireland against the Queen of England, as your Majesty has learned from the Archbishop of Tuam, who has come on their behalf to beseech your Majesty to be pleased to send them aid in all haste, as it is evident that these powerful gentlemen, with the others in Ireland, mean to put themselves under your Majesty, and for this they have taken up arms with such spirit and Catholic zeal in defence of the faith, trusting in the aid that will be supplied by your Majesty, and ready to subject the kingdom to you. I beg of you, most mighty King, by the Blood of Jesus, to enter on this task with a lively faith and courageous mind. By sending

¹ *V. Baltinglas*.—James Eustace. He had taken part in the rising of the Leinster Clans at the same time that the Earl of Desmond had risen in the south, and had defeated Lord Grey in the battle of Glenmalur in 1580. See *Annals F. M.*, v. 1737. He fled to Spain when the Earl was defeated. He was attainted, and his property confiscated. He seems to have died in Lisbon about September, 1594.

² *Wanting*.—Archives, Simancas, no. 839.

³ *O'Mulrian*.—He was bishop of Killaloe from 1576 to 1616. Soon after his appointment he was sent to Spain by the Earl of Desmond to ask for aid. He returned to Ireland in 1579 with the expedition under San José. He died at Lisbon. Several of his letters are in the State Paper Office and in the Vatican Archives. See O'Sullivan's *Hist. Cath.*, p. 113.

this force to Ireland your Majesty will acquire everlasting renown and a vast and very fertile kingdom. There you will be at the door of England, and no English will further molest the coast of Spain or oppose your Majesty in Flanders or in France. I trust your Majesty will consider all this. I now conclude, and beg to offer myself to bear a part in this expedition, for the service of God and of your Majesty. May God in his infinite mercy preserve and prosper us, and grant you a long life, as is needed by all the Christian people.

Your servant and chaplain,

CORNELIUS, bishop of Killaloe.

The first¹ of the northern chieftains who made common cause openly with O'Donnell was Hugh Maguire,² lord of Fermanagh.³ He took up arms on account of the manner in which his territory had been ravaged by the Bingham, and when he sent letters to the Lord Deputy and Council demanding restitution and they ordered the Bingham to make amends, these again entered his territory, preyed it, and slew many of the inhabitants. So too, Henshaw,⁴ the seneschal of Monaghan, made incursions, captured and killed men, women, and children. Yet Sir William Fitzwilliam caused no redress to be made. Sir Henry Duke and Sir Edward Herbert, sheriffs of Cavan, did the like. He paid large sums of money as bribes to prevent the charges of sheriffs or other officers; but Captain Willis, with Fuller's band and other companies, was sent to the sheriff, and preyed the country. These hard courses compelled him to entertain forces to expulse the said Willis and his companies; whereupon ensued the proclaiming of himself and his followers and their banishment out of the country.⁵ Moreover, he protested that his disloyalty did not proceed from any conspiracy with any domestic or foreign enemy or of malice towards her Majesty, but through hard usages; yet he craved pardon for himself and his country, and undertook to yield the usual rents and services. He demanded that free liberty of conscience should be given to himself and all the inhabitants of his country, and lastly, that no garrison might be placed in Fermanagh, but that for the government thereof the like course may be taken as shall be for MacMahon's country and other parts of the Irishry.⁶

¹ *The first*.—'Maguire must be gotten, and some example made of him, because he was the first in actual rebellion in Enniskillen.' The English Privy Council to the Lord Deputy, September 12th, 1595. *C.C. MSS.*, iii. 122.

² *Maguire*.—The Sil Uidhir are the Maguires, MacAuleys, MacMahons, and their correlatives. They are descended from Colla da Crioch. See *Annals F. M.*, iii. 476, and vi. 2366, n.

³ *Fermanagh*.—The O'Heneys were its

chiefs up to the beginning of the 14th century. The first of the Maguires who was Chief of Fermanagh, was Donn Carragh, who died in 1302. *Ibid.* *The Annals of Clonmacnoise* speak of his liberality and prowess. Ad ann.

⁴ *Henshaw*.—He got a grant of a portion of the lands of Hugh Roe MacMahon, who was unjustly put to death by Fitzwilliam. Cox, *Hib. Angl.*, i. 399.

⁵ *Country*.—*Ibid.*, i. 402.

⁶ *Irishry*.—*C.C. MSS.*, iii. 155.

Our author describes Maguire's hosting and his encounter with the English under Bingham,¹ near Tulsk, Co. Roscommon. Neither could claim the victory, though Maguire carried off the booty which he had collected. This is Bingham's account of the skirmish :

Upon our first intelligence that the rebels were come in, we sent out twenty principal horsemen to discover them, who falling in amongst all their strength of horsemen unawares were forced to retire, and there we lost a tall gentleman William Clifford and one of the Rullidges, all the morning being so foggy and misty as the like was not this year. The darkness of the weather hindered us much, for if the morning had been clear that we might have discovered still where the footmen had been, we had not left them one horseman to carry the news home. The primate MacGauran² lost his life, a man of more worth in respect of the villainy and combinations which he hath wrought with the ill Irishry than the overthrow of divers hundreds of the other beggars, and so generally is his death lamented as if the same were their utter overthrow. And assuredly, right honourable, he was the only stirrer and the sole combiner of all their mischiefs towards in Ulster, and the primer of MacGuire to come forward in their two journeys, making the Irishry full of belief that they should have the aid this summer of Spaniards, and another champion of the Pope, like Doctor Allen,³ the notable traitor, but God be thanked he has left his dead carcass on the Maugherie,⁴ only the said rebels carried his head away with them that they might universally bemoan him at home.⁵

Rothe says a body of English cavalry flying from the field came on him as he was engaged in administering the sacraments to the wounded, and slew him, through hatred of his sacred calling.⁶ Besides the Primate, MacElan, leader of the Scots, MacCaffrey, chief of his name, Turlough MacCaffrey's two sons, MacThomas, MacTurlough Maguire, son to the lord of Clancally,⁷ James MacTurlough MacPhilip Maguire, Cuconnacht MacHugh, Maguire's son, and Con MacTurlough O'Neil were slain in the

¹ *Bingham*.—He was appointed Governor of Connaught in 1584, having already served some years in Ireland. More of him later. His defence of his conduct will be found in a letter of his of June 24th, 1596. *C.S.P.I.*, v. 538.

² *MacGauran*.—In 1587 he was transferred from Ardagh to Armagh. He came to Ireland a few months before his death, with a commission from the King of Spain, exhorting the Irish to carry on the war, and promising them immediate aid. O'Sullivan's *Hist. Cath.*, p. 158, and Renahan's *Collections*, i. 18.

³ *Doctor Allen*.—Created Cardinal in 1587. He died in Rome in 1594. See a

sketch of his life in Stephens' *Dict. of National Biography*, i. 314; London, 1885.

⁴ *Maugherie*.—See p. xxv. antea.

⁵ *Home*.—Brady's *Episcopal Succession*, ii. 228, Rome, 1876. The date of Bingham's letter is June 28th, 1593. This determines the year of the Primate's death, about which writers have differed hitherto. See Renahan's *Collections*, i. 19.

⁶ *Calling*.—See Rothe's *Analecta de Rebus Catholicorum in Hibernia*, p. 381; Dublin, 1884. O'Sullivan's account is somewhat different. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 158.

⁷ *Clancally*.—Now a barony in the south-east of Roscommon.

fight. Our author says it was by O'Donnell's advice and request that Maguire took up arms. Just three months after the fight several of Bingham's spies brought him word that 'Hugh Roe was at Ballyshannon, and had said to his friends that of necessity he must aid Maguire, for that otherwise himself is the next that shall be prosecuted.'¹

Hugh O'Neill took part in this battle, and fought on the side of the English. On the 11th of October he wrote to the Deputy and Council: 'Yesterday the Marshal² and I with all our companies marched from here towards Belleek,³ where the enemies at a ford thereabouts made show of their forces, and having made some fortification at the further side of that ford, did place themselves there, being by report of some of those of their company that were taken prisoners, between shot and gallowglasses about 900 men, to stop our passage over, whereupon we attempted the ford being very deep and with our horsemen did join jointly with the footmen and charged the enemies and put them to flight, and followed them in chase five miles or more, in which pursuit we slew 340 men and was hurt myself with a dart through the right leg. . . . Were it not for Harry Hoveden's⁴ assistance in rescuing of me, I had been slain.'⁵

The Four Masters say, 'it was not pleasing to the Earl of Tyrone to go on that expedition; however he had so much dread of the English that he was obliged to obey.'⁶

Yet O'Neill did not seem to his masters zealous enough in their cause. Within a few days he received a rebuke from the Deputy and Council 'for lingering the service.'⁷ The Lord Deputy informed Burghley too that the Earl of Tyrone 'had made earnest motion to be gone the day before the conflict with Maguire.' 'The suspicious manner of his horsemen sitting all night on horseback, close to Marshal Bagnal's camp,'⁸ was duly noted by his enemies and reported by them. O'Neill's wound was an answer to these doubts about his fidelity. 'I was greatly grieved,' he wrote to the Chancellor, under the date October 16th, 'at a letter which the Lord Deputy and Council sent me from Ardee, wherein it seemed they had me in suspicion that I did not such service against the enemy as they thought I might have done. . . . Assuring you that if by any means I could light on the enemies before now, I would have ventured myself, no less in

¹ *Prosecuted*.—*C.S.P.I.*, v. 163.

² *Marshal*.—*i.e.*, Sir Henry Bagnal. He succeeded his father as Marshal of the army in 1590. Having got a grant of the Cistercian Abbey of Newry, he settled there. See an account of this family by J. P. Prendergast in *The Kilk. Arch. Journal* for 1860. p. 23.

³ *Belleek*.—A town on the northern bank

of the river Erne, 5 miles W. of Ballyshannon.

⁴ *Hoveden's*.—He was O'Neill's foster-brother.

⁵ *Slain*.—*C.S.P.I.*, v. 166.

⁶ *Obeys*.—*Annals*, vi. 1940.

⁷ *Service*.—*C.S.P.I.*, v. 170.

⁸ *Camp*.—The Lord Deputy to Burghley, Nov. 16th. *Ibid.*, p. 174.

serving against them than in the late service I have done.'¹ He gave as his reason for not shewing more activity, that 'the waters were a stop between him and the enemies.'

Our author when describing the encounter speaks of disadvantages under which the Irish fought in consequence of the inferiority of their arms.² When the combatants were face to face, separated only by the river Erne, the missiles of the English wounded and killed the Irish, whereas those of the Irish did not reach the enemy. In all their wars from the first coming of the English, this was the chief cause of the defeat of the Irish. Fynes Moryson, speaking of the success of the English in the war against O'Neill and O'Donnell, says:—'Lest the disparity of losses often mentioned by me should savour of a partial pen, the reader must know that besides the fortune of the war turned on our side, together with the courage of the rebels abated and our men heartened by successes, we had plenty of powder, and sparing not to shoot at random, might well kill many more of them than they, ill-furnished of powder and commanded to spare it, could kill of ours.'³ From this more than from any want of self-reliance or from fear when meeting the enemy in the field arose their constant desire and effort to secure the friendship of other nations. Cox tells how the Irish became accustomed to the use of the new arms: 'Sir John Perrott, to save charges, armed the Irish in Ulster against the islander Scots, and so taught them the use of arms; and Sir William Fitzwilliams took several Irish into the army, and providently sent others of them into the Low Countries, where they became excellent soldiers, and returned stout rebels.'⁴ One of the chief causes, according to Fynes Moryson, 'why the fire of rebellion increased to a devouring flame, was the entertaining and arming of Irishmen, a point of high oversight begun by Sir John Perrott and increased by Sir William Fitzwilliam, who at the first sending of forces into Fermanagh gave power to certain Irishmen to raise companies, which they did of their own countrymen, so as this ill custom being after continued, it both furnished the enemy with trained men and filled our bands with such false-hearted soldiers as some doubted whether we had not better have enemies than friends.'⁵ One of the charges which Bagnal brought against Hugh O'Neill was, that having six companies at his command in the Queen's pay, he altered and changed the men so often that thereby his countrymen became disciplined soldiers.⁶

¹ *Done.*—*Ibid.*, p. 167. In 'The Causes and Articles wherewith the Earl of Tyrone is grieved,' he says he was 'sore hurt.' *C. C. MSS.*, iii. 88.

² *Arms.*—Giraldus Cambrensis says the Irish in his time used three kinds of arms, short spears, javelins, and battleaxes. They

thought it a disgrace to wear armour.—*Topog. Hib.*, d. iii. c. 10. See also *The Celtic Miscellany*, p. 152; Dublin, 1849.

³ *Of ours.*—*Rebellion, &c.*, p. 115.

⁴ *Stout Rebels.*—*Hib. Angl.*, i. 407.

⁵ *Friends.*—*Rebellion, &c.*, p. 14.

⁶ *Soldiers.*—Cox, *Hib. Angl.*, i. 403.

In the spring of the following year, 1594, the Lord Justice assembled a force to attack Enniskillen, Maguire's stronghold.¹ So sudden was his coming that the garrison had no time to make due preparations for resistance. Yet the assailants could not get the castle into their power until they had bribed the garrison. Having effected their purpose, they left in it thirty men to hold it. O'Donnell had asked some of the Scots to come to his aid, that he might be sure of the success of his attack on the place. But as he thought them slow in coming, he set off with his own people and encamped close to the castle, continuing the siege from June to August. Here is the account which O'Sullivan gives of what followed :²

In consequence of the closeness of the siege, the garrison began to suffer from hunger. MacCran,³ the same who had betrayed the castle and had been left in it by the English, a voracious, hungry beast, was sent out in a boat with five companions, for he knew the country and the roads, to tell the danger in which the castle was ; but being caught by the Catholics, he and his companions were slain. Nevertheless, the English, well aware of the straits in which the garrison was, hastened to send them supplies ; salt meat, cheese, and a large quantity of biscuits were got ready. One thousand men were collected from the several garrisons. The whole force, made up of Irish lately levied, and of English from the garrisons, amounted to 2,500 foot, and 400 horse. Sir Henry Duke, an Englishman, governor of Offaly, was put in command ; and Fool⁴ was the marshal. O'Donnell, informed of their plans, sent word to O'Neill that the Protestants were coming to relieve Enniskillen, that he was determined to prevent them at all hazards, and that he would no longer consider the Earl his friend if he did not give his aid in such a straight. When the Earl got this message, he was sorely perplexed, thinking that O'Donnell had acted rashly in beginning the war so soon, through hope of aid from Spain, and not waiting until the help came ; he saw that the cause of the Catholics was in great danger though he lent his aid ; and even if he did not assist them, he would be suspected by the English, and so would be treated as an enemy by both.

When the Queen's army was drawing near, Cormac O'Neill, the Earl's brother, came to O'Donnell's camp with a hundred horse and three hundred light foot, armed with guns ; it was not known whether he came by the direction of the Earl or of his own accord. Maguire and Cormac set off with a thousand foot from the camp in haste to prevent the enemy from wasting the country, and to harass them, so that they might not be fresh for an encounter with O'Donnell. Meantime Duke halted for the night three miles from a ford⁵ on the Farney river. As soon as it was dark he was suddenly assailed by a discharge of leaden bullets. He sent out his men to repel the attack. The whole night through the firing went on, and

¹ *Stronghold*.—This castle is first mentioned in *The Annals F. M.* under the date 1439.

² *Followed*.—*Hist. Cath.*, p. 165.

³ *MacCran*.—O'Sullivan has here filius scrophæ ; this name is not unusual in the

north. Perhaps he means a play on the name MacSwiny.

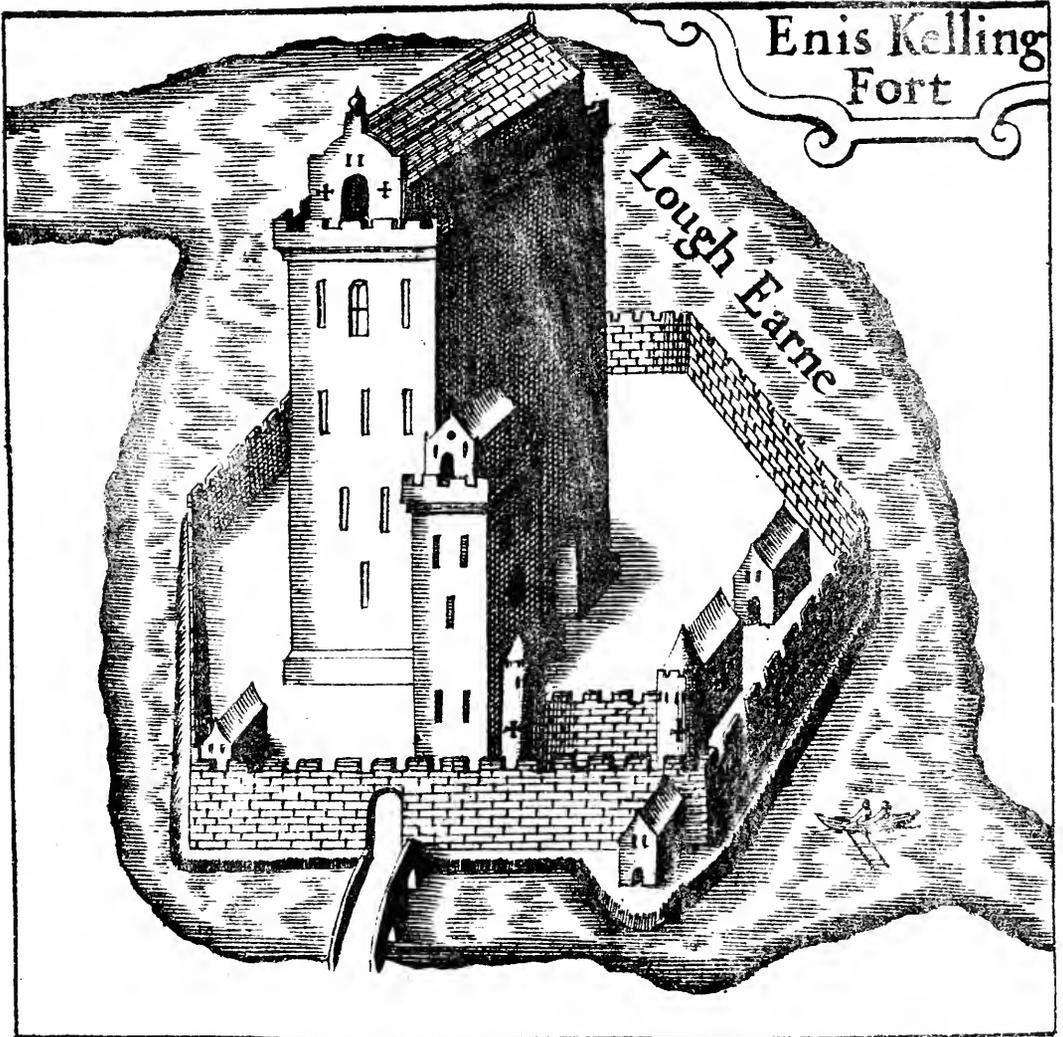
⁴ *Fool*.—*i.e.*, Fuller. See *C.C. MSS.*, iii. 156.

⁵ *Ford*.—Now Dromaine bridge, five miles south of Enniskillen.

so the Queen's forces were deprived of their rest. Early the next morning Duke formed his forces into three bodies, and protected them on the flank by troops of cavalry and musketeers. He divided the beasts of burthen, which were carrying large supplies of provisions, and the camp-followers into two parts, and put one between the two first divisions of the army, the other part between the second and third. The army, wearied in consequence of their want of sleep during the preceding night, was set on from time to time by the Catholics during the march and forced to halt. About eleven o'clock in the day he reached the ford. He bade the horsemen dismount, as the place was ill suited to the movements of cavalry. Here Maguire and Cormac, with their full force of 1,000 men, attacked them, and their sharp-shooters pressed on the first body, while the rear was assailed not only by the musketeers but by the spearsmen. But the enemy's first body made a passage for itself by the sword, and beating the Catholics off both sides, entered the ford. Meantime the Catholics, who were attacking the rear, forced the enemy's sharp-shooters in among the main body, and by a continuous fire caused confusion among them; and as the ranks were broken, the Catholic spearsmen rushed in and drove the first body in among the camp-followers and beasts of burthen. The middle body was engaged in a two-fold task, supporting those in the rear and resisting the Catholics; but these by their onset increased the disorder and drove the middle and rear in among the front lines. The whole army rushed pell-mell into the river, leaving behind the supplies, taking with them only their horses.

Duke asked those around him what he should do. George Oge Bingham recommended him to return and attempt to save the supplies; if not, they would die of hunger, as well as the garrison which they were going to relieve; now they could not help them. Fool the marshal protested loudly against such a course, and besought him to go to the relief of the castle. The place where they halted was very soft, and the horses sunk in the ooze and could not be of any help to them. Hence the Catholics continued their fire with impunity. Wherefore Fool ordered a body of sharp-shooters to advance against them in order to drive them off while the ranks were forming. Immediately after he was pierced by a javelin and slain. The consequence was that the whole army in terror left their horses, broke their ranks, and of themselves returned to the ford which they had crossed shortly before. But the Catholics, some of whom were plundering the supplies, while others were defending the ford, prevented them. Not knowing what to do, they set off for another ford which was near at hand, and crossed it in all haste before the Catholics could come to defend it. They rushed into it in such confusion and terror that one hundred of them were drowned; the rest crossed over on the dead bodies. Few of the Irish followed them across, despising the smallness of their number. Duke and the other officers of his army halting, threw away their arms, and stripped to their shirts; yet this did not help him to escape, for he was seized¹ by four Irish soldiers and dragged away from his own men. The Catholics let the runaways escape, turning their whole thoughts to plundering; for the few that had followed them over the ford returned immediately. For that reason only little more than

¹ *Seized*.—He was not killed, for in 'The Journal of the Lord Deputy Russell,' he is said to have died Feb 8th, 1596. *C.C. MSS.*, iii. 241.



ENNISKILLEN CASTLE IN 1616.

four hundred of the English and of the Irish who were in their service were slain. The horses, a large quantity of arms, the supplies, and the whole of the baggage were captured. When the garrison of the castle heard of the defeat of the army that was coming to them with supplies, they surrendered the place to Maguire, and he gave them pardon and protection.¹

On the 18th of May the Lord Deputy and Privy Council wrote to the English Privy Council :

We received advertisements yesterday that the traitors have taken the castle of Enniskillen, a matter strange to us, considering the ward wanted no munition ; and for victuals, the constable who had charge therein by his last letter assured us that he had sufficient to serve their turns till this month of May ; and besides, where his company assigned him for warders was twenty-five persons, and according to that number he had received his proportion of victuals, it is now certified there were but fourteen or fifteen in all, by which diminution of numbers he might have drawn on the provision of victual to a far longer time. . . . We hear that after the constable and warders were come out of the castle with bag and baggage and promise of life, they were put to the sword by the traitors.²

Sir William Russell was appointed³ Lord Deputy in May, 1594. In the 'Instructions' given to him by the Queen, he was told that 'after he had received the sword he should, in the place of Council, require to be informed of the causes in Ulster, both touching the rebels Maguire, young O'Rourke, and certain of the MacMahons, and the behaviour of O'Donnell, of the Earl of Tyrone's proceedings since last he was at Dundalk with the Commissioners, and what opinion they had of his disposition to behave himself like a loyal subject, and to serve the Queen by subduing Maguire and the other rebels and containing O'Donnell in his duty. . . . She did not hear of any public disturbance in any other part of the realm than Ulster, which should be taken in and without delay.'⁴

Russell refused to take over the office from his predecessor Fitzwilliam until he should get in writing from the Council an account of the condition of the kingdom.⁵ In 'A Summary Collection of the State of Ireland, delivered to him by the Lord Deputy on his coming to Ireland,' he was told that 'all the rebels in Fermanagh and Monaghan had been aided and countenanced by O'Donnell in person and the principal forces of Tirconnell, who were combined with the rebels and had openly shown themselves with them at the siege of Enniskillen and the preying of Monaghan.'⁶

¹ *Protection*.—*Annals F. M.*, vi. 1952.

² *Traitors*.—*C.C. MSS.*, iii. 72.

³ *Appointed*.—He landed at Howth, July 31st, and was sworn August 11th. Cox, *Hib. Angl.*, i. 403. In his 'Journals' he has

left us a detailed account of the system of government then in use. *C.C. MSS.*, iii.

⁴ *Delay*.—*Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁵ *Kingdom*.—Cox, *Hib. Angl.*, i. 403.

⁶ *Monaghan*.—*C.C. MSS.*, iii. 92.

Our author describes at some length two hostings made by O'Donnell in the beginning of the year 1595 into Connaught; they were undertaken to punish Bingham for the cruelties which he had practised towards the people of Enniskillen after the castle had been betrayed to him, throwing men, women, and children over the bridge into the river below.¹ The nobles of that province, too, who had been driven from their lands came to him and besought him to aid them and restore them to their homes. 'It was easy to tempt him, owing to the resentment he felt against the English.' These had possession of all the strong places in the province.

His first hosting was in early spring. He went to Ballyshannon, along the borders of Breffny, by Moylurg, to Croghan, which he had chosen as the place which he would attack and waste. 'He gathered such a spoil there as no one of the race of the Gadelians had ever before brought together.' Bingham, hearing of his approach, assembled a body of men from the different strongholds, and lay in wait for him, thinking he would return home by the same road as he had come. But he crossed the Shannon at Killtreenan,² and made his way back by Conmaicne Reim, and reached Donegal 'with great treasures and much joy.' In this hosting he spared no one over fifteen years old who could not speak the Irish language. The consequence was that many of the English colonists were slain, and most of the survivors fled the country, and there was not left there one Englishman except those who were shut up in castles and other strong places.³ In a second hosting, early in summer, he went again southwards, through Conmaicne Reim to Annaly,⁴ where he took O'Farrell's castle and seized its constable Brown, returning with immense spoils of every kind.

O'Neill had now openly taken sides with O'Donnell against the English. The reason which he put forward for casting aside his allegiance to the Queen was the ill-treatment which he continued to receive at the hands of Bagnal and the unwillingness of the Lord Deputy and Council to afford him protection or redress. The State Papers contain these grievances⁵ in detail. They are :

1. The Marshal having bribed the Deputy with many bribes of plate and great sums of money, wrested from the inhabitants under his rule, did, in June of the

¹ *River below*.—O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, p. 160.

² *Killtreenan*.—O'Donovan says he could not find any church of this name in Leitrim. *Annals F. M.*, iv. 1198.

³ *Strong places*.—O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, p. 168.

⁴ *Annaly*.—Anghaile, the great-grandfather of Fergal, whence O'Ferrall. This was the name of the tribe of the O'Farrells ;

their territory was conterminous with the present Co. Longford.

⁵ *Grievances*—*C. C. MSS.*, iii. 81. See also O'Sullivan's *Hist. Cath.*, p. 164, and *Desid. Cur. Hib.*, ii. 91. O'Sullivan says O'Neill offered to meet unarmed Bagnal fully armed, because it would be no honour to him to overthrow a man ever held to be of most cowardly behaviour if he met him on equal terms.

preceding year, by false accusations of treason, seek the Earl's life, and produce base men to prove the same when the Lord Deputy and Council were at Dundalk. 2. When the Earl brought into subjection Clandeboy, Kilultagh, Kilwarlyn, Mac Cartan's, O'Hanlon's, and MacMahon's countries, such as appertained to the Earl bearing rule in any of these places were removed, and base and servile fellows of the Marshal's faction put in their rooms. 3. All gentlemen bearing affection to the Earl are put from any place of credit or government, and those that have served under them, either as officers, soldiers, or servants, are preferred before them; so that all the Earl's followers and tenants do so much loathe and hate these parties as they will never trust them or come at them. 4. The Lord Deputy and the Marshal are knit together against the Earl, and do seek, and have sought, his life. They are greatly befriended at Court, while the Earl himself, since the death of the Earl of Leicester, the late Lord Chancellor Hatton, Sir Francis Walsingham, and others of his friends in England, is destitute of friends. Therefore, although for the confidence he has in the Lord Chancellor, and Sir Robert Gardiner, and also in Sir Anthony St. Leger¹ he is come to them, nevertheless he will use the best means he can for preserving his life, and will not trust those that seek his death by such indirect means; yet he will be true and faithful to her Highness. 5. The Marshal, unknown to her Majesty and the Council of England, has procured a Commission to end and determine all causes in Ulster, and appointed a Chief Sergeant to execute all his orders. The Earl is not well pleased that the Marshal should bear that sway over him. Finally, for as much as neither the Earl himself, nor any of the inhabitants of this country, can abide or digest the said malicious practises against him, in so much as the chiefest in his country were ready to tear him for his coming in to your Honours, he humbly prays that it would please her Highness to remove those base, covetous, and cowardly persons, that only seek his overthrow.²

Bagnal's answer to these charges was the preferring of new informations³ against the Earl a few months later.

1. That one sent⁴ from the Bishop of Rome to take upon him the primacy of the realm, being accompanied by Maguire and sundry of the Earl's men, foster-brothers, and household servants, invaded Connaught last year, where having spoiled divers of her Majesty's subjects in that province and slain of her soldiers, yet the Earl had ever since entertained those persons. 2. After he had undertaken to serve against Maguire he had a meeting with him and O'Donnell upon a mountain in the night, where they three did conclude how the war should be prosecuted. 3. When pretending to invade Maguire, he preyed Connor Roe,⁵ the only service-

¹ *St. Leger*.—He was Master of the Rolls, and one of the Commissioners appointed to distribute among the English Undertakers the lands in south and west Munster escheated to the Crown after the defeat of Gerald, Earl of Desmond.

² *Overthrow*.—These Articles were presented to the Privy Council, Mar. 14th, 1594.

³ *Informations*.—*C.C. MSS.*, iii. 97. The date is August 17th, 1594.

⁴ *Sent*.—The allusion is to Edmund MacGauran. See p. liv., *antea*.

⁵ *Connor Roe*.—An account of his territory will be found in Hardiman's edition of O'Flaherty's *Iar Connaught*, pp. 134-139, and 352-358; Dublin, 1846.

able man to her Majesty in that country. 4. Maguire and other principal traitors had been divers times with the Earl since they were proclaimed; he harboured their goods and yielded them relief and countenance, making his country a receptacle for their spoils and furnishing them with forces. 5. When Maguire invaded Fermanagh and Breffney, he was accompanied with the force of Tyrone under the Earl's brother Cormock, together with his foster-brothers and household servants, who slew some of her Majesty's soldiers and conveyed the preys taken there into Tyrone. Yet the Earl ever since entertained those parties. 6. Many of the traitors from Connaught were lately in his company, and by him relieved. 7. His son and his chief officers, together with all the forces of Tyrone, were in company with O'Donnell and Maguire when they invaded Monaghan and wasted it.

Bagnal's greatest grievance was that O'Neill had married his sister Mabel:

Having procured the good-liking of the girl, he (O'Neill) took advantage of her years, and caused her to steal away with one William Warren, at whose house the Bishop of Meath stood in readiness and married them. . . . I can but accuse myself and fortune, that my blood which in my father and myself has often been shed in repressing this rebellious race should now be mingled with so traitorous a stock.¹

The Queen attributed all the troubles to the neglect of the Lord Deputy and Council in their dealings with O'Neill. 'We can no longer forbear,' she writes under the date October, 1594, 'to let you know what great mischief the remiss and weak proceedings of late have wrought in that kingdom. We do not impute it to you our Deputy, who are but lately come to the helm, but to you our Council. . . . It is gross to find that such a man, so laid open to you all and made so suspicious by his own actions, hath been suffered to grow to this head. . . . When voluntarily he came to you the Deputy, it was overruled by you the Council to dismiss him, though dangerous accusations were offered against him. This was as foul an oversight as was ever committed in that kingdom. . . . Command him, without any respite or excuse of business or sickness, to make his present repair to you, to answer wherein he is justly charged, and to submit to our estate there; which if he do not, we are determined to proclaim him a traitor.'²

In the beginning of the following year the fort of the Blackwater, which afforded a ready passage from Louth into Tyrone, was captured by some of O'Neill's troops; they were commanded by his brother Art, for he had not yet taken the field openly against the English. We have an official account³ of the capture from Henry Marshe, one of the warders of the fort when it was taken, dated Newry, July 20th, 1595.

¹ *Stock*.—*C.S.P.I.*, v. 409. See p. xlvi., ante, and *Flight of the Earls*, pp. 6, 287.

² *Traitor*.—*C.C. MSS.*, iii. 100.

³ *Account*.—*C.S.P.I.*, v. 298.

About eight o'clock in the morning some forty or fifty of the Earl of Tyrone's men came from Armagh, with two prisoners bound with them, and marched through the town of Blackwater with their matches alight and bullets in their mouths, until they came to the stone castle. When they came between both the gates they did shut themselves within and hotly assaulted the door of the castle, thinking to have entered it on the sudden, only myself and four more being within to defend the said castle, whereof two of us at that assault were sore wounded. We galled and killed to the number of thirteen of them. They continued that assault about a quarter of an hour; then myself, with three of the company that was with me, came down out of the castle and put them from between the gates with our swords; then they all, with a great number more of the rebels, lay round about the wooden castle, assaulting it both within the fort and without. Then about two o'clock in the afternoon Edward Cornwall sent his wife unto me, to desire me for the Passion of God to yield the castle to Art MacBaron,¹ and he and the seneschal O'Hagan would send us safe to the Newry with bag and baggage, and give us garrons to carry our carriages. Then I answered her I would never yield the castle to them as long as I did live, for that I had within the castle both munition and victuals enough for that company that was there for a quarter of a year. Then she urged me further to yield, alleging that unless I did yield, it would be the loss of all our lives and all the others who were in the wooden castle. Then I told her I would not deliver it before the morning. Then she desired me again, for the Passion of God, to deliver it presently, or else they would set the wooden castle on fire and burn all who were within it. After his wife could not prevail with me, he came himself and bade me give up the castle, for that his munition was gone he could not tell how, and as God judge him, it was gone upon the sudden. Whereupon I consented to yield it; but notwithstanding, if I had been as well furnished with men as I was with ammunition and victuals I would not have yielded it.²

In the following May O'Neill took the field openly against the English. Uniting his forces with those of Maguire and MacMahon,³ he made an attempt to capture Monaghan, where a body of English troops had taken possession of the monastery⁴ and fortified it. Sir Henry Bagnal went to

¹ *Art MacBaron*.—A younger brother of Hugh O'Neill, and the father of Owen Roe O'Neill, the leader of the Irish in the war of 1641. See p. xlv. antea.

² *Yielded it*.—Cornwall was put under arrest on suspicion of having betrayed the Blackwater fort. Bagnal to Burghley, March 4th, 1595. The Queen wrote to the Lord Deputy and Council that she expected 'the crime of losing of the Blackwater would be severely punished.' March 10th. See *C.S.P.I.*, v. 298 and 305.

³ *MacMahon*.—Hugh Roe, chief of the clan, had been executed by order of Fitzwil-

liam. 'The Irish say he had hard measure, and instance much foul practise in the prosecution and trial. But however that be, the poor gentleman was hanged, and his country divided between Sir Henry Bagnal, Captain Henslow, and four of the MacMahons, under a yearly rent, each of them giving considerable bribes to the Deputy.' Cox, *Hib. Angl.*, i. 399, and *C. C. MSS.*, iii. 156.

⁴ *Monastery*.—It was founded for the Franciscan Order in 1462 by Phelim MacMahon, lord of Oriel. *Annals F. M.*, iii. 1019. Nothing remains of it now.

their relief. We have a detailed account of the expedition from one of his officers.¹

On Sunday, 24th May, 1595, we marched from the Newry 1,500 foot and 250 horse, to the Eight-Mile church. The enemy appeared upon a hill with 1,500 horse. Our General, Sir Henry Bagenall, commanded all the horse to be drawn up towards them. The enemy retired, thinking to draw us up into their straits of foot, which lay some mile distant; but the General drew back. Next morning, after eight miles' march, the Earl of Tyrone brought all his forces to a straight which we were to pass, and turned off seven or eight companies of foot to skirmish with us. They annoyed us much, the passage being between a bog and a wood. After we had passed the straight the enemy's powder was spent, but their forces increased. We found that Maguire and MacMahon had besieged Monaghan, but they rose as soon as we came. We encamped on a hill close to the Abbey. Our loss was 12 slain and 30 hurt; the enemy's, 100 slain, and many hurt. The same evening the enemy drew up his forces, increased to above 8,000 foot and 1,000 horse, within three-quarters of a mile, and yet did nothing.

Having put victual into Monaghan, and changed the ward, the next day we dislodged and marched back. The enemy stopped all the straights and passages. It was long before we could wind ourselves through one of them, being driven to exceeding many stands. We lost 12 horse; among them was Sir Edward Harbert's brother. Having recovered the champion,² they somewhat withdrew the heat of their skirmish, their munition being very near spent, having consumed almost 14 barrels of powder, as we were informed, for we had ever good intelligence from among themselves. They sent a supply to the Earl's house at Dungannon. Next morning we marched away in some quiet. Thinking we would go to Dundalk, the Earl stopped all the passages, but we marched to the Newrie, where we found all our losses to have been about 31 or 32 slain and 120 hurt, and none hurt of any account except Sir Henry Duke, Captain Cunye, five lieutenants, an ensign, and a sergeant. Of the enemy we hear 300 or 400 were slain and very many hurt. The enemy have broken up the causeway between the Newrie and Dundalk, and plashed³ and made up the same. They lie there expecting our army's coming that way. But having spent all our powder, ten barrels, our General drew to a council, and determined to send away in a small boat by sea to declare what was done and crave a supply of munition, which had, they are ready and desirous to come away if they be commanded. But I think it impossible for them to do it were they as many more as they are, for now the enemy is fourteen or fifteen thousand strong in that place.

There could not be any longer a doubt about O'Neill's intention to make common cause with the other northern chieftains in resisting the English power. On the 28th of June following a proclamation was issued against

¹ *Officers*.—Report of Lieutenant Tucher. *C.C. MSS.*, iii. 109.

² *Champion*.—Champaign, the open country.

³ *Plashed*.—Moryson describes plashing

as the interlacing of low boughs and the casting of bodies of trees across the way, to prevent the enemy's passage. *Rebellion*, p. 20. A great part of the country, now bare was then thickly wooded.

O'Neill¹ and his confederates, declaring them traitors, and bidding all who wished to live peaceably in the Queen's favour to withdraw from them and to make their submission to the Lord Deputy. It begins by enumerating all the favours conferred on the Earl, 1,000 marks yearly, and very large possessions and rule by letters patent.

Aspiring to live like a tyrant over a great number of good subjects in Ulster, he has lately allured O'Donnell, the chieftain of Tyrconnell, by matching with him in marriage, whose father and predecessors have always been loyal, to enter into rebellion; and has in like manner comforted and provoked, with the aid of his brethren and bastards, certain other disobedient subjects, as Maguire, chieftain of Fermanagh, the traitor O'Rourke's son, and sundry of the MacMahons of Monaghan, to invade divers counties in and near the English Pale. In order to become Prince of Ulster, he has also, partly by force, partly by false persuasions, allured and drawn to concur with him in rebellion a great part of the chieftains of Ulster. For these causes her Majesty doth now, upon the preparation of her army, notify to all her good subjects, both English and Irish, the said Earl to be accepted the principal traitor and chief author of this rebellion, and a known practiser with Spain and other her Majesty's enemies; commanding all her subjects that have aided and accompanied him, and yet shall now desire to live peaceably in her favour, to withdraw themselves from him and his complices. And when her army shall enter Ulster, if they come to the Lord Deputy, they shall, upon their submission, have pardon of their lives and lands. If those who were the servants or followers of Turlough Luineach,² her very loyal subject, return from the said Earl to the said Turlough Luineach, and join him in withstanding the said traitors, they also shall have like pardons.³

When sending the order to the Lord Justice to issue the proclamation against O'Neill, the Queen bade him, if he thought he could recover O'Donnell, notwithstanding this proclamation, to entertain him secretly with hope, for that she had 'a disposition to serve him.' His efforts, whatever they may have been, did not avail to create any disunion between him and O'Neill.

¹ *O'Neill*.—In 'A Discourse for Ireland' it is said of Hugh O'Neill: 'His rebellion will be more dangerous and cost the Queen more crowns than any that have foregone him since her Majesty's reign; for educated in our discipline and naturally valiant, he is worthily reputed the best man of war of his nation. Most of his followers are well trained soldiers in using weapons, and he is the greatest man of territory within that kingdom, and absolute commander of the north of Ireland.'—*C.C. MSS.*, iii. 105.

² *Turlough Luineach*.—He died in the beginning of September, 1595. Immediately after Hugh O'Neill had himself inaugurated the O'Neill. 'Old O'Neill is dead, and the traitor Hugh has gone to the stone to receive that name.'—Bagnal to Burghley, September 9th. *C.S.P.I.*, v. 386. The place where the O'Neills were inaugurated was Tullaghoge, eight miles N. of Dungannon. See *Flight of the Earls*, p. 11.

³ *Pardons*.—*C.C. MSS.*, iii. 111.

It was time that the Deputy himself should take the field. Sir John Norris,¹ then President of Munster, who had learned the art of war in the Low Countries, was appointed 'General of her Majesty's Forces in Ulster for suppressing such of the Queen's subjects in that province and its borders as traitorously entered into arms and were in open rebellion.' He had the sole command of the army in Ulster when the Lord Deputy was absent. The force which he had under him now was composed of 2,000 veterans who had served in the wars of the continent, and 1,000 new soldiers.² 'The Journal of the journey of the Lord Deputy against the arch-traitors Tyrone and O'Donnell' describes in detail the movements of the army day by day.

The army set off from Dundalk on the 21st of June, 2,200 foot and 550 horse, Sir Edward York commanding these and Norris the foot. The same day they marched through the pass of the Moyrie, the causeway that had been broken down by the rebels being made passable with caishes³ by pioneers. They encamped two miles beyond it, and remained there till the 24th. From Newry to Armagh in two days; they encamped two miles beyond, and within two miles of the Blackwater. O'Neill, at their approach, set fire to his own town of Dungannon, and razed his castle. Returning to Armagh, they stored up in the church there all their provisions and carriages, and three days afterwards set off for Monaghan, to take supplies to the garrison. This done, the Lord Deputy turned homewards by Newry, the enemy attending on him a great part of the way, and watching for an opportunity of engaging where their light troops could act with some prospect of success. The 18th of July the Lord Deputy returned to Dundalk, and assembling a council of war, he notified to Sir John Norris and the rest, that having performed as much as was enjoined him by her Majesty's letters, he from that time forward rendered absolutely the prosecution of the war to Sir John, according to her Majesty's commission, with determination wholly to attend to the defence of the Pale, while Sir Richard Bingham would attend to Connaught, 1,000 foot and 100 horse being hourly expected out of England.⁴

In the beginning of September of this year, Norris had another encounter with O'Neill. One of Norris's officers gives the following account⁵ of the fight. His letter is dated September 16th:

The 4th of this month Sir John Norris, Lieutenant-General of her Majesty's forces here, being coming from Armagh with her Majesty's army then with him, from the victualling of the garrison there, he was encountered with the traitor, the

¹ *Norris*.—He had served in Ireland under Essex, and carried out the massacre in Rathlin Island the year before. See Hill's *MacDonnells of Antrim*, p. 183.

² *Soldiers*.—Cox, *Hib. Angl.*, i. 406.

³ *Caishes*.—Wicker-work, which, laid on soft places, enabled the troops and the guns to pass over safe.

⁴ *England*.—C.C. MSS., iii. 118.

⁵ *Account*.—Trevelyan Papers, pt. ii., p. 94; Camden Society, 1843. A more detailed account of this fight will be found in the letter which Bagnal wrote to Burghley from Newry, September 9th, in *C.S.P.I.*, v. 384, and in 'Strafford's Declaration,' which is given *Ibid.*, p. 387.

Earl of Tyrone, and the northern rebels in that part of Ulster where the traitorous Earl lyeth. In which conflict Sir John Norris's horse was shot in four times, and himself shot in twice with bullet, viz., once in the arm and the other time in the lower part of the belly, glancing. The charge was upon the rereward, where he, Sir Thomas Norris, and all the brave men, horse and foot, were. The traitors took them upon great advantage by a wood side, suffering the foreward and the battle to pass. The General perceiving his horse thus hurt to faint under him, and being himself hurt as aforesaid, told his brother, Sir Thomas Norris, 'I pray, brother, make this place good if you love me, and I will now unhorse myself and return presently; and I pray charge home.' With that Sir Thomas, with a brave troop of horsemen, one hundred of those that be under the Lord General, charged, in which charge Sir Thomas was shot through the left thigh, and lost about nine of his horsemen and some few horse in that skirmish. We lost in all about thirty, and the traitors there found dead sixty. In the end they fled, and the General kept the field all night. . . . All the province of Ulster is in rebellion, which is more, in my opinion, than the fourth part of the kingdom. Where the General lies there be three that take on them principal government there, viz., the traitorous Earl, Maguire, O'Donnell, and all the rest in that province are adherents of them.

Our author describes at some length the plundering of the church of Rathmullen, and of those dedicated to the B. V. Mary and to St. Columkille on Tory Island, and he tells of the punishment which God inflicted on the the spoiler for his irreverence. The surrender of the castle of Sligo on the death of Bingham was of great importance to O'Donnell in those parts. Sir Richard Bingham was blamed for entering into terms with Burke.

When the castle of Sligo in Connaught was taken, and Captain George Bingham slain by the traitor Bourke, the two Martins, nephews to Sir Richard Bingham, and one of their wives being kept there as their prisoners, were about the 18th of June redeemed by delivery of two of the brothers of the said Bourke and his mother to O'Donnell. O'Donnell came with 300 horse and 500 foot for the mother and the two brothers, whereupon the common intelligence is that O'Donnell had the castle of Sligo presently upon the bringing in of his mother and brothers, for Bourke kept the castle from her Majesty and from O'Donnell also until that was effected, and so he is now with O'Donnell. This was done by Sir Richard Bingham to redeem his nephews without the privity of the Council here, for the Lord Députy was then in his expedition, and we of the Council now present saving one were all of opinion that if the mother and brothers had been kept, he would never have delivered the castle to O'Donnell, and therefore it would have been fit that we should have been made acquainted with it before it was done.¹

In the month of July O'Neill received a letter² of encouragement from the Bishop of Killaloe, then at Lisbon, promising him immediate aid :

¹ *Done.*—*C.S.P.I.*, v. 336.

² *Letter.*—*Ibid.*, p. 341.

In the beginning of March in the past year, the Archbishop of Tuam,¹ Thomas FitzJohn, son of John of Desmond, and Mr. John Lacie, with a certain captain of his Catholic Majesty Philip II., set out from hence to cross over to you in Ireland, whose return we have awaited with the utmost anxiety. But it now appears evident that they are nowhere in existence either there in Ireland or elsewhere, but rather it is thought that they must have been swallowed up in the vast ocean. If they had come back Philip II. would doubtless have sent you help. Now however we have just learned with great satisfaction that you the Earl of Tyrone have openly taken up arms and joined with the other chieftains of Ulster against the Queen, and I have every confidence you will be successful. I have earnestly, but with great caution, persuaded the King to send you a fleet with which to oppose the enemy and subjugate the English government, and that you may free yourself and all your people from the oppressive yoke of the English for ever. Furthermore, I find the King's mind most ready and willing to send you assistance, and that immediately. Wherefore you must manfully and bravely and vigorously resist, without making any peace or treaty with the enemies of the faith, for King Philip has seen these letters and requested me to write to you that you shall be helped immediately, and be assured that I shall be with you very shortly, so that you may crush the enemy and regain your liberty. Resist therefore like a brave nobleman and an uncompromising warrior, and I promise that instant succour shall not be wanting. I would freely unfold to you everything, only I fear my letters might fall into the enemy's hands. The one thing I ask and beg of you is that you will not make peace with the enemy till I come to you.

In the beginning of this year, owing no doubt to the failure of Russell's expedition to the north against the united forces of O'Neill and O'Donnell, the English government again entered into negotiations for a peace. A Cessation had been made at the end of the preceding October with O'Neill; its terms² were that 'no act of hostility or stealth should be committed on her Majesty's subjects, that her garrisons should freely pass with victuals, munition, and other provisions, and with timber and stone for the said garrisons; and that the Earl's cattle should freely feed on the plains. The truce was to last till the first of January following, and for one month longer if the Lord Deputy desired it.' Wallop³ and Gardiner were appointed Commissioners⁴ to treat with O'Neill and O'Donnell, 'to persuade them to accomplish her Majesty's instructions and the Articles which the Earl agreed to in England, and to renounce all superiority and aid of foreign powers, especially from the King of Spain.' The Cessation of arms might be continued till the last day of February.

¹ *A. of Tuam*.—James O'Hely. See p. li., *antea*.

² *Terms*.—*C.C. MSS.*, iii. 126.

³ *Wallop*.—He was Treasurer at war. He got the confiscated lands of the Franciscan

convent of Enniscorthy, which his descendant the Earl of Portsmouth still holds. His grandson was one of the judges who presided at the trial of Charles I.

⁴ *Commissioners*—*Itid.*, p. 132.

The Commissioners left Dublin January 13th, and reached Dundalk two days later. There they received a letter from O'Neill, who was come to Aghnoskye,¹ promising to attend them, and praying that 'the grievances since the last truce made between him and Sir John Norris, the Lord General, might be first cleared on all sides.' The Commissioners answered by letter dated January 15th, that 'they doubted not to accord all matters past,' praying him to meet them at Dundalk; and that they had authority to protect him and all others that came with him. The Earl replied that he could not then give them full satisfaction, for his secretary Henry Hoveden was absent, and others he could not trust to write for him; and that O'Donnell was not yet come.

On the 17th, the Earl announced the arrival of O'Donnell and most of the Irish chieftains, and prayed the Commissioners to come to a place called the Narrow Acre,² while he came to a place adjoining called the Black Staff. This they refused to do, and commanded him to come to Dundalk under her Majesty's protection. The letter was sent by Philip Hore, Sir Henry Wallop's secretary, who was well known to O'Neill. He made answer that he could not come to Dundalk, but would come to any other indifferent place. On the 19th, the Commissioners wrote to the Earl reproving his fears, and requesting him and his associates 'to set down in writing their demands, with such offers as they in duty would make to redeem her Majesty's wonted favour, and thus thought it good, the rather that by knowing the same they should be better able to accept or refuse what might stand best for her Majesty's honour and the quiet of her people.'

On January 20th the Commissioners wrote to the Deputy and Council :

Yesterday by your messenger we received such insolent demands, with no dutiful offer of his and their parts, only copy of them which we have thought meet to send unto your Lordship : 1. That all persons might have free liberty of conscience, 2. That the Earl and all the inhabitants of Tyrone should have pardon and be restored to their blood; and that all the chieftains and others who had taken the Earl's part should have like pardon. 3. That O'Donnell should have pardon for himself and his followers, and all those of Connaught that had taken O'Donnell's part; that O'Donnell should have such right in Connaught as his ancestors had. 4. That Feagh MacHugh be pardoned. 5. That no garrison, sheriff, or other officer shall remain in Tyrconnell, Tyrone, or any of the inhabitants' countries before named, except Newry and Carrickfergus. 6. The Earl, O'Donnell, and the rest (if these requests be granted) will remain dutiful; and after a while, when the great fear which they conceived is lessened, they will draw themselves to a more nearness of loyalty to her Highness.³

¹ *Aghnoskye*.—3 miles N of Dundalk.

² *Narrow Acre*.—This name and The Black Staff are now obsolete.

³ *Highness*.—See 'The Proceedings of Sir H. Wallop and the Earl of Tyrone, *C.C. MSS.*, iii. 132.

The letter of the Commissioners continues :

We assented to meet Tyrone and O'Donnell thus, viz., we would come to some open place in the field by us named one mile from Dundalk, near unto Sir John Bedlow's house, having in our company only the sheriff, Sir Henry Duke, and Garrett Moore,¹ and they to have as many, which should stand within our view, all without weapons except swords during the time of our parley. And so about ten of the clock this present we went forth accompanied as aforesaid, until we did see Tyrone and O'Donnell with about 200 horse and foot coming towards us, whereupon we stayed, sending unto them that their coming was not according to our agreement ; but after many messages on both parts that the former conclusion should stand, and further, that on either part two should be sent to search and view the ways and what weapons either part had, and that their troops should stand one quarter of a mile distant from us, and we to have two horsemen betwixt us and their troops, and the like for them between them and Sir John Bedlow's ; and so we meeting made choice that one of us should parley with the Earl and the other with O'Donnell, because we judged it the best way to deal with them dividedly. After we had laboured to remove their suspicion and to make our coming acceptable, we thought best at first not to make known our Articles, but, orderly as their demands are set down, to require upon what grounds they conceived the same, and to use our best endeavour to lead them by persuasion to desist any further therein, because the grounds by them alleged were in part false, and in the rest by them in duty not to be mentioned, but rather to submit themselves to her Majesty's mercy and to be willing to meet your Lordship and some of the Council at Drogheda, which they should do upon good assurance. . . . At which their coming they should plentifully not only taste of her Majesty's mercies but also receive allowances most fit for themselves and their countries ; but to come thither or in any other town to your Lordship they utterly refused. In this treaty we continued this stormy and windy day about three hours on horseback, because to alight they refused, and in the end we found them to continue very untoward, not much drawn from their former articles of demand, and especially O'Donnell, who was most resolute. After our parley thus apart, we joined again together, and then, after many reasons with persuading courteous speeches, we wished them to better conformity, setting down some hard examples they were like with their whole countries to fall into if they so persevered, but in the end they answered, if we would stay some reasonable time, they would return to their company and give us a resolute answer, which short time of consideration by them demanded gave to us suspicion they would conclude in their former disloyal desires, and thereupon we said it were better for them to return and take longer time of consideration in so great a cause, with some speeches to like effect ; whereupon we agreed to meet at the former place again to-morrow. We also gave them some taste of one of the most easy demands in her Majesty's behalf, partly presuming they would hardly digest the stronger until they were better prepared ; but chiefly because, under your Lordship's reformation, we thought it best, if they shall persevere in

¹ Moore.—His father got a grant of the Cistercian abbey of Mellifont. Sir Garrett was a friend of O'Neill's. *The Flight of the Earls*, pp. 36, 367.

such their undutiful course, rather to take advantage of their said disloyalties and thereupon to insist to their greater condemnation, than to give them cause (although without cause) to judge her Majesty's demands over hard, except your Lordship for any respect by you to be considered by your next shall otherwise direct, which we desire may be with speed, as well because the Cessation now agreed upon doth end with the end of this month, as also because we did let them understand we had authority to prolong the same, of which they seemed not to take any great hold.¹

In reply the Lord Deputy wrote to the Commissioners in reference to these demands :

Their demands are insolent and unreasonable, and most unlikely of either safe or honourable end ; yet have I imparted them unto the Council here, all saving that for their liberty of religion, which I do not think fit should be broached here, lest it soon procure too great a party, being plausible generally to this country men. Endeavour to conclude a prolongation of the Cessation, considering we are not provided for them.²

The second meeting was on the 21st. On the 23rd the Commissioners wrote :

They (O'Neill and O'Donnell) were more fearful of foul dealing than before, and wished to treat by writing, which we refused. As the evening was approaching we perceived their troops were drawn nigher the place than we agreed upon ; O'Neill then sent to say he was ready to parley with us. We sent word the day was too far past, but we would come to the same place the next day, when we met as before, and continued on horseback about two hours. During our parley we found them as men exceeding fearful, continually gazing about, and their spies riding near unto us, and less attentive to our speeches than at first.³

O'Donnell was asked what cause he had to enter into rebellion. He gave as reasons his long and unjust imprisonment, the plundering of Maguire's country, the like of which he feared for his own country.⁴ 'In the conclusion of our parley we required them to set down dividedly all the causes of their grievances, their demands and offers, and thereupon we would answer them as reasonably as we hoped should be to their satisfaction ; according to which they assented. . . . O'Donnell carrieth great rule among them, and Philip O'Reilly is a great councillor.'⁵

As the truce was about to expire at the end of January, it was renewed for a fortnight longer. The chief objection on the part of the Commissioners arose from the demand for liberty of conscience, 'which, besides the dishonour to God, is most dangerous, and being contrary to the laws,

¹ *Hold.*—*C.S.P.I.*, v. 453.

² *For them.*—*C.C. MSS.*, iii. 145.

³ *First.*—*Ibid.*, p. 141.

⁴ *Country.*—O'Donnell's 'Grievances' are given, p. xlvii. antea.

⁵ *Councillor.*—*C.C. MSS.*, iii. 142.

may not be granted.’¹ The hope of coming to terms grew less day by day. It was therefore agreed that the Cessation should continue till April 1st, and still further to May 1st, unless warning was given to the contrary.

O'Donnell asked that he might be allowed ‘to mitigate such points of his demands as were thought unfit,’ before the conference ended. He sent in to the Commissioners the following Petitions, January 27th :

1. He craves pardon for himself and followers.
2. For free liberty of conscience.
3. That all castles, manors, and lands in the county of Sligo may be permitted in the hands of O'Donnell, all which lands he will give Donogh MacCale Oge O'Connor,² upon condition that he yield to O'Donnell such services, rights, and duties as his ancestors have given out of the same to all O'Donnell's predecessors.
4. That no garrisons, wards, or officers whatever be placed in Tyrconnell or Sligo until the fear they have conceived by the hard dealing of such officers shall be somewhat lessened ; but that it will please her Majesty to appoint Commissioners for the ending of all controversies that shall arise, whose orders we shall put in execution.
5. He desires a remittal of all arrearages past, and a year's freedom yet to come, in regard to several great sums that his father paid as well to the Earl of Tyrone and Sir Edward Moore, Knight, as to others sent from the State, to receive the same for her Majesty's use.³

The Commissioners' answer to each of Hugh O'Donnell's demands was as follows :

1. The first her Majesty will grant if O'Donnell will yield to reasonable Articles, and upon his submission ; and it is likely she will let him have the spiritual lands of Tyrconnell.
2. As her Majesty has hitherto tolerated therein, without punishment of any, so in all likelihood she will continue the same.
3. To be left to her consideration, the Commissioners having no power to deal therein.
4. No garrison has ever been placed in Tyrconnell ; neither will be until the fear mentioned be overpast ; but in Sligo, of long time, officers and ward have been placed. Commissioners for Tyrconnell will, as usual, be named indifferently, and O'Donnell may except against them upon just cause.
5. To be referred to her Majesty, who we think will be merciful.⁴

On January 29th the Commissioners wrote to the Lord Deputy and Council :

By our last of the 25th we signified that we had agreed to have another conference with the Earl and O'Donnell. Yesterday as we were going to a further parley, we received yours of the 26th, in which you wished we had at the first

¹ *Granted.*—Letter of the Commissioners to the Lord Deputy, January 25th. ‘Their demand was of free liberty of conscience for all men in the whole kingdom, *Ibid.*, p. 147.

² *O'Connor.*—O'Conor Sligo, of whom more later.

³ *Use.*—*C.C. MSS.*, iii. 153.

⁴ *Merciful.*—*Ibid.*, p. 154.

imparted her Majesty's Articles to them. We reserved her Majesty's Articles until we might compass a new Cessation, fearing they would seem to them too hard and not alterable, being sent from her Majesty, but we imparted all the easiest of them as of ourselves. We have laboured by conferences, letters, messengers, and other devices to draw them first to a Cessation, and thereupon to impart her Majesty's demands and merciful disposition towards them by granting unto them a free pardon. We have obtained with difficulty a Cessation for two months certain, and further for a third month if it please your Lordships.

Perceiving O'Donnell would depart immediately after yesterday's conference, we devised certain Articles and delivered them to him; for in the Articles from England little is said touching O'Donnell. As he greatly disliked them, we advised him to set down by way of postile or cotation his liking or disliking, as he might obtain some change of our demands from the Queen. . . . O'Donnell continues as arrogant and insolent as formerly. The Earl uses terms submiss, but still persists he cannot conclude without the consent of the rest according to his oath. The Earl yesternight did press us for his departure this morning, by want, as he said, of provision; but in the end, at our earnest motion, he said he would stay until Friday, if he might find meat so long to relieve his company.¹

We conceive they will dislike of most or all of our proposals, considering the arrogant insolency of O'Donnell and most of the rest, except the Earl, who giveth mild speeches, but concludeth he will do the liking of the rest, for to that he saith he hath sworn. Had we not considered our weakness and our want of victuals and other necessaries, we would have broken off the treaty rather than endure their insolency; and most likely her Majesty will dislike this prolonging of the Cessation, considering her great expenses, unless you mention these reasons.²

The Articles propounded by the Commissioners³ to O'Donnell were:

1. That upon obtaining pardon he should disperse all his forces and return into their countries all Scottish men of war and other strangers; neither should he hereafter entertain any Scottish men of war without license.
2. Tyrconnell to be made shire ground and to have a sheriff.
3. Restitution for value of the spoils made by him and his followers.
4. He should acknowledge his grievous offence in destroying the castle of Sligo, persuading her Majesty's subjects in Connaught to fall from their obedience, and in making roads and journeys into that province.
5. He shall not assist O'Rourke, Maguire, or others in their disloyalties or receive any disloyal persons.
6. He shall deliver to her Majesty all such munition and artillery as he found in Sligo, Enniskillen, or elsewhere.
7. He shall re-edify the castle of Sligo¹ and such other castles as he defaced in Connaught.
8. He shall pay such rents and duties as his ancestors covenanted to pay, and such further rents and reservations as her Highness shall think reasonable.
9. He shall upon

¹ *Company*.—*Ibid.*, p. 158.

² *Reasons*.—*Ibid.*, p. 159.

³ *Castle of Sligo*.—It was not rebuilt then. Its site is now occupied by the

police barracks on the Old Quay. See O'Rourke's *H. of Sligo*, i. 68 and 188, ii. 291, for some interesting facts in the history of this castle.

oath confess and declare how far he or any by his advice, knowledge, or consent, have proceeded in any request or action with any foreign prince or potentate, and especially with the King of Spain; and he will by like oath and writing under his hand renounce all superiority and aid of foreign princes and chiefly the Spaniard. 10. That he permit Sir John O'Dogherty to enjoy his country and lands according to his letters patent. 11. That he shall cause a gaol to be built. 12. To deliver pledges.¹

O'Donnell's answer to each of the Articles was as follows :

1. He agrees. 2. He standeth to the tenor of the article in his petition now exhibited touching the same. 3. The damage which he has sustained by her Highness's soldiers and subjects surmounts any harm done by him. 4. As he claims Sligo and the county thereof, the loss redounds to himself. He was compelled to do what he did. 5. He agrees. 6. He was not at the spoiling of these places. 7. He is not able, and the loss of Sligo is his own. 8. He will yield to give her Majesty whatever hath been reserved unto her Highness upon Tyrconnell before the time of his father, who haply (through extremity) consented to give more than he was able to perform, which is more than this O'Donnell is acquainted with. 9. That when he receives his pardon he will renounce foreign aid and declare how far he has dealt in matters of that nature. 10. O'Dogherty hath no lands but what O'Donnell doth give him in Tyrconnell, neither hath his predecessors any lands there but such as they held of O'Donnell's ancestors. 11. When he receives a sheriff into Tyrconnell, he will help to build a gaol. 12. He agrees so as the pledges be reasonable.²

The Commissioners announced to the Lord Deputy and Council by letter³ of January 30th, that they had made known to the Earl and O'Donnell her Majesty's Articles, which they feared to do before. 'We advised them to consider of the same and return answer in writing, with the demands and offers, which we said we trusted would be more dutiful and reasonable than before; which on Wednesday last they performed.⁴ O'Donnell's demands did not vary much from the former, and he refused to perform the Articles propounded on her Majesty's behalf. The next morning he departed homeward with MacMahon and the rest, except the Earl, his brother Cormock, and their followers, who intend to depart this evening. The Earl and O'Donnell sent us a letter'; it was dated January 29th :

Forasmuch as we have now exhibited the causes of our griefs in writing unto you as also the causes of the most of the rest in Ulster now in disloyalty, we have thought it very necessary to let you understand (in regard of the oath passed between us and the rest of our faction) that unless Feaughe MacHughe, MacWilliam, Ran MacWilliam, Brian Oge O'Rourke, the sept of the O'Connor Don, and

¹ *Pledges*.—*C.C. MSS.*, iii. 161.

² *Reasonable*.—*Ibid.*, p. 162.

³ *Letter*.—*Ibid.*, p. 165.

⁴ *Performed*.—*Ibid.*

all others in Connaught in action, as also O'Reily and all those of the Breffny, may (for their lives, lands, goods, and followers, in such sort as their ancestors held or enjoyed the same) be received into her Majesty's most gracious pardon upon their several submissions, we cannot or may not be tied, for the reasons before mentioned, to perform anything that is now to be agreed upon saving only the Cessation.¹

Sir Robert Gardiner, one of the Commissioners, was sent by the Deputy to inform the Queen 'particularly of all the proceedings with the said rebels' (Tyrone and O'Donnell). In reply, she wrote to the Lord Deputy and Council :

You have at length in writing described the particular disorders almost in every part of the realm, an advertisement very uncomfortable from you who hath had the authority, otherwise to govern the realm, than, for lack of regard in times convenient, now to present unto us so broken an estate of so great a part of our realm, as to have all Ulster wholly, saving two or three places, and all Connaught, saving as few places, wholly possessed with rebels, and likewise some of the counties next our English Pale in like danger. You propose remedies which rest altogether upon great preparations of forces and treasure, without offering any reformation of the Government there.²

She ordered the Council to prepare an answer to O'Neill, O'Donnell, and each of the chiefs in particular. Sir John Norris and Fenton, the Secretary, were appointed to meet them before the end of the Cessation ; and 'to proceed with them to some final end, either according to their submissions to yield them pardons, with such conditions as were contained in the instructions, or, if they should refuse the reasonable offers therein contained or seek former delays, to leave any further treaty with them.'³ Of the petitioner's demands, she 'found for some part so great cause of mistake as that she was offended with her Commissioners, that would receive or give ear to any such presumptuous and disloyal petitions and answers.'⁴ The following are the Articles she ordered to be proposed to O'Donnell :

As his demand for liberty of conscience has been made by compact between the Earl and him and others of the rebels, her Majesty makes the same answer⁵ to him as is made to the Earl. His request that the castle and lands of Sligo may remain in his hands, and be given over to Donough MacCale Oge O'Connor under such services as O'Connor's ancestors yielded to O'Donnell's ancestors, is strange ; it was

¹ *Cessation*.—*Ibid.*, p. 160.

² *There*.—*Ibid.*, p. 166.

³ *With them*.—*Ibid.*

⁴ *Answers*.—*Ibid.*, p. 167.

⁵ *The same answer*.—In her 'Answer to the rebellious Earl of Tyrone,' she says :

'He may be sharply told that the request for free liberty of conscience was unreasonable and disloyal, it being a request to have liberty to break laws, which her Majesty will never grant to any subject of any degree.'—*Ibid.*

taken out of the Queen's possession by treason and shameful murder, and he alleges a title thereto by a tenure whereof neither O'Connor himself nor any man else has ever heard any report. Neither is it yet known whether this Hugh O'Donnell have any right to be O'Donnell by his father's sufferance during his life, the interest to be O'Donnell after his father's life being due to another. But her Majesty will be pleased that O'Connor may receive the possession of the house and lands; and if there be any good proof made of O'Donnell's claim to be lawful, O'Connor shall yield to O'Donnell such services as are due.

Whereas he requires that no officer or garrison be placed in Tyrconnell or Sligo for a time, she consents so far as regards Tyrconnell; but with regard to Sligo, she will, as she finds cause for the profit of the country, appoint or not appoint officers. There is no reason why he should not yield out of Tyrconnell the like as his father hath done. The rest of his answers to the Commissioners' Articles are allowable. If he will promise dutifully to perform them, her Majesty will grant him pardon upon her own mere grace, without respect of any mediator.¹

O'Donnell seems to have taken no further part in the negotiations for peace. 'Pledges' were demanded from him, to secure his performance of the terms, but these he refused to give in,² perhaps, because the other side gave no similar proofs of their desire to keep their part of the contract; as for their promises, he set little value on them. O'Neill, however, still continued to treat with them. A new commission was issued to Sir John Norris and Sir William Fenton, Secretary of State, 'to make a final end with all the rebels.' He put in pledges and protested loyalty and obedience, but refused to renounce foreign aid on oath.³ Very probably neither of the contracting parties meant to bind himself irrevocably; both were anxious to gain time in order to prepare better for the contest.

We have already mentioned the appeal for help made by the Irish chiefs through their envoy the Archbishop of Tuam to the King of Spain. On the 25th of September, 1595, O'Neill and O'Donnell wrote to him:

Our only hope of re-establishing the Catholic religion rests on your assistance. Now or never our Church must be succoured. By the timidity or negligence of the messengers our former letters have not reached you. We therefore again beseech you to send us 2,000 or 3,000 soldiers with money and arms before the feast⁴ of SS. Philip and James. With such aid we hope to restore the faith of the Church, and to secure you a kingdom.⁵

O'Neill wrote to Don Carolo, the King's son, at the same date:

I have been informed by the bearer of this that you have written to me, but

¹ *Mediator*.—C.C. MSS., iii. 168.

² *To give in*.—*Ibid.*, p. 178.

³ *On oath*.—Cox, *Hib. Angl.*, i. 410. He refused also to apprehend any spiritual

man coming into the country for conscience sake. C.C. MSS., iii. 173.

⁴ *Feast*.—May 1st.

⁵ *Kingdom*.—*Ibid.*, p. 122.

your letter has not yet reached my hands. I was confident that I should not appeal to you for aid in vain. The faith might be re-established in Ireland within one year if the King of Spain would only send 3,000 soldiers. All the heretics would disappear, and no other sovereign would be recognised than the Catholic King. Both I and O'Donnell have besought him to succour the Church. Pray, second our petition. If we obtain positive assurance of succour from the King, we will make no peace with the heretics. We have written frequently, but are afraid none of our letters has reached the King as he has returned us no answer. The bearer, a man of pious zeal, has undertaken this perilous mission.¹

Both wrote to Don Juan del Aguila also, who was destined later to play so important a part in the expedition to Ireland, and to effect its results in a way which the writers did not then foresee. They asked de Aguila, whose fame and good-will they had heard of, to assist the bearer in obtaining aid in the war for the Catholic faith; and, by acceding to this request, the King would re-establish the Catholic religion and acquire a kingdom.²

Early in the following year the King sent an envoy to Ireland, Alonso Cobos.³ He came with three pinnaces, each having on board 60 musketeers. They put in at Killybegs,⁴ and from that port he went to Lifford, where O'Donnell then was. He brought a letter from the King to O'Neill. 'I have been informed,' he wrote, 'that you are defending the Catholic cause against the English. That this is acceptable to God is proved by the signal victories which you have obtained. I hope you will continue to prosper, and you need not doubt but I will render you any assistance you may require. Give credence to Fussius the bearer, and acquaint him with your affairs and your wishes.'⁵ By the same envoy he wrote to Brian O'Rourke, 'the noble and greatly beloved O'Rourke: 'Seeing it is so notable a work to fight for the Catholic faith when the enemies thereof endeavour so mightily to trample the same under foot, I may not doubt but that you who hitherto (as we hear) in the defence of God's cause have laboured so well, will now with might and main give yourself to the same cause. For mine own part, I would be your guide that you would prosecute the same hereafter, lest the obdurate enemies of the true religion damnify it at all, but rather they be repulsed. The which if you perform, you shall do me a most grateful work and always find the same favour wherewith I am wont to grace the true defenders of the Catholic religion.'⁶

¹ *Mission*.—*Ibid.*, p. 122. This letter, as well as that to the King, was intercepted and received from the hands of Piers O'Cullen.—*Ibid.*

² *Kingdom*.—*Ibid.*, p. 123.

³ *Cobos*.—O'Clery and O'Sullivan call him Copis. There is in the Archives, at

Simancas a detailed account of his voyage from Spain to Ireland. He left Santander April 22nd.

⁴ *Killybegs*.—18 miles west of the town of Donegal.

⁵ *Wishes*.—*C.C. MSS.*, p. 141.

⁶ *Religion*.—*C.S.P.I.*, v. 452.

O'Neill and O'Donnell replied¹ to the King as follows :

We have, received most opportunely your Majesty's letters so much wished for, full of clemency and almost fatherly love, shortly after we had been discussing about entering into a treaty with those who represented the person of the Queen of England, on account of the long delay in sending the aid expected from your Majesty, and the sufferings and complaints of our subjects and people worn out by the continuous wars and hardships. The terms were indeed honourable and very favourable, so far as they related to the liberty of the Catholics and the security of our country and friends. We did not however conclude it, though some of our pledges have been placed in the hands of our enemies. But as your letters, mighty King, clearly testify your feelings and kindly disposition, we shall not in future take into reckoning comfort or discomfort, but, supported by the hope of your favour next after God, we will again enter on the conflict and we will gladly renew the war, which has ceased for some time, though the forces of the enemy by sea and land are increasing daily. You, most merciful King, will in the meantime supply us with all that is needed to take the business in hand and to carry on the war, six thousand soldiers and arms for ten thousand. And we consider it most desirable that as soon as this letter reaches you, you would send some quick-sailing light-armed vessels of the fleet with lead, powder, and engines of war, and about a thousand soldiers, in order to increase the courage of our people and lessen that of the enemy. But in as much as we have felt to our great and indescribable harm the evil doings and crimes of those whom the Queen of England is in the habit of sending amongst us, we beg and beseech your Majesty to send some one well known to you and perfectly fit to be the King of this island, for his own welfare, ours, and that of the Christian state, who will not be unwilling to rule over and live amongst us, and to direct and guide our nation well and wisely ; he will obtain much advantage and glory by so-doing, as it is quite certain that we are willing to encounter the risks of war through our great affection and love for you, caring little for the temporal advantages offered to us by the enemy ; and would that your Majesty would appoint the Archduke of Austria, now Governor of Flanders, a famous man and worthy of all praise, than whom none would be more acceptable. Your Highness should know that we have given information about all to your Envoy. This declaration of our sentiments will suffice for all the other noblemen, and he can return to Spain all the sooner. May the great and good God long keep your Majesty safe for the spreading of the Catholic faith in all parts of the world.

Given in Lifford, the 16th day of May, in the year of our salvation, 1596. We wish in fine that your Majesty should give implicit credit to the bearer Alonso Cobos in all that relates to the present business.

Your Majesty's most humble servants,

[L.S.]

HUGH O'NEILL.

[L.S.]

HUGH O'DONNELL.

¹ *Replied*.—Archives, Simancas, no. 839. The original is in Latin. Another was sent May 25th ; it is little more than a repetition of this.

Scripsimus iam Serenissime Princeps, Patri tuo Regi maximo, quam plene per festinan-
tiam licuit que nobis et Patrie necessaria maxime censuimus. Idam indeo negotio im-
ploramus celsitudinem ut expeclationi quam de generosa mente sua concepimus benigne
respondeat, nosq; suorum clientum albo peccatariter adscribat et causa huic tam pie ac
iustissima assensenda scilicet catholica libertatis et vindicanda Patrie a tyrannice
preuitatis iugo clementer suo more suffragetur, siq; Divinae Magestati obsecutus, infi-
nitam animarum multitudinem à tartari faucibus eruens, Christo lucrifaciat, et satha-
nica furoris ministros ac Reipublice Christiane turbones impios aut plane extinguat, aut
ad sanitatem redire compellat. Serenissime celsitudini tue omnia fausta precamur.
In Cesser, May, 16. Anno 1596.

Tue celsitudini addictissimi

ONEILL &

Excellentissimo Serenissimoq; Prin-
cipi Hispaniarum Regis Catho-
lici Filio

Madrigitum.

O'Neill and O'Donnell wrote¹ a joint letter to Don Carolo at the same time :

MOST SERENE PRINCE,

We have written to your father, the mighty King, as well as haste would allow us, what we thought most necessary for us and our country. In this business we beseech your Highness to respond generously to the hopes which we entertain of his generous qualities, and set us down in the number of his clients, and help us mercifully, as is his wont in a cause so pious and just, namely the asserting of Catholic liberty and the delivering our country from the yoke of wicked tyrants ; and in this way obeying the majesty of God, he will save an infinite number of souls from the jaws of hell, gain them over to Christ, and either crush utterly the agents of Satan's wrath and the wicked disturbers of the Christian republic or compel them to return to wiser counsels. We beg God to grant your most serene Highness every blessing.

From Lifford, May 16th, in the year 1596.

[L.S.] HUGH O'NEILL. [L.S.] HUGH O'DONNELL.

The other chiefs too wrote to the King to the same purpose. So Maguire :

. I was the very first of all in this kingdom, not of my own authority, but through reliance on God's help and your clemency, who had the courage to rouse the wrath of the Queen of England. I have incurred infinite losses in consequence. But all these I care little about, because of your good will towards me. . . . The Lord O'Neill, whom we all obey, has written our unanimous request. . . . I have entrusted my private business to the nobleman, the Rev. Charles O'Conchyr, as my trusted agent and spokesman, in whom I beg you will put all trust.—From Donegal, 23rd of May, 1596.

And MacWilliam Burke :²

The hateful and cruel violence of the tyrant's wrath has had the effect of preventing the knowledge of our family, always most attached to the Catholic faith, from reaching your Majesty's ears. For the English, who could not endure the glory of our family, not only directed their efforts mainly to destroy the best of them by deceit and treachery, but also they plotted how to root out completely all trace of their noble descent by cleverly cutting up our territory into several parts. But now, O mighty King, powerfully drawn and attracted by the sweetness of your kindness and mercy, we place ourselves among your servants, we promise your Catholic Majesty for ever fidelity and obedience, and we undertake to use strenuous efforts, with God's help, to defeat and root out the enemies of the Christian name—even

¹ *Wrote*.—Archives, Simancas, no. 839.

² *MacWilliam Burke*.—From the tone of this letter it would seem that he was hurt because the King had not written to him

personally, as he had done to several others of the Irish chiefs. He had been appointed the Mac William by O'Donnell shortly before. See ad ann. 1595, postea.

our enemies will bear witness that we have done this hitherto. May God long preserve your Catholic Majesty safe. Given at Donegal, 25th of May, 1596.

Your Majesty's most devoted,

MAC WILLIAM.

Brian O'Rourke wrote :

I conceive that I have received an adequate reward for all the toil and for the hardships which I have endured from the tyrannical cruelty of the heretics, and that I am abundantly consoled, when I call to mind the great generosity of your Majesty, expressed so kindly and lovingly in your letter. 'This I received later than the others did theirs, owing to an attack made on me by the enemy, and therefore I could not reply with the others. Not doubting in any way of the prosperous issue of your kindness, I promise at all times to be most obedient and faithful to your Catholic Majesty, and most willingly I subscribe to the answer sent by the chiefs O'Neill and O'Donnell. From Donegal, May 26th, 1596.

The most devoted servant of your Catholic Majesty,

O'RUARK.

MacSwiney Banagh, too, wrote¹ that 'he had received his Majesty's letter, that he was chief of a territory and of one side of the harbour into which his Majesty's messengers had come ; that he had treated them with all kindness, as he was bound to do, and aided them to bring their business to an end as soon as possible, and would do the like so long as he lived, so that his Majesty's ships could make a stay in the harbour with security at all times.' He asked for guns and five hundred men, to be put under his command for the welfare of the country.

The Bishop of Raphoe,² also, wrote to the King 'from his manor of Killybegs, thanking him for the aid he was about to send, especially on behalf of the Church, which was spoiled by the English heretics.'

O'Neill and O'Donnell wrote a joint letter to Don Juan de Idiaquez, Councillor of State, from Donegal, May 25th, 1596, asking him to urge their petition with his Majesty :

Having opened our minds by letter to his Catholic Majesty, and set briefly before him our wants, it remains for us to address you, who have always shown singular kindness to us. Therefore we beseech you earnestly to remember our ancient and remote descent, and, as is your custom, to take means to inform his Majesty carefully and exactly of the state of this kingdom, which we have undertaken to defend as best we can, an honourable and holy undertaking, and persuade the King not to allow this excellent opportunity to pass unheeded ; we can hardly hope

¹ *Wrote*.—His letter is dated May 26th.

² *Raphoe*.—Niall O'Boyle, who occupied the see from 1591 to 1611. Under the latter date the Four Masters say : 'Niall O'Boyle,

bishop of Raphoe, died at Gleneany, and was interred at Iniskeel' ; this is an island at the mouth of Gweebarra Bay, in west Donegal.

that such another will ever again occur, and to send us aid as soon as possible. We leave to the care and fidelity of Thaddeus, bishop of Clonfert,¹ and Bernard O'Donnell much more, in which we trust you will not fail to aid us.

It was the wish of O'Neill, O'Donnell, and all the other chiefs who made common cause with them, to send a joint letter signed by all to the King. Their anxiety for the speedy arrival of aid from Spain, and the Envoy's wish to avoid the English ships that would be sent to intercept him if news reached those in authority that he had come to Ireland, made him hasten his departure, so as to anticipate the arrival of many of them at Lifford or Donegal. This fact is borne testimony to by O'Neill and O'Donnell in a document which they, no doubt, handed to the Envoy :

We, the Lords O'Neill and O'Donnell, testify by this letter that it was by our persuasion Don Alonso Cobos, the Envoy of his Catholic Majesty, was impelled and moved to hasten his return to Spain before the arrival here of the rest of our nobility who live far away from this place. We are of one mind with these, and therefore can speak for all of them. Our chief reason is that he may take our letters with all possible haste to the Catholic King, and set before him our wishes. Given at Lifford, 16th May, 1596.

The Envoy, on the other hand, bore testimony to the universal desire of the Irish chiefs to cast off their allegiance to the Queen of England and to submit to the King of Spain :

I, Alonso Cobos, say and certify to all who may see this, that I came to Ireland when all the Irish Lords had almost concluded peace with the Queen on terms favourable to them, and that solely through conscientious motives, and for the great love they bear to his Majesty, they have declined to bring it to a conclusion, and have taken up arms against the Queen, and turned their hearts in all sincerity to God and the King, whose vassals they are, until his Majesty orders otherwise, as most suitable to his service. And to show that I am sure of what I state, I have set down at the foot my name and seal.² Lifford, 15th of May, 1596.

Another letter from the King reached O'Neill and O'Donnell soon after the one mentioned above, whether by the same or another messenger we know not. Here is their answer :

We welcome with much joy your Majesty's second letter, breathing the fragrance of sweetness and mercy, and in our inmost hearts we embrace it.

We have answered it not only with the same feelings but almost in the same words as we did your first. About the time we received your first letter from the hands of your Majesty's Envoy we were very urgently asked by those who governed

¹ *Bishop of Clonfert*.—Thaddeus O'Ferrall, who occupied the see from 1587 to 1602.

² *Seal*.—Archives, Simancas, no. 839. The letter and signature are in the same hand.

here on behalf of the Queen of England to make a truce and accept terms of peace; just and very favourable terms were offered and laid before us, which guaranteed liberty and peace to the Catholic faith, and security of our possessions to us from the heretics. Some pledges of ours have passed to the enemy, for we were induced to accept their terms owing to the complaints of our suffering subjects, worn out by the hardships of the war continued up to the present, and most of all to the great delay in the coming of the succour we expected. But since we are asked piously and affectionately by your Majesty's letters, setting at nought the hellish devices of the English, and relying on God's mercy and yours, we have not hesitated to renew this war, which was interrupted for some time, even though the forces of the enemy both by land and sea are increasing day by day. It will be your duty, most merciful King, in the meantime to supply what is needed for bringing the business to an end, and to send the war supplies—six thousand soldiers and arms for ten thousand.¹

The Earl, O'Donnell, Brian O'Rourke, and Mac William strove to stir up the war again in Munster. On the 6th of July they wrote to the chiefs by the Clanshies,² 'that they had given oath and vow that whosoever of the Irishry, especially of the gentlemen of Munster, or whosoever else, as if they were particularly named, from the highest to the lowest, should assist Christ's Catholic religion, and join in confederacy and war with them, should give firm credit to the Clann Sheehy as their true messengers and agents, and to the warrant sent with them, that they would never conclude peace or war with the English for themselves or any of them during their life, but that the like should be concluded from all that should join in their confederacy; and to relieve and enable anyone as themselves in case he should be driven to extremity.'³

The Queen thought that the troubles in the north were at length ended. Seeing that many of these arose from the misconduct of her officers, she rebuked them, and declared that thenceforth she would subdue the stubborn by the sword, but would govern the oppressed with justice.⁴ Norris and Fenton were sent to pacify Connaught, and to make inquiry into the many grievous complaints made against Sir Richard Bingham. *The Annals*⁵ of *Loch Ce* say of him, under the date 1599: 'The person who was Governor from the Queen over the province of Connaught at this time was Sir Richard Bingham; and all the Clann William⁶ whom he did not hang he set at war with the Queen; and the Clann Domhnaill,⁷ in like manner; and he set the

¹ *Ten Thousand*.—*Ibid.*

² *Clanshies*.—The Clann Sheehy were the gallowglasses of the Earls of Desmond. Keating says they are descended from Colla Uais, and of the same stock as the Macdonnells of Scotland. Preface to *H. of Ireland*. xxi.

³ *Extremity*.—*C.C. MSS.*, iii. 179.

⁴ *Justice*.—Cox, *Hib. Angl.*, i. 410.

⁵ *Annals*.—ii. 494.

⁶ *Clann William*.—The De Burgos, whose ancestor was William Fitzadehm.

⁷ *Clann Domhnaill*.—This sept was called of Lough Conn, and were of the same stock as the O'Dowds. See *Tribes, &c., of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 113.

posterity of Turlough Donn O'Conor,¹ and the posterity of Aodh,² son of Felim, and Muintir Flannagain,³ and O'Ruark, and the posterity of Eoghán MacDiarmada⁴ at war with himself and the Queen. And he made a bare, polished garment of the province of Connaught. When the Justiciary of Erin heard of that evil inflicted on Connaught by the Bingham,⁵ he came with great anger and terrible fury until he arrived at Galway; and he brought with him no army save 100 horse and 100 foot. And the Governor remained at Athlone, studying how he might ruin the portion that he had not ruined of the province of Connaught. The Clann William and Murchadh O'Flaherty came to Galway, and they made peace with the Justiciary, and placed their hostages in the hands of the people of Galway.' Bingham was sent to England, and 'being a severe governor, and perhaps, therefore, obnoxious to the Irish, who were frequent transgressors, he was, upon their repeated complaints, removed from the government of Connaught, and Sir Conyers Clifford substituted in his room.'⁶

Towards the end of this year another Envoy would seem to have come from the King of Spain. Our author says he came in April of the following year; but from the State Papers we infer his visit was earlier. We have not his letter, but we have replies to it sent to the King by the several chiefs of the north. O'Neill and O'Donnell wrote to him a joint letter⁷ from Donegal, bearing date October 16th :

Most merciful King,—We cannot express in words the intense joy and delight which the letter of your Catholic Majesty, full of extreme kindness and mercy, has caused us. Since the former Envoys left us we have used every means in our power, as we promised we should do, to gain time and procrastinate from one day to another, without causing any bloodshed or allowing our countrymen to be plundered or oppressed. But how could we impose on so clever an enemy, so skilled in every kind of cunning and cheating, if we did not use much dissimulation, and especially if we did not pretend we were anxious for peace? We will keep firm and unshaken

¹ *Turlough Donn O'C.*—Called also Turlough Oge. In 1384 two lords were set up in Connaught, this Turlough, supported by the O'Kellys and Clann Donough; the other, Turlough Roe, supported by the MacDermots. In consequence a great war broke out throughout Connaught. They were respectively ancestors of O'Conor Don and O'Conor Roe, and gave rise to these two family names. See *Annals F. M.*, ad ann., and *Top. Poems*, p. 20.

² *Aodh.*—The father of Phelim, King of Connaught from 1230 to 1265.

³ *Flannagain.*—A branch of the O'Conors of Magh Naoi, called Sil Muireadhaigh,

from their ancestor, Muireadach, king of Connaught, who died in 701.

⁴ *MacDiarmada.*—The Macdermots of Magh Naoi, a branch of the same stock, and different from the MacDermots of Moylurg. See *Top. Poems*, xxxiii.

⁵ *The Bingham.*—Later we shall see that more than one of this family signalized himself by his cruelty.

⁶ *In his room.*—Cox, *Hib. Angl.*, i. 412. Clifford was a native of Kent. He had served under the Earl of Essex at the siege of Rouen, and on the expedition against Cadiz. He came to Ireland in Jan., 1597.

⁷ *Letter.*—Archives, Simancas, no. 839.

the promises which we made to your Majesty to our last breath ; if we do not, we shall incur at once the wrath of God and the contempt of men.

Letters of the same purport were sent to the King by Maguire, Brian O'Rourke, Mac William, O'Doherty, MacSwiny Banagh, Cormac O'Neill, and Hugh MacDavid. The Guardian of the Franciscan monastery of Donegal wrote describing the pitiful state of his convent, 'which still continued to spread round the light of heavenly doctrine, and to bring back many from the wickedness of heresy to unity with the true worship of God. Three times it was pulled down and almost levelled with the ground, the church was burned, the dwelling-house levelled ; the chalices and vestments intended solely for the worship of God were now turned to the uses of wicked men.'

About this time, too, O'Connor Sligo,¹ having obtained the Queen's favour and the command of some troops, came from England. His territory was close to Ulster and Connaught, and his influence and power would be of the greatest importance to his English allies. Archdeacon O'Rorke in his *History of Sligo*² gives briefly, yet comprehensively, the history of the relations of this portion of the Clann O'Connor to the Cinel Conaill.

Dwelling in Connaught, the Cinel Cairbre were subject to the kings of that province, first to the fourteen kings of the Hy Fiachrach race who ruled over it, and next to the Hy Bruin kings, who belonged mainly to the O'Connor family. As however the Cairbrians were of the same stock³ as the Cinel Eoghain and Cinel Conaill, they had a greater leaning to the inhabitants of Ulster than to those of Connaught, with whom they were often at variance. After the sovereignty of the province had passed from the Hy Fiachrach to the Hy Bruin, the O'Dowds⁴ still claimed to rule over Lower Connaught, which included Carbury, at least the portion of it to the south of Drumcliff, but their authority was merely nominal.

From the time the O'Connors settled in Carbury, in the 12th century, to the abolition of Irish tenures in the 17th, there was a perpetual contest between them and the Cinel Conaill for the chief authority in Carbury. In the battle of Crich Cairbre,⁵ in 1181, the Cinel Conaill asserted their claim, and were the undoubted

¹ *O'Connor Sligo*.—This family is descended from Turlough Mor, ardrigh from 1126 to 1156, through a younger son Brian Luighneach. See *Annals F. M.*, ad ann. 1156, and D'Alton's *King James' Army List*, ii. 529.

² *H. of Sligo*.—i. 33.

³ *Stock*.—See p. xiii., antea.

⁴ *O'Dowds*.—See *The Tribes, &c., of Hy Fiachrach*, pp. 111, 343.

⁵ *Crich Cairbre*.—'Flaherty O'Muldory, lord of Tyrconnell, defeated the sons of

the King of Connaught on the Saturday before Whitsuntide. Sixteen of the sons of the lords and chieftains of Connaught were slain by the Cinel Conaill and many others, both nobles and plebeians. They held the Connations under subjection for a long time after this battle'.—*Annals F. M.*, ad ann. On account of the number of kings' and chieftains' sons who were slain in this battle, it is usually called by Irish historians 'The Battle of the Royal Heirs.' See *The Annals of Loch Ce*, ad ann.

chiefs of the territory for near two centuries, as appears, first, from their defending the territory against all invaders; second, from their taking up the chieftain's rents; third, from their alienating a portion of the territory; and fourth, from their enemies regarding any injury inflicted on the district as an injury inflicted on the Cinel Conaill. The O'Connor family did not submit to this supremacy, and in the middle of the 14th century not only vindicated the right to be paramount themselves in Carbury, but invaded Tyrconnell, and acquired there for a short time authority over the O'Donnells. The latter, however, maintained all through their pretensions to Carbury and Lower Connaught. So late as the middle of the 16th century we find Manus O'Donnell taking up the rents of Lower Connaught, and even petitioning Henry VIII. to be made Earl of Sligo. . . . In 1603, when Rory O'Donnell was about to be created Earl of Tyrconnell, James I. ordered that he should first renounce all claim upon O'Connor Sligo's country; which he accordingly did.

Like most of his predecessors in the office of Lord Deputy, Sir William Russell was weary¹ of it long before the time during which he should hold it was at an end.² In October, 1596, he sent in a pitiful petition to the English Privy Council, in which he sets forth his troubles at length, and prays for his recall. 'From time to time for a whole year and more he had made known by letter to their Lordships the dangerous state of this distressed kingdom committed to his charge, as well through the great force, strength, and means of the rebels themselves, as through their continual practice to draw in continual assistance, if the same were not prevented by a timely and round prosecution; and yet, to his great grief and discomfort, he could not in his devices be credited, but others suffered and authorized to proceed in a course of pacification, which in the opinion of the said Deputy and the most part of the Council did tend directly to her Majesty's disadvantage and the gaining of time to the said rebels, the better to bring to pass their purposes. . . . The Earl of Tyrone with all his forces, save such as are left about Armagh to block up the fort there where he daily preyeth, is drawn up, with purpose, as may be thought, to take all advantage by joining with the Spaniards or otherwise. It is most humbly desired by the said Deputy, in discharge of his duty, for the good of her Majesty's service and the safety of her realm of Ireland, that your Lordships would be pleased to revoke him and place some other better countenanced and graced in Court, to the end, more credit being given to his advices, he may be better supplied of means than he findeth himself to be to withstand so imminent dangers.'³ The Deputy alludes here to the

¹ *Weary*.—Brewer remarks, with a good deal of truth, that 'no Englishman ever tasted the bitter-sweet of the Irish deputyship, but sighed and prayed to leave it; no Englishman who had left it, but forgot in England the bitter, and remembering only

the sweet, sighed and consented to return to it. . . . The infatuation seems wholly inexplicable.' Introd. to *C.C.M.S.S.*, iii. p. xxviii.

² *End*.—His appointment was for three years.

³ *Dangers*.—*C.C.M.S.S.*, iii. 184.

disagreement between himself and Sir John Norris, who had the title of Lord General and by commission the sole command of the army in Ulster in the absence of the Deputy. 'The clashings and janglings that were between these two high-spirited men did very much prejudice to the Queen's affairs.'¹ She was well aware of their differences and of the harm arising therefrom, and recalled Russell in the beginning of 1597.

Thomas, Lord Borough, was appointed in his place, April 18th of the same year.² He landed in Ireland May 15th, and a week after received the sword of office. Supreme authority was given him in martial and in civil causes. To avoid 'the clashings' that had injured the public interests during the term of office of his predecessor, General Norris was ordered to return to Munster, where he held the place of President. This affront, joined to the disappointment he felt at not receiving the office of Lord Deputy, which he expected, and the many baffles put upon him by the Earl of Tyrone, broke his heart. He died two months after his return to Cork.³

As was the custom, the new Deputy, when entering on his office, received from his predecessor and the Council 'a Summary Collection⁴ of the state of the realm' for his future guidance. They reported to him that 'Ulster was universally revolted, no part of it being free from hostility to her Majesty and adherence to the capital traitors of Tyrone, the only places left her beyond Dundalk being the Newry, Knockfergus,⁵ Carlingford, the Green Castle,⁶ Dundrum,⁷ and Oldriflete.⁸ At the Earl's first entrance into rebellion there were several countries in Ulster which held for her Majesty, and some of the lords thereof paid rents, compositions, and risings-out. . . . Now they are all in confederacy with the Earl. . . . In Connaught not one of the six shires was free from revolt, but each had its particular disturbers. Sir Conyers Clifford, Chief Commissioner there, with twenty-one companies of foot and a half besides horse, was not strong enough to reduce the rebels to obedience, for his companies were weak, and O'Donnell tyrannized over most of these people at his pleasure, having drawn to his side the whole country of Leitrim, whereof the O'Rourkes have usurped rule, and are at his direction, and, in effect, the whole country of Mayo, where he set up a supposed Mac William, who is the most notorious traitor in Connaught, and altogether at his commandment only. . . . In county Sligo the

¹ *Affairs*.—Cox, *Hib. Angl.*, i. 406.

² *Year*.—The Queen's instructions to him are given in *C.C. MSS.*, iii. 213.

³ *Cork*.—Moryson, *Rebellion*, &c., p. 20.

⁴ *Collection*.—It is given in *C.C. MSS.*, iii. 216.

⁵ *Knockfergus*.—Now Carrickfergus, on the western side of Belfast Lough.

⁶ *Greencastle*.—At the entrance to Carlingford Lough, opposite Greenore.

⁷ *Dundrum*.—In Co. Down. The walls of De Courcy's castle are still standing in great part.

⁸ *Oldriflete*.—On the narrow peninsula called the Corran, which projects into Larne Bay, Co. Antrim.

O'Harryes,¹ the O'Hartes, and divers others are overawed by O'Donnell and combined with Mac William.'

The Earl wrote to Sir John Norris before his return from the north, asking that a reasonable time should be appointed for him to gather together his confederates and to bring them to the borders. After this letter was produced, the Lord Deputy asked the Council their advice 'what course he should hold with the Earl. They agreed that it would not prejudice her Majesty's interest to give him till the 20th of May following, no mention to be made of any Cessations.'² But no treaty was made, and the Deputy determined to carry the war into Ulster. In 'A Brief Discourse declaring how the service against the northern rebels might be advanced,'³ the author dwells on the importance of securing a permanent footing on the other side of the Erne. 'The river of Lough Erne is convenient for transporting victuals, as also for the service, and divides Connaught from Ulster. The passage of this river at Ballyshannon and Belleek being garrisoned, will defend Connaught and the south side of the Pale, and so annoy O'Donnell that he will be forced to disunite himself for his own defence from the Earl.'

Our author gives an account of the forces that assembled by the Deputy's order at Boyle. The first who came was Donough O'Brien, Earl of Thomond, known in history as the Great Earl. In early life he was a Catholic, but at the suggestion of Boetius Clancy he conformed to Protestantism, in order to ingratiate himself with the Queen. He was all his life a faithful ally of the English, and in return for his zeal⁴ he was rewarded with high offices. The Earl of Clanricarde,⁵ the Baron of Inchiquin,⁶ O'Conor Roe, O'Conor Sligo, and Tibbot na long,⁷ all these united their forces with those of the Crown. Thinking that such a vast force, so well armed and equipped, would meet with no opposition of any moment, and sure of success, they set off for Tyrconnell by way of Sligo. They crossed the Erne at Ballyshannon, the Baron of Inchiquin and O'Conor vying with each other in their efforts to reach the opposite bank,⁸ where some few of O'Donnell's forces were drawn up to receive them. Inchiquin fell off

¹ *O'Harryes*.—The O'Haras, of whom later.

² *Cessations*.—*C.C. MSS.*, iii. 218.

³ *Advanced*.—*Ibid.*, p. 199.

⁴ *Zeal*.—He is buried in the south side of the choir of St. Mary's cathedral, Limerick. A long inscription tells his services and honours. See O'Donoghue's *Hist. Memoir of the O'Briens*, p. 214.

⁵ *E. of Clanricarde*.—The 3rd Earl. For the aid which he gave Bingham he was rewarded with extensive grants of land in

Connaught. He died in 1601, leaving a son, of whom more later.

⁶ *Inchiquin*.—See ad ann. 1597, postea.

⁷ *Tibbot na long*.—*i.e.*, of the ships. He was the first Viscount Mayo. His mother was the famous Grace O'Malley. See p. xxxiv., ante. He is buried in Ballintubber Abbey, Co. Mayo, opposite the high altar. The tomb is inscribed in raised letters: 'The body of Tibbot na long, first Viscount. . . .' See Archdall's *Peerage*, iv. 235.

⁸ *Bank*.—O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, p. 203.

his horse, and owing to the weight of his armour could not rise again ; he was carried away by the force of the current and drowned.

Large guns were brought by sea from Galway to batter down the walls of the castle. The garrison consisted of eighty men, six of whom were Spaniards, survivors no doubt of the Armada ; the rest Irish, under the command of Hugh Crawford, a Scotchman. O'Donnell's force was small, his friends not having had time as yet to come to his aid. With these he attempted to relieve the garrison ; but his efforts proved of no avail against the superior force ; however, he continued to molest them night and day without intermission. These made a breach in the lower part of the castle and effected an entrance into it ; but they were beaten back by the garrison. They were not more successful in their attempt to enlarge the breach and enter by the help of the opening which they had made. The besieged hurled down large stones from the battlements, breaking their machines and crushing those within them. Meantime O'Donnell's friends, O'Neill and O'Rourke, were approaching to his assistance. The besiegers, disheartened at their losses and want of success, and fearing they should be crushed by the numerous forces that were gathering about them, took counsel and resolved to raise the siege. They left behind three of their large guns ; the fourth they contrived to put on board the ship that had brought it.¹ Our author describes at length their crossing the river, their flight, and the losses they endured when pursued by O'Donnell. About three hundred of them were lost that day, some of these having been drowned in the river, others slain in their flight. The expedition marched from Boyle July 24th, and set out on their retreat from Ballyshannon August 15th.

The Four Masters say 'the body of the Baron of Inchiquin, who was drowned at the crossing of the Erne, was taken up by Cormac O'Clery, one of the monks of Assaroe, and buried by him with due honour in the monastery. In consequence of this a dispute arose between the friars of Donegal and the monks of Assaroe, the friars maintaining that the body should be of right buried in their own monastery, because the ancestors of the Baron had been for a long time before buried in the Franciscan monastery in his own country, and the monks insisting that it should remain with themselves ; so that the monks and the friars went before O'Donnell and the two Bishops² of Raphoe and Derry, and these decided that the body of the Baron should be buried in the monastery of St. Francis at Donegal. Accordingly the body was taken up at the end of three months after its interment in the monastery of Assaroe, and the

¹ Brought it.—*Ibid.*

² Bishops.—Niall O'Boyle and Redmond O'Gallagher. The latter was killed by the

English in Oireacht Ui Cathain, March 15th, 1601. See *Annals F. M.*, vi. 2238, and p. lxxx., *antea*.

friars reburied it in their own monastery with reverence and honour, as was meet.¹

Immediately after the English had withdrawn from Ballyshannon, O'Neill sent word to O'Donnell that the Lord Deputy was on his way to Tyrone. He was accompanied by the young Earl of Kildare,² Henry na dtuath. He encamped on the northern bank of the Blackwater. In the skirmishes which took place the Deputy was wounded. He was taken to Newry and died there. When the Lord Deputy was disabled by his wound, the chief command devolved on the Earl of Kildare. He too was wounded and twice thrown from his horse. His two foster-brothers, sons of O'Conor Faly,³ were slain while assisting him to remount. He was so grieved at their death that he left the army broken-spirited, and having reached Drogheda he died there of grief and the fever resulting from his wounds. The brother-in-law of the Lord Deputy also, Sir Francis Vaughan, and Robert Turnour, Sergeant-Major of the army, were slain.⁴

In the course of this year, Don Roderigo de Vayen was sent by the King of Spain to confer with the Irish. He landed at Killybegs and went to Donegal where O'Donnell then was. There he was entertained most generously, and at his departure he was given presents of dogs and horses for his royal master. We have not the King's letter, but we have a reply to it written no doubt on behalf of O'Donnell and the other chiefs too.

We have received your Highness's letter by Don Roderigo de Vayen this last March, in which you informed us that we should go forward in our enterprise, and that your Majesty would send us aid. We returned answer by the said Don Roderigo. Believe no news from England of any agreement in this country. Great offers have been made by the Queen of England, but we will not break our oath and promise to you. We are compassed round on all sides in such a way that except God keep us we shall be undone. But as yet we have defeated our foes. We skirmish with them very often, and they come off the worst, and lately I was present at the killing of the Sergeant-Major of the Queen's army, and of the Lord Deputy's brother-in-law, with many others. The Earl of Kildare was hurt and died of his wound. The Governor of Connaught came into the country where O'Donnell was, with a great army, nearly as great as the Deputy's was, and laid siege to one of his castles; but after a while he was forced to steal away with the loss of a nobleman and many officers and soldiers, and driven to leave the Queen's great ordnance behind, with all their victuals and carriages. Hence at present we are so situated that we must humbly crave your immediate aid.⁵

¹ *Meat.*—*Ibid.*, vi. 2047. O'Donovan thinks it strange that these two religious houses should contend for the possession of the body of a Protestant Baron. But the Baron was not a Protestant, though his cousin the Earl of Thomond was, as we shall see later.

² *E. of Kildare.*—See *The Earls of Kildare*, p. 234, and *Addenda*, p. 315, for an account of this expedition.

³ *O'Conor Faly.*—O'Sullivan says their name was Hickey. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 185.

⁴ *Slain.*—Moryson, *Rebellion*, &c., p. 21.

⁵ *Aid.*—*C.C. MSS.*, iii. 269.

Donough O'Connor Sligo had returned to Ireland from England in the autumn of the previous year. Bingham was anxious to obtain possession of his territory, the land, especially Sligo itself, being of great importance, lying in the only strait through which the Scots were accustomed to annoy the province. The common argument of officials who wished to seize on the lands of Irish chiefs was employed against him; it was asserted he was base-born. Perrott, however, befriended him, and had a commission appointed to investigate the case. It found against the contention of Bingham and declared Donough the lawful heir of his grandfather, who held under a patent from Elizabeth. After the recall of Perrott, Bingham still urged his plea, and succeeded in carrying out his plans. But when Bingham was disgraced, O'Connor, who meantime had sought redress in England, returned in triumph with a great number of Englishmen.¹ He was allowed to take possession of his inheritance, if only he could wrest it from those who held it. This will go far to explain his zeal to promote the Queen's interests. He co-operated with the Governor of Connaught, brought over to him his brother-in-law Tibbot na long² and many of his family, and with the MacDonoughs, O'Harts, and others formed a powerful party in opposition to O'Donnell. After the English army had withdrawn from the province O'Donnell preyed his territory and the lands of his dependents, though by so doing he incurred the resentment of O'Rourke, as we shall see later.

After the death of Lord Borough, Sir Thomas Norris, President of Munster, was appointed Lord Justice provisionally; but being melancholy at the death of his brother, he grew weary of the office,³ and at his request the government was handed over to Adam Loftus, then Chancellor and Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, and Sir Robert Gardiner. On the 15th of November they were sworn. In 'A Summary Report⁴ of the Estate of the Realm,' presented to the Council, November 5th, it is said that 'there is no part of Ulster freed from the poison of this great rebellion, and no country or chieftain of a country, being Irish, whom the capital traitor Tyrone had not corrupted and drawn into combination with him, so as from sea to sea beyond Dundalk there is no part standeth for her Majesty except the castles held by strong garrisons.'

The Earl of Ormonde was appointed Lieutenant-General and Captain of the army.⁵ To him O'Neill addressed himself, asking 'to make known to her Majesty the several grievances done to him and his by some of her ministers.' He asked 'a time of forbearing of arms for two

¹ *Englishmen*.—O'Rourke, *H. of Sligo*, i. 135.

² *Tibbot na long*.—See 'An Abstract of his Demands unto Sir Conyers Clifford, April 25th, 1597,' in *C.C. MSS.*, iii. 265.

³ *The office*.—Cox, *Hib. Angl.*, i. 144.

He held it for only a month. Moryson *Rebellion*, p. 21.

⁴ *Report*.—*C.C. MSS.*, iii. 272.

⁵ *Army*.—The date of the appointment is October 29th, 1597. It was renewed by James I. in 1603. Archdall's *Peerage*, iv. 35.

months, till her Majesty's pleasure be returned.'¹ He promised that he and those who had taken part with him would observe the Cessation and would put no hindrance to the victualling of the fort of Blackwater. Ormonde procured that a Commission should be issued to himself, the Bishop of Meath,² and Fenton, to treat with O'Neill. They met at Dundalk, December 22nd. A Cessation of eight weeks' duration was agreed upon. The negotiations were renewed on the 15th of March following. The same terms were offered by the Crown to O'Neill as two years before; some of which he agreed to, and others he refused, such as the delivering to the Lord Lieutenant the sons of Shane O'Neill, as he had not these prisoners from the State. Nor would he put in his eldest son 'for pledge.' He would accept a sheriff for Tyrone, but 'a gentleman of the country' should be chosen. To the last condition proposed, viz., that he should not receive any disloyal person, but send such to the chief Governor, he agreed, 'provided that he would deliver no man to the State who came to him for cause of conscience.' A further extension of the Cessation till April 10th was agreed on, that O'Donnell and the other Ulster chiefs who had been associated with him might come in and make their submission.³ The Lord Justices caused O'Neill's pardon to be drawn and sealed with the Great Seal of Ireland, bearing date April 11th, 1598. O'Neill, however, never came for it.⁴

In 1587 O'Neill got the Queen's letters patent under the Great Seal of England for the earldom of Tyrone, without any reservation of the great rent to the Crown which he had promised the Lord Deputy to pay. One of the conditions of the grant was that one or two places (specially that of Blackwater), should be reserved for the building of forts and the keeping of garrisons there. This site was chosen as it commanded the passage from the county of Armagh into that of Tyrone, and was the key to O'Neill's country. The garrison there could easily join with those of Dundalk, Newry, Monaghan, and Enniskillen 'upon actions of service.' 'In A Brief Discourse declaring how the service against the northern rebels might be advanced,' already mentioned,⁵ among the fittest places for garrisons on the borders of Tyrone, the Blackwater was set down first in regard of the commodities of Lough Erne. . . . 'By the garrison of Blackwater the whole country to the Newry should be conquered, and the Earl forced to keep below⁶ the Blackwater, where, notwithstanding, he shall take small rest, the garrison of Lough Foyle playing upon him as a northern

¹ *Returned*.—C.C. MSS., iii., p. 296.

² *B. of Meath*.—Thomas Jones, Protestant bishop of Meath from 1584 to 1605; at the latter date he was translated to Dublin. He died in 1619. See Ware's *Bishops*, pp. 156, 354; Dublin, 1764.

³ *Submission*.—Moryson, *Rebellion*, &c., p. 23.

⁴ *Came for it*.—Cox, *Hib. Angl.*, i. 414.

⁵ *Mentioned*.—p. lxxxvii., *antea*.

⁶ *Below*.—*i.e.*, to the north of this river and within Co. Tyrone.

storm, and the garrison of Blackwater descending upon him as a southern tempest.¹ In all the Articles proposed to O'Neill by the English Crown, one of the first was, that he should suffer her Majesty's garrison to live in security in the Fort of Blackwater, and send a safe conduct with the victuals and munitions to be sent there from Newry or any other place. It was even proposed to him once that he should allow a tax to be levied on him, his kinsfolk, tenants, and followers for the support of this garrison as well as those of Armagh, Newry, and Monaghan.² He replied that before agreeing to such terms he must first obtain the consent of his followers and kinsfolk; this, even if he desired it, he could hardly obtain. In the beginning of 1595 O'Neill seized³ the fort; it was not sufficiently secured against attack, and the moment he chose was when the Constable of the Ward was absent. The Queen wrote an angry letter to the Deputy: 'You, our Deputy, cannot but call to mind what charge was given to you for the safe conservation of the fort of Blackwater, which the Earl has long ambitiously sought. . . . It ought to have been sufficiently secured against the traitor.'⁴ O'Neill razed the fort and broke down the bridge. When the Commission treated with him the following year, one of the terms proposed to him was that he should 'rebuild⁵ the fort and bridge of Blackwater.' It was rebuilt, not, however, by O'Neill, but at the expense of the Government, and a garrison put into it. It was retaken by O'Neill. Again the Lord Deputy in person went to recover it, and coming before it of a sudden he captured it. He gives the reason of his easy success: 'There was only a straight retrenchment and a plain curtain without flanks, one at the one end and the other at the other of their defences, both of which were blinded so soon as a man had passed half the water, and from the rampart itself was least danger if one recovered to the foot and would direct the rest according to the commodity.'⁶ Tyrone's army was in the woods hard by, and thence could give no relief, the undertaking and execution being so unexpected. One of his officers⁷ who was present says it was because of the ill-disposing of the flanker-holes, which only beat the descent of the hill and left the fort unguarded. Soon after the engagement took place, in which the Lord Deputy's brother-in-law and several of the officers were slain. The Deputy, too, whether owing to a wound which he received there, as O'Clery and the Four Masters state,⁸ or to a sudden illness, was

¹ *Tempest*.—*C.C. MSS.*, iii. 201.

² *Monaghan*.—*Ibid.*, p. 164.

³ *Seized*.—See p. lxii., *antea*.

⁴ *The traitor*.—*C.C. MSS.*, iii. 109.

⁵ *Rebuild*.—*Ibid.*, p. 162.

⁶ *Commodity*.—Borough to Cecil, July 16th, in *Facsimiles of the National MSS. of Ireland*, edited by J. T. Gilbert, pt. iv. no. 1, intr. xli.; London, 1882. In plate xxiii.

there is a plan of Blackwater Fort and a coloured drawing of the attack made on it by Lord Borough and his forces.

⁷ *Officers*.—Letter of Edward Loftus to his father, *ibid.*

⁸ *State*.—'When the foot soldiers had come up with the Lord Justice he advanced to the fort, and some say he was never well from that day forth.'—*Annals F.M.*, vi. 2034.

obliged to retire; he died at Newry. Though his valour was much commended, his expedition was little more than a brag of courage in passing to Tyrone's chief seat, which no other Deputy had yet attempted.¹ However, he left a garrison at Blackwater under Captain Thomas Williams.

In the spring of 1598 O'Neill attempted again to capture it. He was repulsed with severe loss. After a while, learning that the garrison was short of supplies, he resolved to lay a regular siege to the place and reduce it by starvation. Williams and those under his command were brought to the greatest straits. They had eaten the few horses they had, and were living upon herbs that grew in the ditches and walls.² When the news reached Dublin, the Lord Deputy sent Sir Henry Bagnal with the choicest English troops to raise the siege and victual the fort. We have ample details of the preparations made by the English, and of the battle itself, from contemporary writers, some of whom took part in it.³

The entire force on the side of the English consisted of 4,000 foot and 300 horse. Half that number was made up of Irish; among these were some men of good birth, as Philip O'Reilly, surnamed the Fair on account of his graceful figure and handsome features, and Christopher St. Lawrence, the Earl of Howth's son. They were all trained soldiers; many of the English had served under Sir John Norris in France, others had been long employed in the Irish wars. The Irish in the service of the English had already given frequent proofs of their valour in the field. All were well armed, some having heavy guns, others lighter ones. They had a plentiful supply of powder, balls, leaden and iron; oxen too, salt meat, cheese, butter, biscuits, for their own wants and for the relief of the garrison at Portmore.⁴ The whole force was under the command of Sir Henry Bagnal, a man skilled in the art of war, and, a rare thing in a general, he was both brave and prudent. He was not unduly elated by success nor cast down by defeat. To those whom he had defeated or who had surrendered to him he was less insolent than most of the English, who are never sparing of insult. The Irish force opposed to them consisted of 4,500 foot and about 600 horse. Of these three thousand were brought by O'Donnell, two thousand of them being the men of Tyrconnell, and one thousand Connaught troops, under Mac William Burke, whom O'Donnell had then in his pay. The rest were O'Neill's troops and those of his brothers and allies in other parts of Ulster. In the matter of arms they were far

¹ *Attempted.*—Moryson, *Rebellion, &c.*, p. 21.

² *Walls.*—*Ibid.*

³ *Part in it.*—See Gilbert's *Facsimiles*, pt. iv. no. 1. intr. xliii., and 'The Journey of the Blackwater,' in *Kilkenny Arch. J.* for

1857

1856, p. 256, for several very interesting documents connected with this important event.

⁴ *Portmore.*—*i.e.*, the great fort, the name it usually went by among the Irish. By the English it is called Blackwater Fort.

inferior to the English, their guns, all but a few, being light and short. O'Neill, face to face with so formidable a foe, at first thought of falling back beyond the Blackwater. But the alleged prophesy of St. Berchan, foretelling the success of the men of the north against the English of Dublin, roused his men to a high pitch of enthusiasm.¹ Meantime he employed his forces in plashing the passes, and digging pitfalls and covering them with leaves and grass, in order to hinder the advance of the cavalry. On the 9th of August the English army set out from Newry; three days after it came to Armagh. Here is an account of the battle given by one who was engaged² in it on the side of the English:

When we came to Armagh we might see Tyrone lodged upon the highway between us and the Blackwater, on the other side of the pass and the river which we were to pass the next day, after our camp was set. Sir Henry Bagnal called a council of the captains, and there imparted to them that his purpose was not the next day to march the ordinary highway where the rebels lay, but he was furnished with good guides, and going not passing a mile or two wide, we should march all through the hard and open champain, save the passing through one bog some two or three flight-shot over, where he would maintain skirmish with the rebels till he had made the bog passable with boughs and sticks for the artillery, horse, and carriages.

It was ordered that the army setting forth in six regiments should, if occasion required, join and make three bodies and turn out their wings as they should see cause. Colonel Percy having the vanguard, the Marshal his second, should both join and make one vanguard. Colonel Cosby having the vanguard of the battle,³ Sir Thomas Maria Wingfield⁴ his second, were appointed the like; Colonel Cunie, the sergeant-major,⁵ having the vanguard of the rere, Colonel Billing his second, were appointed the like. The horse was divided into two bodies; the vanguard was led by Sir Callisthenes Brooke, general of the horse; the point by Captain Montague, Lieutenant General; the rere by Captain Fleming, marching between the two rere regiments. . . . *We marched severally some six or seven score paces distance between each regiment, our way being hard and hilly ground within caliver shot of wood and bog on both sides, which was wholly possessed by the enemy continually playing upon us.

After a mile's marching thus, we approached the enemy's trench, being a ditch cast in front of our passage, a mile long, some five feet deep, and four feet over, with a thorny hedge on the top. In the middle of the bog, some forty score paces over, our regiment passed the trench. The battle stood for the bringing up of the

¹ *Enthusiasm*.—O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, p. 191. On St. Berchan's prophesy, see ad ann. 1598, *postea*, and O'Curry's *MS. Materials*, p. 417.

² *Engaged*.—*Facsimiles*, intr., xliii.

³ *Battle*.—The main or middle body of an army, as distinguished from the van and rear.

⁴ *Wingfield*.—See Archdall's *Peerage*, v. 268, for account of the services which he rendered to the Crown and the rewards which he received in return.

⁵ *Sergeant-Major*.—This would seem to correspond with the present title of Major. See *Notes and Queries*, 3rd Series, xi. 446; London, 1867.

saker,¹ which stuck fast in a ford, and also for our rere, which, being hard set to, retired foully to Armagh.

In the meantime the vanguard passing on was so distressed as they fell to run, and were all in effect put to the sword without resistance. Up came the Marshal, being chief commander, to relieve them, who was killed² dead in the head with a bullet. Notwithstanding, two other regiments passed over the trench. The battle coming up, two barrels of powder took fire among them, by which they disranked and routed; in which while, these two former regiments, being passed the trench, were for the most part put to the sword. Then, by the help of our horse, the enemy's munition being well spent, we brought off the rest into the plain, and so recovered Armagh, where the Captains resolved to refresh their men with victuals and munition, and so to march directly to the Newry.

In the meantime the enemy approached and fell round on all sides of us with their whole force. Then the Captains, finding the insufficiency both in mind and means of their men, concluded that the horse should adventure to break forth through the enemy's quarter, and so pass into the Pale to advertise the State, that present succour might be sent to fetch them off; or else the enemy, seeing the horse gone, might be persuaded that they, having a month or two of victuals, which indeed was there, but disposed upon their first resolution, so as they made account they had not now left meat for above ten days at the uttermost, that the enemy could not keep together, hearing by a prisoner that was taken that O'Donnell and Maguire were then ready to depart; the horsemen, according their desires, performed it with some loss. By the Captain's estimation we had killed and run away to the enemy not less than eighteen hundred foot, some ten horsemen, and thirty horses. The enemy lost, as we heard by some of them we took, seven or eight hundred. There remain of ours about fifteen hundred in the church of Armagh.

2500 in the journal

Ch. Monaghan

The 'Declaration of Captains Ferdinando and George Kingsmill, who were present at the fight, made to the Lords Justices in answer to certain questions demanded of them touching the late service,'³ explains still further the causes of the defeat:

The vanguard, though it had taken possession of the trenches, was not seconded, because the Marshal's regiment, which was to second the point, was in distance so far off and hotly fought with that they could by no means come up to second them, whereby the whole regiment was defeated and all the Captains slain, Colonel Percy and Captain George Kingsmill only excepted, who by a stand made by the horse recovered their second.

The battle did not come up because the saker being bogged stayed the battle so long, and the enemies gathered so about them in such multitudes, as that they could not both second the vanguard and save the ordnance. Yet, Colonel Cosby

¹ *Saker*.—A small piece of artillery.

² *Killed*.—O'Sullivan says: 'Thinking the battle was ended and the victory gained by his side, he lifted the vizor of his helmet

that he might have a better view, and on the instant he was struck in the forehead by a bullet.' *Hist. Cath.*, p. 194.

³ *Service*.—*Facsimiles*, &c., *ibid.*

having the vanguard of the battle, and the rear of the battle remaining with the saker, for want of seconding his regiment was lost with the rest of the vanguard, and Cosby himself taken prisoner. The rear of the battle maintained fight for the saker, which could not be recovered by reason it was bogged and the oxen killed that drew it. Upon which accident and former defeatment, Sir Thomas Wingfield, chief commander, the Marshal being dead, commanded the retreat to Armagh; and Captain Ferdinando Kingsmill, who was in Captain Cunie the serjeant-major's regiment, in the vanguard of the rear, saith that they were so hotly fought withal by the force of O'Donnell, Maguire, and James MacSorley, their horse and foot, that in an hour and a half they could not march a quarter of mile forward, by which means they never understood in the rear of the killing of the Marshal nor of the defeating of the former regiments until they came up to fetch off the rear of the battle, with whom they joined, and leaving the saker bogged and not to be recovered, they marched with the assistance of the horse all together to Armagh, where we fortified and kept the place until the Earl (of Tyrone) offered composition upon these conditions following: first, that we should quit the Blackwater,¹ leaving there the colours, drums, and munition, the Captains having left them only their rapiers and hackneys, and that, being delivered, the whole army with those men of the Blackwater should march away for Armagh with all their carriage and hurt men to the Newry or Dundalk. For performance of which pledges were put in on both sides; for the army, the two Captains Kingsmill, and on Tyrone's part, two of the O'Hagans, the men of most estimation in his country. Which of each part was accordingly performed, and the army being come to the Newry where it yet remaineth, the two captains were sent to Dundalk, who are now repaired thither (Dublin) and do make the report

'Thus,' says Camden,² 'Tirone triumphed according to his heart's desire over his adversary, and obtained a remarkable victory over the English; and doubtless, since the time they first set foot in Ireland they never received a greater overthrow, thirteen stout captains³ being slain and over fifteen hundred common soldiers, who being scattered by a shameful flight all the fields over, were slain and vanquished by the enemy . . . This was a glorious victory for the rebels and of special advantage, for hereby they got both arms and provision, and Tirone's name was cried up all over Ireland as the author of their liberty.' So too Fynes Moryson: 'I term the victory great, since the English from their first arrival in that kingdom (Ireland) never had received so great an overthrow as this. Many of the soldiers slain were of the old companies which had served in Brittany under General Norreys. . . . Tyrone was among the Irish celebrated as the

¹ *Blackwater*. — The battle took place August 15th. By English writers it is usually called the Battle of Blackwater; by Irish writers, the Battle of Beul Atha Buidhe, as we shall see later.

² *Camden*.—*H. of Elizabeth*, p. 365.

³ *Captains*. — A complete list of the Captains who were slain at the battle of Blackwater will be found in *Facsimiles*, pt. iv. no. 1. app. xiii. '.

deliverer of his country from thralldom, and the combined traitors on all sides were puffed up with intolerable pride. All Ulster was in arms, all Connaught revolted, and the rebels of Leinster swarmed in the English Pale, whilst the English lay in their garrisons, so far from assailing the rebels, as they rather lived in continual fear to be surprised by them. . . . The yielding of the Fort of Blackwater followed this disaster, when the assaulted guard saw no hope of relief; but especially upon messages sent to Captain Williams from the broken forces retired to Armagh, professing that all their safety depended upon his yielding the Fort into the hands of O'Neill, without which danger Captain Williams professed that no want or misery should have induced him thereunto.¹

When the news of the defeat reached the Queen she was highly incensed. She wrote to the Privy Council: 'Though we have sent over great supplies to our excessive charge, yet we receive naught else but news of fresh losses and calamities. Although you have the great number of 9,000 men, we do not only see the northern traitor untouched at home and range where he pleases, but the provincial rebels in every province by such as he can spare enabled to give law to our provincial governors.'² To Ormonde, Lieutenant-General and Captain of the Army, she wrote: 'We must plainly tell you that we did much dislike (seeing this late action was undertaken) that you did not above all things attend it, thereby to have directed and countenanced the same; for it was strange to us, when almost the whole forces of our kingdom were drawn to head and a main blow like to be stricken for our honour against the capital rebel, that you, whose person would have better daunted the traitors, and which would have carried with it another manner of reputation and strength of the nobility of the kingdom, should employ yourself in an action of less importance and leave that to so mean a conduction.'³ She had been inspired, no doubt, by the Lords Justices, who strove to shift the blame off their own shoulders and to throw it on others. Ormonde was the cause of the defeat, 'because that he had not undertaken the matter in person, since his Lordship might draw with him many of the nobility with their followers, and, besides, his presence in the field might move Tyrone either for fear or for some other respects to give way to him.'⁴ Ormonde imputed the disaster 'to want of good direction and the dividing of the army into six bodies, marching so far asunder as one of them could not second or help the other till those in the vanguard were overthrown.' And for those who were not satisfied with this solution, he adds: 'Sure the devil bewitched them.'⁵ Neither did the Lords Justices escape her censure.

¹ *Thereunto*.—*Rebellion, &c.*, p. 24.

² *Governors*.—*C.C. MSS.*, iii. 284.

³ *Conduction*.—*Ibid.*, p. 283.

⁴ *Way to him*.—*Facsimiles, &c.*, app. xiii.

⁵ *Bewitched them*.—O. to Cecil, 15th Sept., 1598, in *Kilk. Arch. Journal* for 1857, p. 280. The whole letter is well worthy of careful perusal.

They had offered certain terms to O'Neill after the defeat. 'We must not pass over this foul error to our dishonour, when you of our Council framed such a letter to the traitor after your defeat as never were read the like either in form or in the substance for baseness, being such as we persuade ourself, if you peruse it again when you are yourselves, that you will be ashamed of your own absurdities, and grieved that any fear or rashness should ever make you authors of an action so much to your Sovereign's dishonour and to the increasing of the traitor's insolency.'¹

In the south the news of the fight of the Blackwater had roused the Irish to take up arms once more. 'All Munster revolted,' says Camden, 'and that not so much upon the fortunate success of the rebels as out of hatred of the inhabitants against the English Undertakers who had been settled in the lands confiscated after the Earl of Desmond's rebellion.'² Another reason for the general revolt is given in James FitzThomas' letter to the King of Spain: 'The government of the English is such as Pharaoh himself never used the like, for they content not themselves with all temporal prosperity, but by cruelty desire our blood and perpetual destruction, to blot out the whole remembrance of our posterity as also our old Catholic religion, and to swear that the Queen of England is supreme head of the Church; I refer the consideration hereof to your Majesty's high judgment; for that Nero in his time was far inferior to that Queen in cruelty. Wherefore, myself with my followers and retainers, and being also requested by the bishops, prelates, and religious men of my country, have drawn the sword and proclaimed war against them for the recovery first of Christ's Catholic religion and next for the maintenance of my own right.'³ Even the old English of the Pale, many of whom were still aliens at heart though staunch Catholics, were in self-defence drawn into the confederacy. To increase the alarm, a report spread abroad that the King of Spain was again preparing to invade England, and that he intended to send immediately 12,000 men to Ireland to aid the revolvers.

Since the death of Lord Borough, in August, 1597, the government of Ireland had been carried on by Lords Justices. Their appointment was but temporary. The Earl of Ormonde was made Lieutenant-General and Captain of the Army; but he was then advanced in years, and hardly fit to encounter the hardship of campaigning. How far the disasters that occurred under this system of government could be imputed to the Justices or to Ormonde it is not easy to determine. It was but natural, however, that a remedy should be looked for in a change of ruler, and that one should be sought whose past successes would be a warrant for the future.

¹ *Insolency*.—*C.C. MSS.*, iii. 284.

² *Rebellion*.—*H. of Elizabeth*, p. 566. Desmond was slain in 1589. The war ceased for some years after his death.

³ *Own right*.—*Pacata Hibernia*, p. 252; Dublin, 1820. James FitzThomas was the eldest son of Thomas, Earl Gerald's elder brother.

The Queen proposed to commit the government to Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy. The Earl of Essex, the royal favourite of the moment, warmly opposed such a choice. He argued that a man of varied experience was required for the conduct of the war, that the retired and studious life which Mountjoy had hitherto led was hardly a fit preparation for such a service; a brave and skilful General would be needed, a man who would possess the confidence of the Crown, and be superior to the petty factions that had hitherto ruled supreme in Ireland. The Queen lent a ready ear to the arguments of her favourite. She asked him to accept the office. On all sides he was urged to obey the royal wishes. His friends thought his previous achievements in Spain proved beyond a doubt that he possessed considerable talents for war, such as would be sure to crown his expedition with success. His enemies hoped that his inordinate vanity would soon bring about his ruin.¹ His patent was made out with the title of Lord Lieutenant; ² it gave him more extensive powers than almost any other Governor of Ireland ever had. He could make military laws and put them into execution, pardon all crimes, even treason itself against the royal person, appoint to all offices, and confer dignities at will. He was allowed to conduct the war almost entirely at his own discretion.³ On one point only had precise instructions been given to him: he was 'to pass by all other rebels whatever, and to head all his force against the chief traitor Tyrone, and the Ulster rebels, his confederates.'⁴

On the 15th of April he landed at Dublin with 16,000 foot and 1,300 horse, with provisions and munitions in proportion. The Queen being resolved to spare no earthly thing of hers which might be necessary for the defence of that kingdom and people,⁵ assigned him an army as great as he himself asked for, and such for number and strength as Ireland had never yet seen. After some days' rest in Dublin, in opposition to the Queen's express command, he set out for Munster, at the instigation of some of the Irish Privy Council, who were interested in the newly planted lands of that province. *The Annals of the Four Masters* give a detailed account ⁶ of his expedition to Munster, and they end it with the suggestive

¹ *Ruin*.—'Coveting this great authority and station, he at once gratified his own ambition and his enemies' malicious designs, for they desired nothing more than his absence from the Court.' Cox, *Hib. Angl.*, i. 416.

² *Lord Lieutenant*.—On this title see Gilbert's *Viceroy of Ireland*, p. 503; Dublin, 1865.

³ *Discretion*.—'The Queen's Instructions to the Earl of Essex,' in *C.C. MSS.*, iii. 292.

⁴ *Confederates*.—Moryson, *Rebellion, &c.*, p. 30.

⁵ *People*.—*C.C. MSS.*, iii. 293.

⁶ *Account*.—vi. 2111, and O'Sullivan's *Hist. Cath.*, p. 206. See also 'A Journal of the Proceedings of the Earl of Essex from May 21st to June 22nd,' in *C.C. MSS.*, iii. 301. An account of the famous battle of the Pass of the Plumes is given by Rev. John O'Hanlon, whose intimate knowledge of the Queen's Co. has enabled him not only to determine the place of the fight, but to set down the many traditions current among the people about it, in *The Transactions R.I.A.*, May, 1874.

phrase: 'The Gaels of Ireland used to say that it would have been better for him if he had not gone on that expedition.' About the end of July he returned to Dublin with the remnant of his army, 'his men wearied and distressed, and their companies incredibly wasted.'¹ He was deeply chagrined at the failure. In his letters to the English Privy Council he lamented his discomforts and disgraces; 'he will take any disgraceful displacing of him or punishment dutifully and patiently.'

The Queen was greatly incensed at his failure. 'Much time and excessive charges had been spent to little purpose. Nothing had been done which the President (of Munster) might not have effected. . . . Tyrone had blazed in foreign parts the defeats of regiments, the death of captains, and loss of men of quality in every corner.' She bids him 'proceed to the north with all speed, to plant garrisons there, and assault that proud rebel.'² The Privy Council were told that 'their opinions for the northern action rather deserve reproof than much answer. They dissuade that which must be done. . . . It was they who persuaded the Lieutenant to make so long a journey into Munster.'³ At his arrival in Ireland he was informed that 'the province of Ulster was, in a manner, all in revolt.'⁴ His failure in the south was soon bruited throughout the other provinces, and when he reached Dublin, 'his body indisposed and distempered, he was not free for one hour from alarms both from the west and the north. . . . Yet though the poor men that had marched with him eight weeks together were weary and unfit for a new journey, and his horsemen so scattered that he could not draw three hundred to an end, he would call the troops together as fast as he could and go look on yonder proud rebel; and if he should find him on hard ground and in an open country, though he should find him in horse and foot three for one, yet would he, by God's grace, dislodge him or put the Council here to the trouble of choosing a Lord Justice.'⁵

Sir Conyers Clifford and the Earl of Clanricarde had joined their forces with those of the Deputy when he was in Fircal on his way to the south. When he reached Limerick they were told to return to their province, and later, when he was about to enter on the expedition to the north, he ordered Clifford to draw his forces to Belleek,⁶ a castle on the river Erne, that he might divide O'Neill's forces, and so weaken him on the other side, where he would be attacked by the Deputy. On the way

¹ *Wasted*.—Only a month before he wrote to the Queen: 'These rebels are more in number than your Majesty's army, and have (though I do unwillingly confess it) better bodies and perfecter use of their arms than those men whom your Majesty sends over.' Cox, *Hib. Angl.*, i. 420.

² *Rebel*.—C.C. *MSS.*, iii. 315.

³ *Munster*.—*Ibid.*, p. 316.

⁴ *Revolt*.—'State of Ireland at the arrival of the Earl of Essex.' *Ibid.*, p. 298.

⁵ *Lord Justice*.—Letter of the Earl of Essex to the Privy Council, July 11th, 1599. *Ibid.*, p. 312.

⁶ *Belleek*.—On the north bank of the Erne, five miles east of Ballyshannon.

he would cause the siege of Collooney castle to be raised, where his friend and the Queen's ally O'Connor Sligo was sorely straitened by O'Donnell. An army was collected from all the strongholds of Connaught. Many of the old English, and some of the Irish too took part in the expedition. At Boyle, where they rendezvoused, the whole force was found to be 1,900 foot, divided into 25 regiments, and 200 horse, of which one hundred was the Earl of Southampton's troop under Captain John Jephson, the rest Irish horse.

Clifford¹ came to the entrance of the Curlews,² the most dangerous pass in Connaught, the 15th of August, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, being then high time to lodge his men after a painful journey, where understanding the rebels had not possessed that passage, he resolved to march through that night. Thereupon putting his troops in order, the vanguard was conducted by Sir Alexander Ratchiffe; the Lord of Dunkellin, son of the Earl of Clanricarde, followed with the battle, and Sir Arthur Savage brought up the rear guard. The horse (where also the baggage was left) had directions to stand between the abbey of Boyle and the entrance into the passage, under the command of Sir Griffin Markham, until the same should be freed by the foot about a quarter of a mile from the mouth of the passage, had the rebels traversed the same with a barricade with double flanks, in which and in other places of advantage thereabouts were lodged about 400 of them, contrary to that which was advertised to the Governor. They who possessed the barricades, at the approach of our vanguard, delivered a small volley of shot upon them, abandoning³ the same almost without any force, which the Governor possessing, made it passable by opening the midst, and placed guards upon the same, appointing to the angle of the sinister flank Rogers, lieutenant to Sir Henry Carye, to the angle of the dexter flank, Ralph Constable, a gentleman deservedly esteemed of the Governor for his virtue, and not much distant from him upon the same flank Captain Walter Flood and Captain Windsor, giving to them forty men a piece, with command not to abandon their places until they heard further from himself.

These things being thus ordered, the vanguard, followed by the battle and rear guard, advanced in a short time by a narrow way betwixt two large bogs to the side of a wood half a mile broad, through which lyeth a highway so broad as it gives liberty for twelve men to march in front, the same rising equally and gently until it have passed the wood, where it is carried upon the side of a high hill, which it leaves on the left hand; and the hill and ground adjoining being a main bog, upon

¹ *Clifford*.—This description of the battle is taken from Dymmok's 'Brief Relation of the defeat in the Curlews,' in *Tracts relating to Ireland*, p. 44; Dublin, 1843, published by the Irish Archæol. Society. It agrees in substance with O'Sullivan's account. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 209. Moryson gives only a few lines to it.

² *Curlews*.—Four miles north of Boyle;

they are on the boundary between Sligo and Roscommon. The name has its origin in the Irish Coirshliabh, with which it has no connection beyond that of the sound.

³ *Abandoning*.—O'Sullivan says these were under the command of Owen Mac-Swiny na dtuath; they retreated, but they rallied at the call of their officers. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 210.

the right lies a thick wood not more than a musket shot from the same, in either of which places, although the rebels from their continual practice have exceeding advantage over our men, yet have they more advantage upon the bog, which they well knowing, made at the time choice thereof, and even thither were followed by Sir Alexander Ratcliffe, who although he was in the beginning of the skirmish shot in the face, yet he ever continued to spend all his powder upon them; and no supply coming unto him, prepared to charge them with a small number of such pikes as would either voluntarily follow him, or were by him called forth by name from the body of the vanguard; but before he could come to join with them, he had the use of a leg taken from him with the stroke of a bullet; by which ill fortune he was forced to retire, sustained upon the arms of two gentlemen, one of which receiving the like hurt, died in the place, as did also himself soon after, being shot through the body with a bullet. There was with Sir Alexander Ratcliffe in the head of the vanguard Captain Henry Cosby, whom at his going to charge he invited to accompany him: and perceiving him slack, 'Well, Ccsby,' said he, 'I see I must leave thee to thy baseness, but I must tell thee before my departure, that it were much better for thee to die in my company by the hands of thy countrymen,¹ than at my return to perish by my sword.'

Cosby, as is the general disposition of all true cowards, yielding to have the time of his life awhile deferred upon any condition, stood firm with at least a third of the vanguard till he saw the adversity of this noble Knight, when by example of his turning head the vanguard fled in such route that it discomfited the battle, with the sight of which (not abiding any impression) was broken the rear guard, the whole forces being without any enemy's force in a moment put all in confusion; which disorder the Governor endeavouring, but in vain, to reform, whilst he had any strength left in him, was, after much fruitless travail, sustained breathless upon the arms of Sir John MacSwiny² and Captain Oliver Burke's lieutenant, who perceiving the disordered flight of the whole army, desparing to save their lives by other means, persuaded him to retire himself with them; when he reproving the baseness of his men, replied Romanlike, that he would not overlive that day's ignominy. But the affection which moved Sir John MacSwiny to use entreaties persuaded him now to practice force, by which they carried him from the pursuing rebels some few paces, where enraged with a consideration of the vileness of his men, which he often repeated, broke from them in a fury, and turning head alone, alone made head to the whole troop of pursuers, in the midst of whom, after he was struck through the body with a pike, he died fighting, consecrating by an admirable resolution the memory of his name to immortality and leaving the example of his virtue to be entituled by all honourable posterities. There died likewise Godred Tirwhit, brother of Mr. Robert Tirwhit, of Kettleby, in Lincolnshire, fighting by the side of Sir Alexander Ratcliffe, of whom cannot be said less than that he hath

¹ *Countrymen*.—Probably he was one of the Cosbys of Stradbally, Queen's Co. O'Sullivan tells of the cruelties of Francis C. and his son Alexander to the Catholics. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 99.

² *Sir John MacS.*—O'Sullivan calls him Maelmuire MacS. na dtuath. He had been driven from his territory by O'Donnell, and to be revenged, he had gone over to the English. *Ibid.*, p. 209.

left behind him an eternal testimony of the nobleness of spirit which he had derived from an honourable family. But these went not alone, for they were accompanied to the gates of death by divers worthy both lieutenants and ensigns, who were followed (for that they were not followed by them to fight) by 200 base and cowardly rascals. The rest, which else had all perished, were saved by the virtue of Sir Griffin Markham, who charging the pursuers in the head of my Lord Southampton's troops, gave security to this ignominious flight, having in his charge the smaller bone of his right arm broken with the stroke of a bullet, and that which adds most to the commendation of his charge is that it was presented upon the narrow way between the two bogs before mentioned, and forced with the loss of some, both men and horses, into the bog upon the right hand, where the rebels followed eagerly the execution of our men, until the fear they apprehended upon the sight of our horses caused them to stay their pursuit and to think upon their own safety.

This defeat was given by O'Rorke and MacDermon,¹ O'Donnell being there, but came not to fight, to whom the Governor's head was sent that night for a present. His body was conveyed to a monastery not far off from thence, as appears by MacDermon's letter to the Constable of Boyle, which is censured by Sir John Harrington² (from whom I received a copy of it) to be barbarous for Latin, but civil for the sense. For confirmation of whose judgment the letter itself is contended by my hand for justification of his barbarism to appear before as many as will vouchsafe to read it :

Conestabulario de Boyle Salutem : Scias quod ego traduxi corpus Gubernatoris ad monasterium Sanctæ Trinitatis proper ejus dilectionem, et alia de causa. Si velitis mihi redire meos captivos ex predicto corpore, quod paratus sum ad conferendum vobis ipsum ; alias, sepultus erit honeste in predicto monasterio, et sic vale, scriptum apud Gaywash, 15 Aug., 1599 : interim pone bonum linteamen ad predictum corpus, et si velitis sepelire omnes alios nobiles non impediam vos erga eos.

MACDERMON.

(To the Constable³ of Boyle, Greeting: Know that I have carried the body of the Governor to the monastery⁴ of the Holy Trinity on account of my affection for him, and for another reason ; if you wish to return to me my prisoners for the aforesaid body (which) I am ready to hand it over to you ; if not, he will be buried decently in the aforesaid monastery, and so farewell. Written at Gaywash, August 15th, 1599. Meantime place a good cloth on the aforesaid body and if you wish to bury all the rest of the noblemen, I will not hinder you from so doing.

MACDERMON.)

¹ *MacDermon*.—*i.e.*, MacDermot.

² *Harrington*.—He came to Ireland with Essex, who knighted him. He served as commander of the horse under the Earl of Southampton.

³ *Constable*.—One to whom the command of a castle and the warders in it was given.

The office was rarely held by the mere Irish. See *The Ulster J. of Archæol.*, ii. 41.

⁴ *Monastery*.—In Lough Ce, near Boyle, founded by Clarus O'Mulchonry, Canon of Elphin, for Premonstratensians in the year 1215. See Archdall's *Monasticon*, p. 614, and *The Annals of Lough Ce.*, i. 395.

Fynes Moryson gives some further details of the flight of the English from the field :

They had all perished, if the horse had not valiantly succoured them. For the Lord of Dunkellin (who that day had most valiantly behaved himself) sent word to Captain John Jephson of their distress, who presently charged upon the causeway and to the very skirts of the wood with such resolution, as the rebels, either thinking horse could not have served there or expecting advantages upon them in that boggy place, stood gaping on them and gave way without any resistance for a good space, in which our men had leisure to retire over a ford into the plain where the carriages were, and thence to the Abbey of Boyle, being very near the place. Afterwards the rebels began to charge our horse, but their powder being almost spent, Captain Jephson retired safely, with the loss of some few horses. In a consultation some were earnest to have marched forward the next day, but the Lord of Dunkellin, Sir Arthur Savage, Captain John Jephson, and many of the best judgment, considering the Governor was lost, our troops utterly dismayed, and O'Donnell come down with all his forces into those parts, thought fit our men should retire to their garrisons. So Captain Jephson all that night kept the ford, while our foot in the silent night retired, and in the morning when they were in safety he, with the horse under his command, went softly after them to the Castle of Athlone. It is strange, the rebels then present being but some two hundred, and most of our men being old soldiers, how this defeat could be given, but small accidents in military affairs are often causes of strange and great events : for I have heard this mischance fully attributed to an unorderly turning of the whole body of the van ; which, though it were towards the enemy, yet being mistaken by some of the common soldiers for a flight, it caused a general route.¹

When the news of Clifford's defeat reached Essex, he thought it high time that he should himself take the field against the northern 'rebels.' At his request, seconded by that of the Privy Council, his army was reinforced² with 1,000 men from England. Before he set out, he wrote to the Queen, to anticipate, it would seem, the news of his failure. 'During the remainder of the year'—it was now but the end of August—'he could do no more than draw to the confines of Ulster with 3,000 foot and 300 horse.' He gave his reasons, subscribed by the chief officers : 'the army was unwilling to be drawn to Ulster, a fact proved by the number that deserted from their colours ; he had but 4,000 men at the most, not enough to withstand the rebels, who were six thousand strong, and lay within strong entrenchments ; no plantation could be made that year ; any garrisons left in the north being more likely to endanger the English than to annoy the rebels.'³

On August 28th he left Dublin with 100 horse.⁴ Just before setting out

¹ *Route.—Rebellion, &c.*, p. 36.

² *Reinforced.—Ibid.*, p. 37.

³ *Rebels.—Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁴ *Horse.—C.C. MSS.*, iii. 321.

he wrote to the English Privy Council: 'I am even now putting my foot in the stirrup to go to the rendezvous at the Navan, and from thence I will draw the enemy as far and to do as much as duty will warrant me and good enable me.' The forces were first ordered to assemble there, but the companies not coming in, the order was given that they should come together on the 31st at the hill of Clythe, near Kells. They mustered 2,700 foot and 300 horse. His purpose was first to go by the most direct way to Donnemaine,¹ in Farney, and to plant a garrison there, which would easily make incursions into the neighbourhood of the Blackwater. At Ishleragh² he left seven companies of foot and a troop of horse. Dymmok, who was on the expedition, tells what followed:³

Whilst this work was on hands, Sir William Warren obtained leave from his Lordship that he might treat with Tyrone, who lay then encamped not above three miles from us with 10,000 foot and a thousand horse, for the delivery of Captain John Moore, taken prisoner not many days before in Ophaly. Tyrone professed to Sir William Warren to have had a long time a great desire to make his submission, and entreated the Lord Lieutenant by him that he would be pleased to receive a message from him by Henry Agen, his constable, who being permitted to have access to his Lordship that night, entreated him to vouchsafe to parley with his master the next day; to which the Lord Lieutenant said that he would in the morning draw into the field and be ready by ten o'clock to parley with him sword in hand. Early in the morning the Lord Lieutenant marched through the open champain, until he came within a mile of Tyrone's camp, which, besides the natural strength thereof, was so strongly fortified by art and industry, as it appeared to them who had seen the works impossible to be forced by twenty times our number.

Tyrone being resolved not to fight upon equal ground, and the Lord Lieutenant not having sufficient forces to attempt his camp, he resolved by the advice of his council to retire back into Meath, and directing his march accordingly the next morning towards Nobber,⁴ he was overtaken by Henry Agen, who let him understand that Tyrone desired the Queen's mercy, and entreated to speak with his Lordship concerning his manner of making his submission, adding that Tyrone attended his Lordship's pleasure at a ford called Bellaclyne,⁵ not half a mile out of the way of the army. Before the Lord Lieutenant was fully arrived at the ford,⁶

¹ *Donnemaine*.—Now Donaghmoyne; it is three miles north of Carrickmacross, Co. Monaghan.

² *Ishleragh*.—'Half a mile from Louth, where there is a square castle and a great bawn.' *C.C. MSS.*, iii. 323. Sir Christopher St. Laurence, baron of Howth, was left in command of it. *Ibid.*

³ *Followed*.—*Relation*, &c., p. 48.

⁴ *Nobber*.—In Meath, ten miles N. of Kells. The castle is still standing.

⁵ *Bellaclyne*.—Now Anaghlart Bridge, on the river Lagan, where it forms the boundary between Louth and Monaghan.

⁶ *The ford*.—'Tyrone leaving a troop of horse upon the hill not far off, came down alone, and putting his horse up to the belly in the water, with all humbleness saluted his lordship standing on the other bank, and there they passed many speeches. Tyrone very courteously saluted each one.' *Moryson, Rebellion*, &c., p. 38.

Tyrone took his hat and inclining his body did his duty to his Lordship with very humble ceremony, continuing the same observance the whole time of the parley. It was at first emparled between themselves in private, and then before six on either party. With the Lord Lieutenant were the Earl of Southampton,¹ Sir George Bouchier,² Sir Warham St. Leger, Sir Henry Danvers,³ Sir William Constable, Sir William Warren. On Tyrone's part were Cormac MacBaron,⁴ Ever MacCowley, Maguire, Henry Ovington,⁵ and Richard Owen.⁶ Where it was concluded that there should be a Cessation from arms for six weeks, and the war to be renewed at the Lord Lieutenant's pleasure, giving 14 days' warning. It was further agreed that it should be lawful for all them that were now in action to participate of the benefits of this Cessation. For performance of which agreement Tyrone tied himself by oath. So soon as this conclusion was made with Tyrone, the Lord Lieutenant dissolved his army, and having lodged his men in such garrisons as served best to preserve the subject, he retired himself to Drogheda, from whence after some few days he returned to Dublin.⁷

The journal of his proceedings was duly transmitted to the Queen. There was little in it to repay her for the vast expenditure of men and money, or to console her for former failures. She gave vent to her wrath in a letter⁸ addressed to him from Nonsuch, September 17th :

By the letter and journal received from you we see a quick end made of a slow proceeding. We never doubted but that Tyrone would instantly offer a parley when he saw any force approach, either himself or any of his principal partisans, always seeking these Cessations with like words and upon such contingents, as we gather these will prove by your advertisement of his purpose to go consult with O'Donnell. It appears to us by your journal that you and the traitor spoke together half an hour and without anybody's hearing ; wherein, though we that trust you with our kingdom are far from mistrusting you with a traitor, yet both for comeliness, example, and your own discharge, we marvel you would carry it no better. . . . You have dealt so sparingly with us in the substance by advising us only at first of the half-hour's conference alone, but not what passed on either side, by

¹ *The E. of Southampton.* — Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl.

² *Sir G. Bouchier.*—Third son of the second Earl of Bath.

³ *Sir H. Danvers.*—Created Earl of Danby in 1626.

⁴ *MacBaron.* — He was O'Neill's brother. See p. xlv. antea. His name occurs frequently in this work.

⁵ *H. Ovington.*—Often written Hoveden. See p. lv., antea. 'He was O'Neill's chiefest councillor, without whom he deliberated no matter of moment.' Dymmok, *Relation*, p. 21.

⁶ *R. Owen.*—An Irishman by birth, that came from Spain. *C.C. MSS.*, iii. 324. The author of *Pacata Hibernia* calls him an ancient and inward servant of Tyrone's. p. 454.

⁷ *Dublin.*—Besides Dymmok's there are several other accounts of the interview between Essex and O'Neill ; one in *C.C. MSS.*, iii. 324, and another in the Trevelyan Papers, pt. 2, p. 102 ; published by the Camden Soc. in 1863. It was one of the chief charges brought against him later. Moryson, *Rebellion*, &c., p. 70.

⁸ *Letter.*—*C.C. MSS.*, iii. 325.

letting us also know you sent Commissioners without showing what they had in charge, as we cannot tell but by divination what to think may be the issue of this proceeding. Only this we are sure (for we see it in effect) that you have prospered so ill for us by your warfare, as we cannot but be very jealous lest you should be as well overtaken by the treaty. . . . To trust this traitor upon oath is to trust the devil upon his religion. To trust him upon pledges is mere illusion, and therefore whatever order you shall take with him of laying aside of arms, recognition of superiority to us, disclaiming from O'Neillship, which were tolerable before he was in his overgrown pride by own success against our power, yet unless he yield to have garrisons planted in his own country to master him, to deliver O'Neill's sons,¹ and to come over to us personally here, we shall doubt you do but piece up a hollow peace, and so the end prove worse than the beginning.

'The Lord Lieutenant,' says Moryson,² 'being nettled, or rather galled, with this letter, resolved to leave Adam Loftus, the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, and Sir George Carey,³ Treasurer at War, to govern the kingdom in his absence, and presently sailing to England, posted to the Court,⁴ where, altogether unlooked for, he arrived September 28th, and presented himself on his knees to the Queen, who received him not with that cheerful countenance which she was wont to show him, but after a brief conference commanded him to retire to his chamber, and there to stay until he knew her further pleasure, from whence his lordship's next remove was to the Lord Keeper's house in a state of a prisoner.'⁵ In a letter which he wrote soon after his return, he speaks of 'his pains and infirmities, which have made him an old man in twelve days, which are his comforts, for he took the beginning of them in her Majesty's service.'⁶ His further history does not belong to this place. He suffered death in the Tower of London February 28th, 1601.

In his interviews with Essex, O'Neill demanded, before entering on the question of a truce, that these three conditions should be agreed to: 1st. That the free practice⁷ of the Catholic religion should be allowed throughout the whole of Ireland. 2nd. That the ecclesiastical property which had been seized by the Crown, or given to individuals, should be restored to the Church. 3rd. That the lands taken from the Irish for the last forty years

¹ *O'Neill's Sons*.—See p. xxxviii., antea.

² *Moryson*.—*Rebellion*, &c., p. 41.

³ *Carey*.—Or Carew, already mentioned in this work. His name will occur frequently in the sequel.

⁴ *The Court*.—At his appointment he received a sign-manual from the Queen, licensing him to return to her Majesty's presence at such times as he should find cause.—*C.C. MSS.*, iii. 295.

⁵ *Prisoner*.—An account of Essex's trial

will be found in Moryson's *Rebellion*, &c., p. 68, and Cecil's account of it to Carew, in *C.C. MSS.*, iv. 35.

⁶ *Service*.—Shirley's *Dominion of Farney*, p. 106. This work contains Essex's own account of his interview with Hugh O'Neill. See pp. 103-105.

⁷ *Practice*.—Warren told O'Neill that her Majesty would no more yield to that demand than she would do to give her Crown from her head. *C.C. MSS.*, iii. 349.

should be restored to their lawful owners.¹ Essex had deputed Sir William Warren² to treat with O'Neill during the Cessation. On September 29th they met at the fort of the Blackwater. The continuation of the Cessation was first discussed. This O'Neill would not agree to until he had got O'Donnell's consent. Besides, the Cessation had been already violated by Ormonde, who had slain seven or eight score of O'Neill's men, and by Tibbot na long, then besieging Mac William, to whose assistance O'Donnell intended to go in all haste. He would give a definite answer in a few days.³ On the 17th of October they met again at Dundalk. While they were in conference a messenger came from O'Donnell bidding O'Neill to proceed in the negotiations, and declaring that he would be bound by whatever O'Neill would conclude. A prolongation of the Cessation for a month was agreed on, though at first he was unwilling to yield to any further time, 'alleging that it was now winter and the English army weak, that he was stronger and better able to keep the field, and that the Lord Lieutenant's tarrying in England was but to procure a great army to come upon him on all sides during the next spring.' Three weeks later a third meeting took place. Warren asked O'Neill why he had broken the six weeks' Cessation agreed on. He answered that he had given the fourteen days' notice according to the Articles. His reasons were, that he understood 'the Earl of Essex was committed, the only man in whom he put his trust to deal for him, for the Council here had deceived him.' On the 25th of December O'Neill wrote to Warren from Dungannon: 'Seeing the conclusion of Cessations is so prejudicial to that which I pretend, henceforward I will conclude none if present redress be not done. In this last concluded there were sundry breaches by your side committed. . . . and chiefly the Cessation is greatly violated by the apprehending of Father Henry FitzSimons,⁴ a man to whom (as before God I protest) I am no more beholden than to an Irish Catholic that is restrained in Turkey for his religion, but undertake generally to plant the Catholic faith throughout all Ireland. According to my often protestations, I must undertake, be it accepted or not, for all Irish Catholics, and do feel myself more grieved that any should be for his religion restrained in time of Cessation, than if there were one thousand preys taken from me. Where-

¹ *Owners*.—Lombard, *De Reg. Hib.*, p. 173.

² *Warren*.—*C.C. MSS.*, iii. 335.

³ *Days*.—Warren's account of his 'Negotiations with Tyrone' is given in full *ibid.*, pp. 341-349.

⁴ *H. FitzSimons*.—Though born of Catholic parents, he was 'inveigled into heresy' at an early age. He was converted by F. Darbyshire, S.J., in Paris, where he

had gone to continue his studies after leaving Oxford. In 1592 he entered the Society of Jesus. Three years later he was sent to Ireland. About 1600 he was seized and imprisoned in the Castle of Dublin, where he remained till June, 1604. He was banished to Spain, but in 1630 he returned to Ireland. He died at Kilkenny November 29th, 1643. See his *Life and Writings*, by Rev. E. Hogan, S.J.; Dublin, 1881.

fore, as ever you think that I shall enter to conclude peace or Cessation with the State, let him be presently enlarged.’¹ Finally, O’Neill declared he could not agree to any further Cessation, ‘having resolved upon a course for O’Donnell into Connaught, and others into other parts.’²

This declaration seems to have ended the negotiations, and both parties set to prepare during the winter for the war which was sure to take place early in the following year.

The history of the year 1600 opens with an account of O’Neill’s ‘visit’ to Munster. Our author treats of it very briefly; not so, however, the Four Masters, who give it in great detail:³

A hosting was made by O’Neill (Hugh, son of Ferdoragh, son of Con Bacagh), in the month of January of this year, and he proceeded to the south to confirm his friendship with his allies in war, and to wreak his vengeance on his enemies. When he left the province of Ulster, he passed along the borders of Breffny and Meath, and through Delvinmore,⁴ and did great injuries throughout the territory until the Baron of Delvin⁵ came and submitted to O’Neill on his terms. He also spoiled Machaire Cuirene⁶ and all the possessions of Theobald Dillon. O’Neill afterwards marched to the gates of Athlone and into Fircal. In this country he remained encamped nine nights, and the people of Fircal, upper Leinster, and Westmeath made full submission to him, and formed a league of friendship with him. On leaving this country O’Neill passed over the upper part of Slieve Bloom, westwards, and sent forth three parties in one day to ravage Ely, because of the enmity he bore O’Carroll, lord of Ely.⁷ . . . After this he moved onwards to the borders of Ballymore,⁸ to Roscrea, Ikerrin, from one encampment to another, until he arrived at the gate of the monastery of Holy Cross.⁹ They had not been long here when the Holy Cross was brought out to shelter and protect them; and the Irish presented great gifts, much alms, and many offerings to its keepers and to the monks, in honour of the Lord of the Elements. They gave protection to the monastery with respect to its houses and glebe lands, and to all its inhabitants also. . . . Afterwards he proceeded to the gates of Cashel, and there came to him at

¹ *Enlarged.*—*C.C. MSS.*, iii. 349.

² *Parts.*—*Ibid.*, p. 348.

³ *Detail.*—*Annals F. M.*, vi. 2147. O’Neill had sent his son the year before to Munster in order to ascertain who were firm in their friendship and promises to him and the Irish. *Ibid.*, vi. 2095.

⁴ *Delvinmore.*—The present barony of Delvin, Co. Westmeath.

⁵ *The B. of Delvin.*—Christopher, 9th baron, who for services to the Crown obtained a considerable grant of lands in the counties of Cavan and Longford. See Archdall’s *Peerage*, i. 234.

⁶ *Machaire Cuirene.*—Now the barony of Kilkenny West, Co. Westmeath.

⁷ *Ely.*—The baronies of Clonlisk and Ballybrit in north Tipperary. For the cause of the enmity see *Annals F. M.*, vi. 2137.

⁸ *Ballymore.*—Near Borris-in-Ossory, on the high road between Mountrath and Roscrea.

⁹ *M. of Holy Cross.*—Founded for Cistercians in 1182 by Donald Mor O’Brien, king of Limerick. For its history see *Triumphalia Chronologica Monasterii S. Crucis*, written by M. Hartry, O. Cist., in 1640, edited by Rev. D. Murphy, S. J.; Dublin, 1891.

that place the Earl of Desmond, James,¹ the son of Thomas Roe, and they were rejoiced to see each other. They afterwards proceeded westwards, across the Suir, through Clangibbon,² through the Roche's country,³ and through the country of Barry Mor,⁴ who was always on the side of the Queen.

O'Neill wrote a letter to Barry urging him to join the Irish :—

Your impiety to God, cruelty to soul and body, tyranny and ingratitude both to your followers and your country are inexcusable and intolerable. . . . You know the sword of extirpation hangeth over your head as well as ours if things fall out otherwise than well ; you are the cause why all the nobility of the south, . . . you being linked to each one of them either in affinity or consanguinity, are not linked together to shake off the cruel yoke of heresy and tyranny with which our souls and bodies are oppressed. All these aforesaid depending on your resolution, and relying to your judgment in this common cause of our religion and country, you might, forsooth, with their help, and the rest that are combined in this holy action, not only defend yourself from the incursion and invasion of the English, but also by God's assistance, who miraculously and above all expectation gave good success to the cause, principally undertaken for his glory, exaltation of religion, next for the restoration of the ruins and preservation of the country, expel them, and deliver them and us from the most miserable and cruel exaction and subjection, enjoy your religion, safety of wife and children, lands, and goods, which are all in hazard through your folly and want of due consideration.⁵

Barry replied that ' Her Highness had never restrained him in matter of religion ; he held his lordships and lands of her Majesty, and had settled himself never to forsake her.'⁶ ' As he was loyal to the Queen, O'Neill remained in the territory until he had traversed, plundered, and burned it from one extremity to the other, both plain and wood, so that no one hoped it could be inhabited for a long time afterwards.'⁷

' A disastrous action' happened while O'Neill was in the neighbourhood of Cork. Maguire set out from the camp to go on a raid, as was his custom when in an enemy's territory. He was accompanied by Edmund

¹ *James*.—The son of the elder brother of Earl Gerald ; he is known in history as the Sagan Earl of Desmond.

² *Clangibbon*.—The territory of the White Knight, now a barony in the north-east of Co. Cork.

³ *Roche's Country*.—Now the barony of Fermoy.

⁴ *Barry Mor*.—David FitzJames, Viscount Buttevant. He had joined the Earl of Desmond in the war against the English ; he was received to his submission by Lord

Grey, and from that time forward he was the constant supporter of the Crown, and was rewarded accordingly. See Archdall's *Peerage*, i. 293.

⁵ *Consideration*. — *Pacata Hibernia*, p. 36. This letter was signed by O'Neill and the Earl of Desmond. Similar letters were written to Lord Roche and to Edmund and Thomas FitzJohn Fitzgerald. *C.C. MSS.*, iii. 363.

⁶ *Forsake her*. — *Pac. Hib.*, p. 37.

⁷ *Afterwards*. — *Annals F. M.*, vi. 2147.

MacCaffrey, his standard-bearer O'Durnin, and a priest. He fell in with Sir Warham St. Leger,¹ who, having heard that he had left the camp, lay in wait for him with sixty horse. Besides their hostility to each other as leaders of opposite armies, there was a rivalry between them, the Irish giving the palm for bravery and skill in horsemanship to Maguire, the English to St. Leger. When Maguire came in sight of the enemy, though far superior to him in numbers, he thought it unworthy of him to fly or surrender. Poising his lance he put spurs to his horse and charged at them. St. Leger discharged his pistol and shot Maguire. He then bent down to avoid the thrust; but the spear struck him in the forehead and pierced through his helmet. Maguire left the spear in the wound, and drawing his sword cut his way through the enemy, followed by his companions. He expired immediately after.² The 'death of Maguire,' the Four Masters say, 'caused a giddiness of spirits and depression of mind in O'Neill and the Irish chiefs in general; and this was no wonder, for he was the bulwark of valour and prowess, the shield of protection and shelter, the tower of support and defence, and the pillar of the hospitality and achievements of the Oirghialla and of almost all the Irish of his time.'³ The Queen on hearing of Maguire's death bade the Privy Council write to the Commissioners of Munster: 'Her Majesty commands us to give you her thanks, it being a great contentment to her to see this change from receiving news of losses and disasters on her Majesty's side, that one of the first traitors hath received that end which, we doubt not, shall befall the rest of these monstrous rebels.'⁴ St. Leger died a fortnight after of the wounds received in the encounter.

After receiving the submission of nearly all the Munster chiefs, both Irish and Anglo-Irish, O'Neill returned to the north by the same way he had come to Munster. The time spent in the expedition was somewhat less than three months. 'The province of Munster,' says Moryson, 'was much confirmed in rebellion by the Earl of Tyrone's journey into these parts, where he strengthened James FitzThomas. He combined with Florence MacCarthy (called by the Irish MacCarty More, a name greatly followed there), and in like sort with most of the great men in those parts, encouraging those whom he found willing to persist, taking pledges of those

¹ *St. Leger*.—Shortly after the death of Sir John Norris in September, 1597, he and Sir Henry Power were appointed Commissioners for the Government of Munster. *C.C. MSS.*, iii. 327.

² *After*.—The Council of Munster, in their letter to the Lords Justices, say: 'St. Leger and Sir Henry Power, with some horsemen, did rise forth to meet any

stragglers.' *Ibid.*, p. 366. This agrees substantially with O'Sullivan's account, which we have given. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 212; but not with that of *Pac. Hib.*, p. 39, which says 'he was riding out the city for recreation to take the air.' That is the account given by Cox also, *Hib. Angl.*, i. 422.

³ *Time*.—*Annals F. M.*, vi. 2165.

⁴ *Rebels*.—*C.C. MSS.*, iii. 370.

he suspected to be wavering, and burning and spoiling those few who did absolutely refuse to join with him.'¹

The same writer thus describes the state of Ireland in the spring of 1600 :

At this time, I may boldly say, the rebellion was at the greatest strength. The mere Irish, puffed up with success and blooded with happy encounters, did boldly keep the field and proudly disdain the English forces. Great part of the English-Irish were in open action of rebellion, and most part of the rest temporised with the state, openly professing obedience that they might live under the protection thereof, but secretly relieving the rebels and practising with them for their present and future safeties. Among the English the worthy generals of this age partly by this fatal war, partly by factions at home, were so wasted as the best judgments could hardly find out any man fit to command this army in chief. The English common soldiers by looseness of body, the natural sickness² of the country, by the poverty of the war in which nothing was to be gained but blows, and by the late defeats wherein great numbers of them had perished, were altogether out of heart. The Colonels and Commanders, considering the army's weakness, were somewhat dejected in mind ; yea, the very Councillors of State were so diffident as some of them in late conference with Tyrone had descended (I know not upon what warrant³) to an abject entreaty for a short Cessation. . . . Not only the remote parts but the very heart of the kingdom now languished under the contagion of this rebellion, Leix and Offally being possessed by the O'Mores and the O'Conors, and the mountainous country on the south-west side of Dublin being in the hands of the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles (and more remotely of the Cavanaghs), who nightly made excursions to the very gates of the city, giving alarm of war to the long-gowned senate and (as it were) to the chair of estate.⁴

The Queen was displeased at Essex's return, contrary to her command and without her permission.⁵ For her honour's sake she could do no less than in some measure to chastise him. She therefore determined to use his services no further in Ireland. On the 10th of January, 1601, Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, was made Deputy. The Queen had purposed to employ him in this office the preceding year ; but Essex, who coveted the

¹ *With him.—Rebellion, &c.*, p. 64.

² *Sickness.*—A kind of dysentery. 'Against this disease,' says Lombard, 'they employ a remedy easy to be had, viz., a certain most excellent liquor, which they call usquebagh, so well mixed that it has the power of drying up and does not inflame like that made in foreign countries.' *De Hib. Com.*, p. 38.

³ *Warrant.*—'I left with the Justices order to keep this Cessation precisely.' Relation of the Earl of Essex. *C.C. MSS.*,

iii. 335. 'I advise her Majesty to allow me at my return to Dublin to conclude this treaty, yielding some of these grants for the present ; and when her Majesty has made secret preparation to enable me to prosecute, I will find quarrels enough to break, and give them a deadly blow.' Answers of the Earl of Essex. *Ibid.*, p. 337.

⁴ *Estate.—Rebellion, &c.*, p. 51.

⁵ *Permission.*—She had given him licence to return to her presence at such times as he should find cause. *C.C. MSS.*, iii. 295.

place, secretly opposed her determination, alleging that Mountjoy had no other experience in martial affairs save what he gained in the short time he had served in the Low Countries; besides, that he was too bookish, with too few followers and too small an estate to embrace so great a business.¹ On February 24th he landed in Ireland, and a few days after received the sword. By warrant from the Queen, he appointed Sir George Carew, lieutenant of the ordnance and one of the Council of Munster, to be President of that province.² The Earl of Ormonde, in return for his good services and because he had been much toiled now in his latter years, was allowed to choose whether he would retain the place of Lieutenant-General of the army.³

In the Instructions⁴ given to the new Lord Deputy by the Queen, it was 'recommended to his special care to preserve the true exercise of religion among her loving subjects'; the time, however, did not permit that he should intermeddle by any severity or violence in matters of religion, until her power was better established there to countenance his actions of that kind. The employment of Irish in the army should be avoided as much as possible, since they might run away armed to the rebels, or upon days of service turn their swords into their fellows' bosoms.⁵ For the employment of the forces upon the rebels, there was no course to be taken but by plantation of garrisons in the heart of the countries of the capital rebels. Whenever Tyrone was distressed, he by general offers of submission caused a suspension of his prosecution until the opportunity was lost. Heed should be taken that she be no more abused in that kind, but all means possible were to be used to cut him off as a reprobate to God, and he should be left to the force of the sword.⁷ These Instructions were supplemented by others, 'Ordinances⁶ to be observed during the war in Ireland.' Among them are the following: No merchant or other person to sell powder, armour, or munition, but all furniture of war to come out of the Queen's store only; no Irishman to serve in any company except those of the Pale, because of the general revolt; every soldier to be enforced to wear a murrion,⁷ because the enemy is encouraged by the advantage of

¹ *A business*.—Moryson, *Rebellion, &c.*, p. 45. This writer was Mountjoy's secretary. He gives a detailed account of the character and manner of life of his deceased master. *Ibid.*

² *Province*.—*Pac. Hib.*, p. 4. His instructions are given *Ibid.*, p. 10. Brewer remarks that Carew, though apparently the inferior, was in fact the superior, as he was the friend of Cecil. *C.C. MSS.*, v. pref. lxxvii.

³ *Army*.—*C.C. MSS.*, iii. 361.

⁴ *Instructions*.—*Ibid.*, p. 356.

⁵ *Bosoms*.—'All the mischiefs of our service have grown above all by nourishing the Irish, who are snakes in our bosoms while we hold them, and when they are out do convert upon ourselves the experience and strength they have gotten by our making them to be our soldiers.' Letter of the Queen to Mountjoy in *Rebellion, &c.*, p. 56.

⁶ *Ordinances*.—*C.C. MSS.*, iii. 365.

⁷ *Murrion*.—Morion, a helmet without a vizor to protect the face.

arms to come to the sword, where commonly he prevaileth; a strong prosecution to begin in March, and strong garrisons to be placed near the enemy, which will eat out the rebels within twelve months if the captains be men of worth and diligent.

In pursuance of the plan laid down here, Mountjoy determined to establish garrisons on the borders of Tyrone and Tyrconnell. He would at the same time gratify the Earls of Thomond and of Clanricarde, whose territories O'Donnell used to waste from time to time, by forcing him to remain at home in order to save his own lands from being preyed. A force was got together in England of 3,000 foot and 200 horse. The commander was Sir Henry Docwra.¹ They embarked at Chester on the 24th of April, and four days later they reached Carrickfergus. They were joined by 1,000 foot taken from the old companies about Dublin. Ten days later they set sail for Derry, and landed at Culmore.² Here they set about erecting a fort that would lodge 200 men. A company of 150 men was put into the neighbouring castle of Elagh,³ which O'Dogherty had abandoned shortly before. On the 22nd of May 600 men were left at Culmore to finish the works; the main body marched to Derry.⁴ This place they took possession of without any resistance being offered to them. Two ships of war were appointed to attend on them during the whole summer. These coasted along the shores, and brought in any building materials they found. Timber was got in abundance from a wood in O'Cahan's country opposite; 'but there was not a stick brought in that was not fought for.' The Lord Deputy made a diversion to draw off O'Neill and O'Donnell, by marching to the Blackwater; but learning that the force had taken possession of Derry and secured themselves there, he returned to Dublin. After his return home, O'Neill joined by O'Donnell made a sudden attack on the outposts of Derry; but the sentinels gave the alarm, and the garrison stood on the defensive and would not be drawn outside the walls; and as they had several large guns planted in position, any attempt to take the place by assault could not succeed. It was Mountjoy's wish that a garrison should

¹*Sir H. Docwra.*—The Instructions given to him will be found in *C.C. MSS.*, iii. 374. He has left 'A Narration of the Services done by the Army in Lough Foyle'; it will be found in the *Miscellany of the Celtic Society*, p. 233.

²*Culmore.*—A point of land projecting into Lough Foyle, four miles N.E. of Derry.

³*Elagh.*—It is three miles north of Derry. A considerable portion of this castle is still standing. See an account and a view of it in *The Ordnance Survey of the Parish of Templemore*, p. 234.

⁴*Derry.*—Sydney, the Lord Deputy, to check the increasing boldness of Shane O'Neill, sent seven companies of foot and a troop of horse by sea to Derry, that they might fall on the enemy in the rear. Randolph, their commander, was slain in a battle that took place in October, 1566. Two years later an accidental explosion of gunpowder destroyed the town in great part, so that it was not thought tenable any longer. The troops returned to Dublin. *Ibid.*, p. 35. We have seen how the attempts of Bagnal and Essex to enter the north failed.

be placed at Ballyshannon, under the command of Sir Matthew Morgan, 1,000 men being taken from the force at Derry for the purpose ; but as it was evident that these forces would be exposed to manifest ruin if at that time and in the state as things then stood he would go forward, directions came to suspend the proceeding till another time.¹

On the 1st of June Sir Arthur O'Neill,² son of Turlough Luineach, came and joined the English garrison with 30 horse and foot, 'a man I had directions from the State to labour to draw to our side and to promise to be made Earl of Tyrone, if the other that maintained the rebellion could be dispossessed of the country.' Three months later, Rory, brother to O'Cahan, who had before made an agreement with Docwra to serve under Sir Arthur O'Neill, came to him and brought with him 12 horse, 30 foot, and a hundred fat beeves, a welcome present at the time, for fresh meat was then rare to be had, and the provisions in store were very nearly spent.

Docwra gives at some length an account of an affray, the result of which was the capture by O'Donnell of several horses belonging to the garrison of Derry :

On the 29th of July O'Donnell came again with 600 foot and 60 horse, and lay close in ambush in a valley within a quarter of a mile of our utmost horse sentinels ; and Moyle Morogh MacSwindoe³ (a man purposely sent with me by the State, and so well esteemed of, as the Queen had given a pension of six shillings a day unto during his life and the present command of 100 soldiers), having intelligence with him, caused some of his men to go a little before break of day and drive forth our horses (that were usually every night brought into the island to graze) directly towards him, in so much as upon the sudden before anything could be done to prevent it, he got to the number of 60 into his power and presently made haste to be gone. By the alarm I rose up from my bed, took some 20 horse and such foot as were ready, bade the rest follow, and so made after them. At four miles' end we overtook them ; their own horse kept in the rear flanked with foot, marching by the edge of a bog, and those horse they had got from us sent away before with the foremost of their foot. When they saw us coming they turned head and made ready to receive us. We charged them, and at the first encounter I was stricken with a horseman's staff⁴ in so much as I fell for dead, and was a good while deprived of my senses. But the captains and gentlemen that were about me . . . gave beyond my body and enforced them to give ground a good way, by

¹ *Time*.—*C.C. MSS.*, iii. 374.

² *Sir Arthur O'Neill*.—He died of fever five months after. 'His brother Cormac claimed to succeed him as next of kin, and had in that name good entertainments from the Queen. But shortly after came his own son Tirlogh, whom the State admitted to inherit all the fortune and hopes of the father.' *Docwra's Narration*, p. 247.

³ *MacSwindoe*.—*i.e.*, Maelmuire MacSwiny na dtuath.

⁴ *Staff*.—O'Sullivan says his helmet was pierced through by a spear. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 218. In a skirmish that took place a month before between some of O'Dogherty's men and the garrison of Elagh, Sir John Chamberlaine, the second in command, was killed. *Docwra's Narration*, p. 240.

means whereof I recovered myself, was set upon my horse, and so safely brought off, and conducted home, and they suffered with the prey they had got to depart without further pursuit.¹

The writer attributes the success of the assailants to the treachery of Maelmuire MacSwiny² 'who caused his men of purpose to drive forth our horses. For which he was seized and put on board a ship then going to Dublin; he was put under hatches, but these being opened to set beer, he stepped up on the deck and threw himself into the river and so swam away to O'Kane's side, which was hard by, those in the ship amazed with the suddenness of the fact and doing nothing that took effect to prevent it.'³

In the spring of this year two ships came from Spain, under the command of Ferdinand De Barranova. They were laden with materials of war, and knowing that the northern chiefs were then at enmity with the English, they put into the harbour of Killybegs. In answer to the question why the King had delayed so long the promised relief, he said that his master was fully determined to aid them with men and money; but having been told that they had made peace with the English, he wished to learn from messengers of his own what was the true state of affairs.⁴ For this purpose he now sent Matthew de Oviedo, a Spanish Franciscan, who had already visited Ireland at the close of the Geraldine war with James Fitzmaurice and the Spanish force⁵ sent to the help of the Irish. A year after he was sent back to Spain for the purpose of soliciting further aid, and he was instructed to proceed from thence to Rome, and to act as agent of the Irish at the Papal Court. Now he came as the joint Envoy of Pope Clement VIII. and of the King of Spain,⁶ the first congratulating O'Neill on his victories and exhorting him⁷ to persevere in his glorious struggle, so that the Catholic kingdom of Ireland might not be subject to the yoke of heresy, the latter sending him a gift of 22,000 crowns and promising him further aid. But the chief purpose of his coming was to see and understand the state of the country,⁸ misrepresented by English emissaries at foreign courts. On the 13th of May he was appointed Archbishop of Dublin. We have several

¹ *Pursuit.*—*Ibid.*, p. 242.

² *M. MacSwiny.*—He had been knighted for his services against the O'Mores during the expedition to Leix. O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, p. 218. See also p. cii., antea.

³ *To prevent it.*—Docwra's *Narration*, p. 243.

⁴ *Affairs.*—Lombard, *De Hib. Com.*, p. 175.

⁵ *The Spanish force.*—Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin*, pp. 194 and 426.

⁶ *King of Spain.*—Philip III. His father, Philip II., died in 1598.

⁷ *Exhorting him.*—Moran, *A. of Dublin*, p. 206, gives the Pope's letter.

⁸ *Country.*—*Hib. Pac.*, p. 457. The Primate Peter Lombard in more than one place complains of the injury done to the Irish cause in foreign countries by the want of fitting agents to uphold it, and by the misrepresentations made by the English and those in their pay. *De Hib. Com.*, pp. 127, 165.

letters¹ written by him during his stay in this country, which was somewhat less than a year; some to the King of Spain, others to some of the King's ministers. On the 24th of June he wrote to the King :

SIRE,—I wrote by Don Martin de la Cerda² giving your Majesty an account of the state of things in this island when we came with your Majesty's letters. As I have been here for two months, seeing everything that has been done, I can give a more exact account of what is taking place in this province. At present we are hemmed in between two armies, one of which came by sea,³ the other by land, not to speak of the many garrisons which the English have near us and from which they make incursions every day. Yet such is the bravery of these two Earls and of their followers that if they fought with equal arms they would have no fear; but as they have neither muskets nor artillery, they cannot drive them from the forts which they are erecting each day within the province, and as the war has lasted so long they are so exhausted and impoverished that they have not the means of supporting the soldiers or of paying them, and so every day we are afraid they will leave us. The English are making great efforts to bring about a peace, offering excellent terms; and for this purpose the Viceroy sent messengers twice to O'Neill, saying among other things that your Majesty is making peace with the Queen, and that his condition will be hopeless. At other times he says that no greater misfortune could happen the country than to bring Spaniards into it, because they are haughty and vicious, and they would destroy and ruin the country. To all this they reply most honourably that they will hold out so long as they have one soldier, or there remains a cow to eat. At present they have got together a very good army, so that O'Neill made the Viceroy retreat when he was coming by land, and O'Donnell keeps those who came by sea shut up in their fortresses. The consequence is, that if a help of six thousand men and some large guns were now sent them, they could take any city in Ireland. I wish it were possible for me by word of mouth to show the importance of this undertaking and the great service that would be rendered thereby to God and to his Church, and the great advantage it would be to the service of your Majesty and the peace of your states to attack the enemy here. This is the best possible opportunity, and if it is allowed to slip by, I do not know when we shall find another. But as I cannot urge it otherwise than by these few lines, I pray God, in whose hands the hearts of kings are, that He may move the heart of your Majesty to help us at once. Every day I promise the Catholics this help, and in this way I keep them on hands. May the Lord preserve your Majesty for many and very happy years to be the protector and help of all the afflicted.

From Dungannon in Ireland, June 24th, 1600.

Your Majesty's humble chaplain,

FRAY MATTHEO, Archbishop elect of Dublin.⁴

¹ *Letters*.—The originals of this and the four letters that follow it are in the Archives of the College of Loyola, Spain.

² *M. de la Cerda*.—He seems to have come to Ireland with de Oviedo or soon after. There is a good deal of uncertainty

about the precise dates of the arrival of the Spanish envoys.

³ *By sea*.—This refers to Docwra's force. The land force was that led by the Lord Deputy to the north.

⁴ *Dublin*.—It was received Dec. 16th.

Another reached the King from O'Neill at the same time, though it was written six weeks after that of the Archbishop.

Hugh O'Neill wrote again to the King a few days later :

SIRE,—We have written by Don Martin de la Cerda to your Majesty in acknowledgment of what your Majesty has done for us and in gratitude for what we have received, both arms and money bestowed on us by your generous hand. We have given to the Archbishop of Dublin and to Don Martin a very long account of our condition, that the one in writing and the other by word of mouth may give information to your Majesty, and you may rest assured that if we were able with our own forces and those of our friends to resist the power of this enemy, it would be enough for us to know that we were doing a great service to God and to his Church, and also to your Majesty's interests, in order to make us risk our lives and shed our blood, without troubling and wearying your Majesty, who we know has so many and important things to attend to. But, Sire, a war so long and continuous against so powerful an enemy, and against some of our own countrymen, who do us still more harm, as your Majesty will understand, must have so exhausted and impoverished us that it is by a miracle we hold out, and that owing to our reputation. At present matters stand in so favourable a way in this kingdom, that with some help and some large guns to make breaches in walls, this war would end successfully, for we have an army in all the provinces of Ireland, and when the succour reaches us and its arrival becomes known, our strength would be doubled ; whereas if the aid fails to come or is delayed, our forces must grow less and melt away, not having means to subsist.

We humbly beseech your Majesty to order this aid to be hastened, since experience has shown us what evils arise from a delay in such matters. The Archbishop of Dublin encourages and strengthens us and revives our hopes, and by his presence has given us much courage and confidence, and in this way his coming has been of great use and benefit. It only remains that the authority of his Holiness, which has been asked for on behalf of your Majesty, should be sent to him, for there is urgent need of it to correct and reform matters concerning religion, and without it this cannot be done. May our Lord watch over and preserve your Majesty, giving you the increase and prosperity which your vassals and humble servants desire.

From our Camp in Ireland, June 28th, 1600.

It is so difficult to send our letters to Spain, that though I sent this off more than a month ago, it has been returned to me. Now it will go by way of Scotland. I can assure your Majesty that the enemy's strength grows daily, and that our people are losing courage, seeing the succour delayed. But I trust in God and in your Majesty that it will not fail us.¹

From the Catholic Camp, August 3rd, 1600.

Your humble vassal and servant kisses the feet and hands of your Majesty.

HUGH O'NEILL.

¹ *Fail us*.—It was received December 16th.

On the 17th of September O'Neill again wrote to the King :

SIRE,—If the letters which I sent to your Majesty by several ways by special messengers had reached your royal hands, I have no doubt the clemency of your Majesty, your generosity, and your zeal for the increase of the holy Catholic faith which exist in the breast of your Majesty to an heroic degree, would have moved you to send to this kingdom as soon as possible the aid so often promised and so much desired by us. Knowing too from our letters the extreme danger in which we are and the great advantages both spiritual and temporal which must accrue from sending this aid, and its importance to your Majesty's authority and the spread of the Catholic faith, we cannot believe your Majesty will fail us in such circumstances. But fearing the letters have been lost, I am obliged to send this third messenger and by him to give you again an account of the wretched and unhappy condition in which we the Catholics of this kingdom find ourselves. It is such that if your Majesty does not aid us speedily we shall all be ruined, to our great sorrow and to the extinction of your Majesty's authority, in whom we all put our trust, and against whom the enemy think they are carrying on the war when they attack us. This year the Queen has employed all the forces both by sea and land to crush the Catholics, knowing they are under your Majesty's protection, and for this reason she has sent by sea to the port of the Foyle a large number of vessels bringing infantry and cavalry and a vast quantity of ammunition and provisions, and every day this expedition is strengthened with additional vessels and forces. She has erected three fortresses along this coast, which her garrisons hold. They are doing great harm, since they oblige us to make encampments in order to prevent them from entering farther into the land. On the other hand, the Viceroy came here in the spring, and I and all my friends were obliged to go and hinder his advance over the frontier, where I was for many days. And now he is coming back with 7,000 foot and a large body of horse. Such is our enemy, not to speak of those dwelling on our frontiers. I am so impoverished and exhausted, having carried on the war for six years, that I have neither food for my men nor money to pay them; and what is worse, seeing that I am weak and that the help does not come, my friends pass over to the English, for the Queen confers on them great favours and extraordinary gifts. From what I have said your Majesty may infer the great danger in which we are, and since we are yours and you have received us under your protection, and the chief cause of the persecution which we suffer at the hands of the Queen arises from the hatred she has towards the Spaniards, we have the natural law both divine and human in our favour, and we can prove that according to it you cannot abandon a nation which is fighting for the Catholic faith and trusts in the promises of aid given us by his Majesty Philip the Second of blessed memory, your Majesty's father, and by your Majesty and your Ministers, when the Archbishop of Dublin and Don Martin de la Cerda came, and on behalf of your Majesty commanded us to continue the war. We found that all we could do was to hold out till this September. This is now half passed and we do not see the help.

We beseech your Majesty to consider the straits in which we must be, and for the love of God and for your own dignity, I beg you will not allow these traitorous enemies of the Catholic faith to triumph over us, for they would triumph over Spain

at the same time. Even if this help comes at the end of October it will be in good time, and with six or seven thousand men and heavy guns (to make batteries) we shall be masters of the kingdom. May God inspire your Majesty and your Royal Council to determine on what is best in this case and all others. Watch over us and promote the welfare of yourself and of your kingdom for His holy service and for the increase of His holy faith.

Written ¹ in the Irish Camp, September 17th, 1600.

O'NEILL.

Here is the letter ² written at the same time by de Oviedo to one of the ministers.

MOST EXCELLENT LORD,—By every possible way and with the greatest care we have sought out messengers to give his Majesty and you an account of things in this country, and in addition to the letters which Don Martin took with him, these gentlemen and I have written at great length. But as the voyage by sea is so uncertain, I am afraid that of those which I sent by three different ways none has reached your Excellency's hands ; and hearing that the Earl O'Neill has resolved to make again the same petition to his Majesty, informing him of this state of things, to him I refer your Excellency for the account, not to weary you with a long letter and a repetition of what you have already heard so often of the sufferings of this country. They are so great that the mere narrative of them will move to much pity a heart as christian as yours. I have been employed all this time in giving consolation to them, being continually with O'Neill and assuring him that aid will come from his Majesty, the only way of putting an end to these sufferings. He has always put his trust in it, knowing that such is the desire of his Majesty, and he has often told me that in it chiefly he places his hopes. And though he is still as hopeful as ever, yet seeing that some of his people are not so, as the delay seems to them very great, he is very downcast, fearing that some of his friends will grow weary of enduring so much suffering as he has already witnessed and even now has before his eyes. With all this he conceals this fear, and he bears his share of these hardships with as much courage as if it were his first day ; and hearing that the Viceroy was coming to his territory with a large force, he went half way to meet him and engage him in battle, and God knows how small his force is. But the reputation he has with the enemy is so great that it alone sustains the war, and I trust in God that if the Viceroy comes he will return with as little profit to himself as he did last spring. I beseech your Excellency by the love of God if perchance (a thing I do not believe) the succour has not set out when this reaches, you will continue to urge this matter, and that the aid will not fail to come immediately, lest the delay may be the cause of our losing all, as undoubtedly it may be.

Our Lord bestow all happiness on your Excellency as your chaplain desires.

From this island of Ireland, Sept. 18th, 1600.

FR. MATTHEO, Archbishop elect of Dublin.

¹ *Written*.—It was received Nov. 17th.

² *Letter*.—It bears no address, having

been enclosed very probably in O'Neill's letter. The date of its receipt is not given.

On the same day the Archbishop wrote to the King, again urging him to take pity on the distressed condition of the Irish :

SIRE,—Already in three other letters I have described to your Majesty the state of things in this island, which is sustained in its sufferings by the hope which it has in your Majesty, and owing to it, many of the friends of these two leaders O'Neill and O'Donnell persevere in their fidelity, for without it I believe from what they suffer they would have passed over to the Queen's side, as some have done since I have come here. My coming by order of your Majesty has been of some advantage, for I have assured them they will be very soon aided by your Majesty, as I tell them every day. As things are set out more at length in O'Neill's letter, I refer you to it. In this I merely beseech your Majesty to take pity on these poor Catholics, remembering the great service that will be done to our Lord by taking up the cause of his Church, which is persecuted in this country, and how worthy this undertaking is of the greatest Prince in the world and her son, and how great is the reward which in return is prepared for your Majesty in heaven.

May God protect the royal person of your Majesty.

From this island of Ireland, Sept. 18th, 1600.

FR. MATHEO, Archbishop Elect of Dublin.¹

O'Neill was anxious to send his second son Henry² to reside for some time in Spain, that he might learn the accomplishments suited to his high station and see the Catholic religion³ in its full splendour. He made known his wish to the King. Here is the kindly answer which he received :

NOBLE AND WELL-BELOVED,—I have already written a joint letter to you and your relative O'Donnell, in which I replied to the letter of both of you. By this, which I now write to you personally, I wish to let you know my good will towards you, and I mean to prove it not only by word but by deed ; and whereas, from intelligence which reached me from Ireland some days past, I understood you wished to send your son here to be reared and instructed in the Catholic faith, and those who brought the letter understood so from you, I wish to let you know hereby that if such is your determination, it will be a pleasure to me to carry it out. If you send him here, he shall be very dear to me, and I will treat him as a youth of fair hopes, and as the son of such a father should be treated. Don Martin de la Cerda will bring him over, and supply his wants on the journey, as we have ordered.⁴

Given at Madrid, the 24th of December, 1599.

¹ *Dublin*.—Received November 27.

² *Henry*.—'He (Owen) saith that Tyrone sent his son into Spain, to be there brought up, not being demanded of the King as a pledge.' *Pac. Hib.*, p. 459.

³ *Religion*.—The Lord Deputy proposed to O'Neill, in 1594, to send his eldest son to be brought up in the University of Dublin. *C.C. MSS* iii. 79.

⁴ *Ordered*.—Archives, Simancas, no. 839.

O'Neill wrote in reply :¹

SIRE,—The singular favour which your Majesty has done me in deigning to call my son to your service as your vassal, is such as I cannot express in writing. I have nothing now to offer you in proof of my gratitude, since I have already devoted to your royal service my life, my property, and my state ; in this profession I will continue all my life, and I hope to do such service as will give proof of my good will. I do not need to commend my son to your Majesty, since he is your vassal and will be received as such by you.

We have received the Archbishop of Dublin as a proof of your Majesty's good wishes, with whom we will treat of our affairs. He will give you an account of all. And as there are many vessels from this port belonging to merchants who cannot be trusted, it would be much for the advantage of your Majesty's service if they were not admitted into any ports of your kingdom unless they have letters with my signature, for I know such persons as are suspected and such as are not. I had not an opportunity of communicating with you through the Archbishop of Dublin, since Maurice Fitzgerald has been prevented in Spain from coming in these vessels ; as he has a claim to the Earldom of Desmond, we might well suppose he would be opposed to its present possessor, who is on our side and does good service to your Majesty's cause ; for in spite of the noble birth of that gentleman, his services, and our obligations to him for what he has done and is still doing on behalf of the Church and your Majesty, yet good reasons compel me to beseech your Majesty to keep him back and employ him elsewhere ; he can come at some future time, with the aid which you are about to send us, for then there will be no fear that his coming will do any harm but rather much good to your service. May our Lord preserve and prosper your Catholic Majesty, and increase your successes, as we your vassals and stewards desire.

Given in the Monastery of Donegal, in Ireland, 24th of April, 1600.

Your Majesty's vassal and servant, kissing your royal hands,

AODH O'NEILL.

The King on receipt of this letter sent it, as was his custom, to the Council of State to report to him on its contents. They replied that his Majesty might give Hugh O'Neill to understand the high estimation in which he was held for his bravery and continuous efforts against the heretics. As regards the coming of his son, he will carry out all that Don Martin de la Cerda will make known as his father's wishes, and he will give him a position near his royal person. It will be well to carry out his suggestions about the ships also. On the 18th of May the Archbishop of St. Iago wrote¹ to the King :

In obedience to the orders of your Majesty, I have received the person and despatches sent hither by Fray Matheo de Oviedo from the kingdom of Ireland, where he has gone by your Majesty's order. Don Henrique, son of the Earl of

¹ Reply.—*Ibid.*, no. 2511.

² Wrote.—*Ibid.*, no. 840.

Tyrone, and Captain Don Martin de la Cerda have landed here. I received them with all possible respect and supplied all their wants. Moreover, I gave them the opportunity of confessing and receiving Holy Communion, as they did at the Mass which I said at the altar of our glorious Apostle and Patron St. James; and by so doing he and his suite have proved themselves good Catholics. From what I have learned of the condition of the Catholics of that kingdom, I consider the course which your Majesty has taken in defence of our holy faith very just and worthy of your Majesty, namely, to help those who suffer there because they are good Catholics. For which your Majesty will receive a lasting reward from our God.

He was sent to Salamanca to study in the famous University, the King allowing him a pension of 200 ducats per month. It would seem that he resided for a time in the Franciscan convent there. But as he showed some inclination to join the Order, the King, by the advice¹ of Cardinal Guevara, wished him to reside with his Governor either in the Bishop's palace or elsewhere in the town, until his father was consulted and his wishes ascertained in reference to the matter. Later we find him at the Court of the Archduke of Austria. After some time, in spite of English intrigues, he got the command² of a regiment of his countrymen in the Spanish service, and served with them in the Low Countries. He was made a Knight of St. Iago, much to the disgust of Turnbull, the English envoy, who thought that by such an honour it was intended to attach the recipient of it and those of his nation still more to the Spanish Crown.³

We have now come to the turning point of Hugh Roe O'Donnell's fortunes. Hitherto his successes had met with no check. In the field he and O'Neill had shown themselves a match for the ablest generals that the English Government could send against them. The force which had been sent to assail him in his own territory was wasting away day by day almost without any effort on his part. 'Now the winter began to be fierce upon us,' says Docwra, their commander; 'our men wasted with continual labours, the island scattered with cabins full of sick men, our biscuit all spent, our other provisions of nothing but meal, butter, and a little wine, and that by computation to hold out but six days longer. Tyrone and O'Donnell, to weaken us the more, proclaimed free passage and relief through their country to send them away to as many as would leave us and

¹ *Advice*.—*Ibid.*, no. 2511.

² *Command*.—The Conde de Puñorostro to the King, December 9th, 1604. In this letter he speaks of 'las buenas cualidades que se veen en este joven y excelente caballero.' Archives, Loyola.

³ *Crown*.—*Flight of the Earls*, pp. 41,

302. Turnbull's intrigues, however, prevented his marriage with the daughter of a wealthy Spanish nobleman. *Ibid.*, p. 325. He died at an early age, but the date of his death is uncertain. His younger brother John was styled Conde de Tyrone in 1616. See *Kilk. Arch. J.* for 1867, p. 91.

depart for England, our two forts, notwithstanding all the diligence we had been able to use, far from the state of being defensible . . . our horses were so weak and few that we were not able to hold watch any further out.'¹ Once, indeed, O'Donnell made an attack on them. With a large body of horse he came to the bog that divided the island² from the mainland; but they had had notice of his intention, and were prepared to receive the assault. It ended with some loss on the part of the assailants.

Twice in the course of this year, once in early summer, and a second time in October, O'Donnell made hostings into the territories of the Earls of Clanricarde and of Thomond, to wreak his vengeance on them for inducing the English to seize on Derry, and to show his contempt for the force that then held it. On both occasions he left a portion of his army encamped near Derry, 'to watch the foreigners, that they might not come to plunder his territory,' and he placed in command of them his cousin Niall Garbh O'Donnell, having complete confidence in his bravery and fidelity.

'The English began privately to entreat and implore Niall Garbh O'Donnell [to join them], offering to confer the chieftaincy of the territory upon him should they prove victorious. They promised him many rewards and much wealth if he would come over to their alliance. He listened for a long time to their offers, and his misfortune at length permitted him to go over to them, by the evil counsel of the envious and proud people who were along with him.'³ 'Woe to mind that conceived that ruinous plot,' exclaims our author in sorrow, 'woe to the heart that entertained it, woe to the tongue that advised it.'⁴ 'On the third of October,' writes Docwra, 'came in Neale Garvie O'Donnell with 40 horse and 60 foot, a man I was directed by the State to win to the Queen's service, and one of equal estimation in Tyrconnell that Sir Arthur O'Neill was of in Tyrone. The secret messages that had passed between him and me he found were discovered to O'Donnell, and, therefore, somewhat sooner than otherwise he intended, and with assurance and hope of many conditions that he stood upon; yet it is true I promised him in behalf of the Queen the whole country of Tyrconnell to him and his heirs, and my Lord Deputy

¹ *Further out.*—*Narration*, p. 244.

² *Island.*—The hill on which the part of the city surrounded by walls stands. The position of the bog in ancient times can be determined by the names Bogside, Long-bog, Cowbog, which still survive in the suburb of Edenballymore. See *Ordnance Survey of Derry*, p. 102.

³ *With him.*—*Annals F. M.*, vi. 2209. His wife, Nuala, a sister of Hugh Roe, left him in consequence of his treachery. O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, p. 219. She ac-

companied the Earls in their flight from Ireland in 1607; she is the 'woman of the piercing wail,' whom the poet Mac an Ward represents as mourning over the grave of the Earls in San Pietro in Montorio, Rome. See *Flight of the Earls*, p. 383.

⁴ *Advised it.*—O'Sullivan says it was Conn O'Gallagher who persuaded Niall Garbh to pass over to the English; he was captured soon after, and hanged by O'Donnell's order. *Hist. Cath.*, pp. 219, 220. More of him later.

and Council at Dublin did afterwards confirm it unto him under their hands, and his coming in was very acceptable at that time, and such as we made many uses of and could ill have spared.¹

Niall Garbh was envious of Hugh Roe's power, and the greatest temptation that could be held out to him was the chieftainship of the territory. His sentiments could not but be known to Hugh Roe, for our author says, he came to the first hosting summoned by the young chief 'not through love but through fear.' No doubt he thought that he, and not Hugh Roe, should be the chief of the clan; and if the supreme power passed on from father to eldest son, it would have come to him, as may be seen readily from the pedigree.² But such a mode³ of succession, though in strict accordance with the English law of primogeniture, would be far more the exception than the rule in the succession to the chieftaincy of an Irish clan. Yet it was strenuously upheld and insisted on by the English as the one and only mode that was in strict accordance with the fundamental laws of right and justice, and availed of very often to raise up a rival to the elected chief and to create dissensions from which they usually reaped profit. Myler Magrath in his 'Declaration of the State of Ireland,'⁴ says:

In O'Donnell's country named Tyrconnell there are three principal families of the name, viz., Sir Hugh O'Donnell and his children, Hugh Duff, uncle to the said Sir Hugh, and the descent of Sir Calvagh O'Donnell, who in like sort severally think to have the best right to the superiority of that country each of them. Hugh Duff and his house, who is uncle to him that is now O'Donnell by the custom of the Irishry, has the ancientest right to the superiority, being put from it by Manus O'Donnell, this O'Donnell's father. Calvagh, oldest son of Manus, got a patent from England upon that country to himself and his heirs in state of inheritance, upon whose death, that state notwithstanding, this Sir Hugh has used the name both against his uncle Hugh Duff being the eldest of the name, who according to the custom of the country was to have the same. By which it appears this O'Donnell has no right either by custom or by law.

Docwra tells of the other advantages besides those mentioned by our author, which the English garrison of Derry derived from Niall's Garbh's 'coming in':

The next day after he came, we drew forth our forces and made a journey to the Isle of Inch,⁵ where by his information we had learned there was a good prey of cattle to be got. But the tides falling out extraordinary high, we were not able to

¹ *Spared*.—*Narration*, p. 245.

² *Pedigree*.—See p. xii., *antea*. O'Sullivan says another grievance of Niall Garbh's just then was that Hugh Roe had taken from him the castle of Lifford, given him by Hugh's father, and would have him be satisfied with Castlefin. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 219.

³ *Mode*.—See Keating's defence of tanistry in the preface to *H. of Ireland*, p. xxx.

⁴ *S. of Ireland*.—*C.S.P.I.*, iv. 498.

⁵ *Isle of Inch*.—The only island in Lough Swilly; it lies about a mile off Churchtown, and three miles S. E. of Rathmullen. It contains over 3,000 acres, chiefly pasturage.

pass them to get in ; so as we were forced to turn our course and go down into O'Doherty's country, though to little purpose ; for knowing of our coming, he drove away all before us ; only some stacks of corn we found, which we set on fire. The 8th of October I assigned to the said Neale Garvie 500 foot and 30 horse, under the leading of Sir John Bowles, to go to take the Liffer, where 30 of O'Donnell's men lay in garrison in a fort in one of the corners of the town ; and most of them being abroad when they came, were surprised and slain and the place taken ; yet so as one of them had first put fire into the fort, which consumed all the buildings in it ; but the rest of the houses scattered abroad in the town (which were about 20) were preserved and stood us afterwards in singular good stead.¹

One of O'Donnell's own people brought him word of his kinsman's treachery ; he was then in the neighbourhood of Ballymote. He was greatly surprised at the news, and he set off on his return home as fast as he could, 'noie of his soldiers being able to keep with him except a few of his horsemen,'² in order to undo in some way by his presence the evil effects of treachery.

O'Donnell having heard of the taking of this place,³ came on the 12th of October with 700 foot and 100 horse, and encamped himself about three miles off at Castlefin. The next day he came and showed himself before the town. Our garrison made out, had a skirmish with him of an hour long, wherein Neale Garvie behaved himself bravely. Captain Augustin Heath took a slight hurt in his hand, and some ten or twelve men on each side were slain. On the 24th he came again and laid himself in ambush a mile from the town, watching to intercept our men fetching in of turf. . . . The alarm taken, the garrison made forth again, and Neale Garvie behaved himself bravely as before, charged home upon them, killed one, hurt one or two more with his own hands, and had his horse slain under him. Captain Heath took a shot in the thigh, whereof he shortly after died, and some twenty more that were hurt and slain. . . . All this while after Liffer had been taken O'Donnell kept up and down in those parts, watching still to take our men upon some advantage, but finding none, and hearing two Spanish ships that were come into Killybegs with munition, arms, and money, on the 10th of November, he departed towards them, and between Tyrone and him they made a dividend of it. After he was gone, the garrison both here and at Dunalong set divers preys of cattle, and did many other services all the winter long, which I stand not upon to make particular mention of, and I must confess a truth, all by the help and advice of Neale Garvie and his followers, and the other Irish that came in with Sir Arthur O'Neale,⁴ without whose intelligence and guidance little or nothing could have been

¹ *Stead*.—*Narration*, p. 246.

² *Horsemen*.—*Annals F. M.*, vi. 2211.

³ *This place*.—*i.e.*, the castle of Lifford.

⁴ *Sir A. O'Neale*.—He had gone over to the English on the 1st June preceding. *Narration*, p. 240. 'Her Majesty doth now

determine to create Sir A. O'Neale Earl of Tyrone, who doth very good service at Lough Foyle, and is a very gallant fellow. Cecil to Carew, July 11th, 1600. *C.C. MSS.*, iii. 409. Docwra says Sir Art did him important service.

done of ourselves, although it is true withal they had their own ends in it, which were always for private revenge, and we ours to make use of them for the furtherance of the public service.

Ulick, 3rd Earl of Clanricarde, died in May this year. He was succeeded by his son Richard. The Lord Deputy wishing to give him an early opportunity of showing his bravery and his good will to the English, ordered him to put himself at the head of his own forces, to summon to his aid all the English from several of the Munster garrisons, and at their head to march to Sligo. He wished the Earl to create a diversion in favour of the garrisons lately erected along Lough Foyle, by drawing off O'Donnell from his own territory; in his absence they would be able to establish themselves securely in the several strongholds which they held already, and perhaps to seize on other places and so extend their power. 'As soon as O'Donnell saw the Earl's numerous army coming to Elphin, he assembled his forces and did not halt until he crossed the Curlews and the river Boyle into Moylurg, and he pitched his camp directly opposite his enemies. They remained thus for some time face to face, spying and watching each other. Many were the conflicts, slaughterings, and affrays which took place between them while they remained thus in readiness for each other, until at length the English army became wearied and returned in sorrow to their homes.'¹

Niall Garbh thought a favourable opportunity was presented by O'Donnell's absence to seize on Donegal and establish a garrison within the monastery. 'Conferring with Neale Garvie,' says Docwra, 'I then found by O'Donnell's absence the country behind him was left without guard, the abbey of Donegal was kept only by a few friars, the situation of it close to the sea and very convenient for many services, especially for a step to take Ballyshannon with, which was a work the manifold attempts and chargeable preparations the Queen had been at to accomplish, and my Lord had himself so lately aimed at and valued² equal to this other of meeting him at Blackwater,³ did argue would be of special importance and good acceptance; I concluded therefore and sent him away with 500 English soldiers to put themselves into this place, which they did on the

¹ *Homes*.—*Annals F. M.*, vi. 2251.

² *Valued*.—'The plantation at Ballyshannon will straighten, and presently banish the two vipers of the kingdom, and consequently make a final end of this war.' Mountjoy to Carew, May 1st, 1601. *C. C. MSS.*, iv. 49.

³ *Blackwater*.—The allusion here is to two attempts which Mountjoy made in the months of September and October to enter

Tyrone by the Moyry pass, which was a road in the parish of Killeavy, barony of Orior, Co. Armagh. But he was met by O'Neill's forces, 'like swarms of bees issuing from the hollows of bee-hives who compelled him to return by the same road, after the killing of countless numbers of the gentlemen and recruits. He did not go beyond Moyry pass for some time after this.' *Anna's F. M.*, vi. 2225.

2nd of August.¹ Our author describes the resistance offered to the party of Niall Garbh by the small force which Hugh Roe had left behind. Wisely judging that any opposition which they could offer in the face of such superior numbers would be worse than useless, they contented themselves with making an attack on the first body which had been sent on before to reconnoitre the road. These they beat back, but on the approach of the main body with Niall Garbh at their head, they retired and allowed them to march to Donegal and to take possession of the monastery. Here is a description² of the state of the monastery then by one of the monks who was an inmate of it at the time :

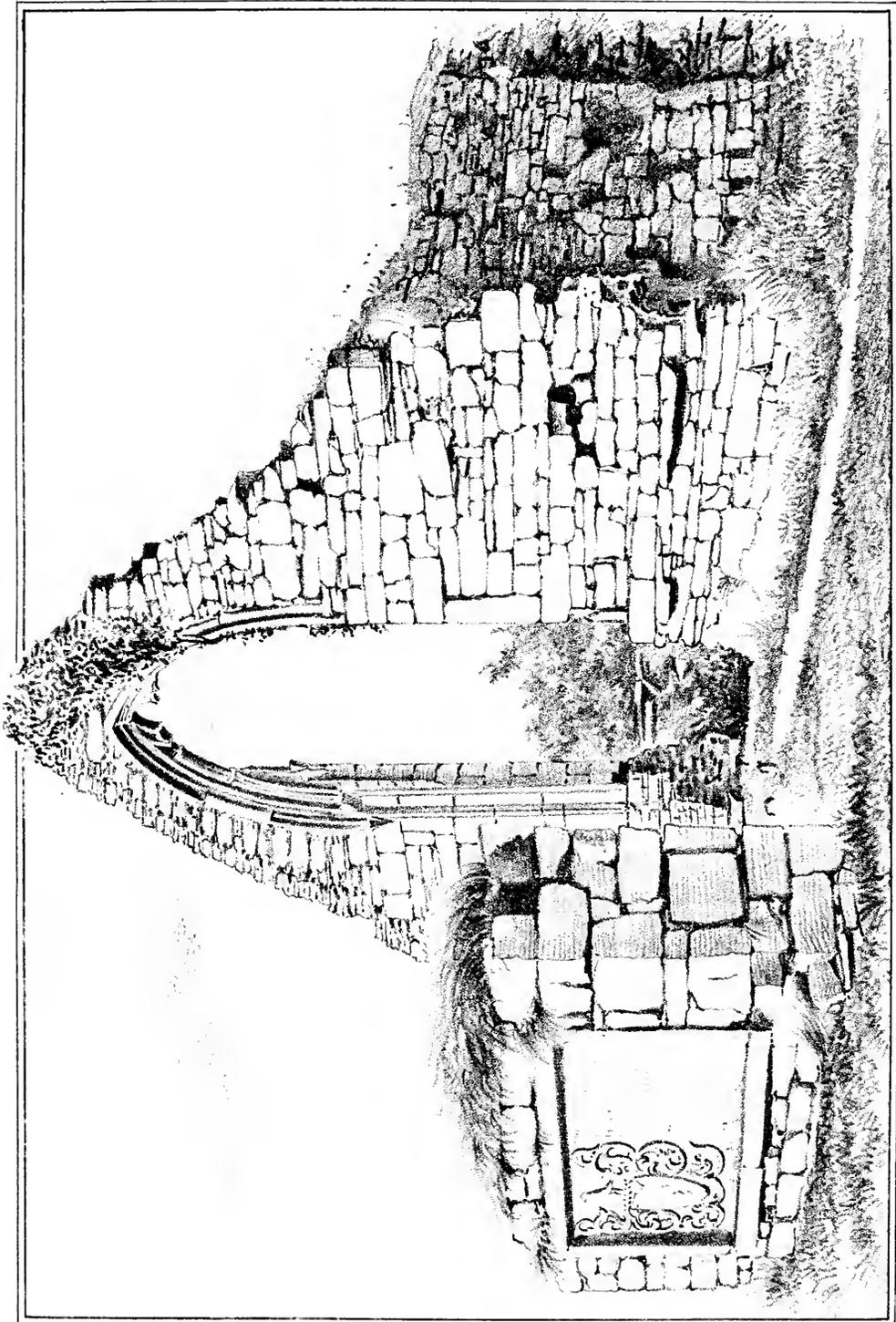
In the year 1600 our community at Donegal consisted of forty brethren, by whom the divine office was sung day and night with great solemnity. I had charge of the sacristy, and I had in it forty priest's vestments with all their belongings; many of these were of cloth of gold and cloth of silver, some of them interwoven and wrought with gold ornaments; all the rest were of silk. We had, moreover, sixteen large silver chalices, of which two only were not gilt. And we had two ciboriums for the Blessed Sacrament. The church furniture was very respectable. The windows were all glazed. But when the war grew more fierce and the heretics were getting a firmer footing, they made their way to the town of Donegal while the Lord O'Donnell was busily engaged elsewhere, and on the feast³ of St. Laurence the Martyr they placed a garrison of soldiers in the monastery. Some of the brothers who had been warned of their coming fled into the woods some miles off, having first put on board a ship the church furniture in order to save it. I was the last to leave the monastery, and I came away in that ship. The monastery was besieged soon after by the Lord O'Donnell, and the English who were in it were reduced to great straits. A wonderful thing happened. At one and the same time fire seized on the buildings of the convent, burnt many of the soldiers, consumed the whole convent and church, and the vessel which was in the harbour with provisions for the garrison on board was dashed against a rock. The English who survived took refuge in the trenches which they had dug, and were arranging to surrender, treating of the terms and conditions. News reached our Prince that the Spaniards, under Don Juan del Aguila, had come to aid the Irish, and were landed at Kinsale; and that after they had taken possession of the town, they were besieged therein by the heretics. He thought that it was his duty to hasten to their relief, and leaving things as they were at Donegal, he set off in all haste for Munster. Having arranged to meet O'Neill and the others on the way, all of them went to the relief of the Spaniards. But things did not turn out well at Kinsale, and the Spaniards were forced to surrender. When the Catholics were worsted in this way the Prince O'Donnell went to Spain, and in the following year, 1602, all his territory came

¹ *August.*—*Narration*, p. 255.

² *Description.*—The author is F. Mooney. His manuscript history of the Irish Franciscan Convents is in the Burgundian Library, Brussels. Rev. C. P. Meehan made use of

it extensively in his *Rise and Fall of the Irish Franciscan Monasteries*. This passage is printed in the Introduction to O'Donovan's translation of *The Annals F. M.*

³ *Feast.*—August 10th.



DONEGAL MONASTERY

into the hands of the heretics, and the church furniture too of our convent of Donegal was seized by Oliver Lambert, Governor of Connaught. He made drinking-cups of the chalices, and tore up the vestments and used them for profane purposes, and so both the convent and all its furniture were destroyed.

We may be allowed to give here, as not altogether out of place, the further history of the convent and its community from the time when the above account of its capture by Niall Garbh was written.

The brethren still live together in secure places within the limits of the convent, and they have at all times a Guardian and community of twelve at least. Some of them have been transferred to other convents. When peace was restored, and after the death of the Lord in Spain, his brother Rory was put into possession of the greater part of his territory, and was made an Earl by the King of England, a title far inferior to that which he had before. He began to rebuild the convent, but learning that the English were plotting to take away his life, he fled with Earl O'Neill to Flanders; from that he went to Rome, where both of them died. Now the English heretics have possession of the whole country, and they allow the older brethren to live in remote places, knowing that all of them must die soon, but they will not readily allow any younger men to join them. Such is the present state of that convent.¹

Whoever opens even casually the volumes of the *State Papers* that deal with the public events of this country at the end of the 16th century cannot fail to see there almost endless allusions to the coming of the Spaniards. When the Desmond revolt was at an end, and the territories of the Earl and those of his followers parcelled out among the English Undertakers, and peace seemed to be well and firmly established, there was still the dread of the coming of the Spaniards, like an ugly dream ever disturbing the minds of the officials. 'The state of this realm was never more peaceable than now; and it is likely to continue so if Spanish invasion do not interrupt this good quiet.'² So wrote Carew to a friend in England in 1590. And a year later the Lord Deputy wrote to Carew: 'The only fear I have is, that Spain, out of their great numbers in show prepared for France, may upon a sudden let fall on us in Ireland 4,000 or 5,000 soldiers, which number . . . may do for the time what pleaseth themselves, having in effect the whole country to join with them. Such an event would cost the Queen £100,000.'³ And when the Queen, who was ever complaining of the vast expenditure of money in the government of Ireland, 'marvelled that the garrisons there were so great, considering the present quiet, she

¹ *Convent*.—The original is: *Fratres usque in hodiernum diem vivunt tum per modum congregationis in locis magis tutis infra terminos et limites destructos conventus*. From these

words it is not easy to judge whether they lived near the Convent or on its lands.

² *Quiet*.—*C.C. MSS.*, iii. 40.

³ £100,000.—*Ibid.*, p. 51.

was told that time would not permit a discharge as the enemy threatened invasion, wherewith she was satisfied.'¹ In 1594 some one who 'has been acquainted with Ireland for the space of these twenty years,' declared in 'A Discourse for Ireland,' intended no doubt for the eye of the Government, that 'he knew not any one city or almost village in all Ireland but in affection was Spanish.'² In all the Articles proposed to O'Neill, O'Donnell, and the other chiefs, it was required of them to declare how far they had proceeded in any requests or actions with any foreign prince, and especially with the King of Spain, and to renounce all superiority and aid of foreign princes, chiefly of the Spaniards.³ The English Privy Council wrote to the Lord Deputy in September, 1595: 'Nothing will become the traitor (O'Neill) more than his public confession of any Spanish practises, and his abjuration of any manner of hearkening or combining with any foreigners, a course fit in his offence to be made vulgar, that in Spain and about the hopes of such attempts may be extinguished';⁴ in other words, the report of O'Neill's 'abjuration' of all friendship with Spain, it was thought, would have the effect of preventing the Spaniards from sending him further aid. In the following year, where there was question of prolonging the Cessation, the Commissioners were told by the Lord Deputy and Council to prolong it still further; 'for in this respite of time, as it is like that it will be seen what will become of the Spaniards, so we shall have commodities thereby to strengthen the borders and be fit not only to defend and resist their incursions into the Pale, but to invade and offend the enemies of Leinster as occasion shall offer. And yet the forces, being thus laid upon the borders, may be always ready to make present head against the Spaniard if he shall attempt to march towards Dublin or the English Pale, as is doubted by your Lordship, if he make his descent at Waterford or thereabouts.'⁵ In 1600 these 'uncertain bruits,' as the Queen used to call them,⁶ assumed a more definite form. 'Send me all the news you receive from Spain, for Tyrone doth fill all these parts with strange lies; although some part be true, that there came some munition and a Spanish priest that calls himself Archbishop of Dublin.'⁷ So the Deputy Mountjoy wrote to Carew from Newry, May 15th of that year, and three months later Carew wrote from Mallow to the Privy Council: 'For the heartening of the rebellion, Tyrone hath sent

¹ *Satisfied*.—*Ibid.*, p. 58.

² *Spanish*.—*Ibid.*, p. 106.

³ *Spaniards*.—See p. lxxiv. antea. This was the 14th of the Articles propounded to O'Neill in January, 1596. *C.C. MSS.*, iii. 163; and again in 1598 Ormonde is told 'to urge at meeting with Tyrone to tell truly how far he hath proceeded with the

Spaniards or any other Prince.' *Ibid.*, p. 278.

⁴ *Extinguished*.—*Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁵ *Thereabouts*.—*Ibid.*, p. 219.

⁶ *Call them*.—*Ibid.*, p. 177.

⁷ *A. of Dublin*.—*Ibid.*, p. 387. The reference here is to de Oviedo, about whom see p. cxvi., antea.

letters of comfort to all his friends and confederates of this country, assuring that before Michaelmas day the Spaniards would land in Munster.¹ The Spanish Envoy was reported to have sworn a solemn oath² that they would come immediately, and James Fitzthomas confidently believed it, and 'vaunted that ere that time he would be the greatest Earl of Desmond that ever was in Ireland.'³

Then there were doubts and conjectures about the precise place where the Spaniards would land. In 'A Discourse of Ireland,' written by Carew in 1594, he gives his reasons for thinking they would land somewhere in Munster rather than in Dublin, Connaught, or O'Donnell's country. 'In Munster there are goodly havens, and good towns to refresh the men, and the climate is more agreeable and the soil more fertile than in Ulster. The people of Munster are Spanish in heart, Popish in religion, and infinitely discontented since the traitors' lands were divided among the Undertakers. If the gentlemen of that province could agree upon a leader, they would declare themselves in action as Ulster has done, and with joyful hearts, as unto deliverers out of bondage, they will resort and yield obedience to the Spaniards, who at Waterford would find all kinds of conveniences. . . . 3,000 Spaniards would be sufficient to take and keep Waterford, and raise a general revolt in Ireland. . . . Next to Waterford, Cork is the most dangerous haven for the Spaniards to land at.'⁴

They did not come however in 1600; but in the beginning of 1601 their immediate arrival was looked on as a certainty. 'The late rumour of the Spaniards landed in Ireland,' writes Carew to the Privy Council, January 13th, 'hath bred a great distraction in this unsettled people, who desire nothing more than their coming, being persuaded very confidently in the same by a multitude of priests and friars which came in the last ships of munition that came to Tyrone, which is confirmed by other intelligences out of Spain lately received by merchants⁵ from thence . . . albeit part of the forces will be withdrawn by the Lord Deputy, yet because the coming of Ulster and Connaught men, or both, may chance to be true, I pray that the victualling until Christmas next may be continued for 3,000 foot and 250 horse as heretofore. . . . Send between this and Easter five lasts of powder with lead and match proportionable, 200 shovels and spades, 500 pickaxes, and 150 crows of iron.'⁶ 'By the intelligences that can be learned,' he wrote, very probably in the spring of this year, 'the Irish do persuade themselves that this summer the King of Spain will send

¹ *Munster*.—*Ibid.*, p. 427.

² *Oath*.—*C.C. MSS.*, iv. 55.

³ *Ireland*.—*C.C. MSS.*, iii. 427.

⁴ *To land at*.—*Ibid.*, p. 129.

⁵ *Merchants*.—And spies too a great

number of whom, under the name of pensioners, were in the pay of the English Government in all the Spanish ports.

⁶ *Iron*.—*C.C. MSS.*, iv. 4. See also *Pac. Hib.*, p. 217.

them succours; which if he do, no part of that kingdom—no, not the cities—will be free from rebellion, as well in regard of the affection they have to that nation and their religion as the inveterate malice they have to our religion and us.’¹

Not only O’Neill and O’Donnell in the north repeatedly besought the Spanish King to give them aid, but many of the southern chiefs were as importunate, notably the Earl of Desmond² and Florence MacCarthy Mor.³ But by the middle of this year both were seized⁴ by Carew and placed beyond all power of aiding any forces that might be sent to them. The Earl proclaimed openly that his chief reliance was on the Spaniards; not so Florence, who was more wily. But his wiles did not save him from the clutches of Carew. On the 14th of June the President and the Council of Munster issued a warrant for his apprehension; ‘being credibly given to understand of the continual conspiracies and combinations by him plotted with Spain and Tyrone and others in Munster, they resolved to restrain him and commit him to custody.’⁵ Two months later both were transported to England and consigned to the Tower of London for safe keeping.’⁶ He hoped that ‘the news of their apprehension, if the report do come in any good time into Spain, would work a diversion of their intentions’⁷ of sending forces to Ireland; and even if they were sent, he was almost assured ‘that having James MacThomas and Florence MacCarthy, no great defection would follow.’⁸ And, moreover, ‘if it do not divert their descent into Munster, yet the want of two such chieftains (unto whom it is to be supposed they were addressed) will make them to deliberate after their landing, before their march into the country; for although the repair unto them is likely to be great, yet strangers will hold it unsafe to trust unknown men.’⁹ But not satisfied with having these in his power, he ‘restrained three more of the principal men of the south, MacDonough, Tieve MacCarthy, and O’Mahony, the pretending Lord of Kynnelmeke, all of them to his knowledge being dangerous and discontented persons.’¹⁰ By the beginning of August the Lords of the Council were confident of the Spaniards’ descent, and wrote that 2,000 men would embark immediately at Bristol for Ireland, and 4,000 more were appointed to be in readiness at two ports,

¹ *Us.*—*C.C. MSS.*, iv. 169.

² *E. of Desmond.*—Carew says that one year before his apprehension he was the most potent Geraldine that had ever been of any of the Earls of Desmond. *Pac. Hib.*, p. 251. Two letters of his to the King of Spain, bearing date March 14th, 1600, are given *ibid.*, pp. 252-254.

³ *F. MacC. Mor.*—See his *Life* by Daniel MacCarthy, p. 326; London, 1867.

⁴ *Seized.*—Desmond was betrayed by his

kinsman the White Knight. *Pac. Hib.*, p. 240, and *C.C. MSS.*, iv. 121.

⁵ *Custody.*—*C.C. MSS.*, iv. 81, and *Pac. Hib.*, p. 283.

⁶ *Keeping.*—*Life of F. MacC. M.*, p. 343. The Earl died there.

⁷ *Intentions.*—*C.C. MSS.*, iv. 100, and *Pac. Hib.*, p. 313.

⁸ *Follow.*—*C.C. MSS.*, iv. 103.

⁹ *Men.*—*Ibid.*, p. 119.

¹⁰ *Persons.*—*Ibid.*, p. 121.

to be sent so soon as notice would be received by them of the Spaniards landing.¹

The disaster that befell the great Armada would have crushed the courage of a nation less warlike than Spain, and thwarted for years the plans of a sovereign less tenacious of his purpose than Philip II. This sovereign died September 13th, 1598, and was succeeded on the throne of Spain by his son Philip III. Though by no means the equal of his father as a ruler, yet he seems to have looked on his father's good will to Ireland in the light of a sacred inheritance bequeathed to him. He continued to show the same kindly and generous feeling to the suffering Irish, the same readiness to aid them. Soon after he mounted the throne, he wrote to the Irish chiefs who had sought help from his father so often and so urgently, assuring them of his desire to assist them in their struggles for their country and religion. The letter was an answer to one of O'Neill and O'Donnell addressed to his father. It bears no date but that of the year 1598 :

PHILIP by the grace of God, &c., greeting.—Your letter reached me at the time I was in very great grief for the death of my dear father. Knowing his good will towards you, I received it with much satisfaction, both because of your constancy in defending the Catholic faith and of the victories which you have gained over its enemies. I congratulate you on both, and I exhort you to persevere courageously in your good work. You need have no doubt about my good will towards you, and you shall see proofs of it when opportunity offers, as you can learn from Hugh MacDavid, a modest and sensible man, who brought your letter to me.²

The places which both the Deputy and Carew most suspected would be attempted by the Spaniards were the cities of Cork and Limerick. Into these the forces were gathered from all quarters, none being left outside but the wards in the several castles. With them Carew hoped to make good these places until he should be relieved either by the Deputy or out of England.³ In the middle of September he went to Kilkenny to meet the Deputy and consult with him about such services as he thought most necessary at the time.⁴ On the 20th of that month the Sovereign of Kinsale sent a messenger to Sir Charles Wilmot, then acting as Governor of Cork in the absence of the President, with letters importing that a fleet of forty-five ships was discovered from the old head of Kinsale, and that they were bearing towards Cork. The inhabitants of Cork harbour brought him word that the fleet was at the haven's mouth and ready, as they thought, to put into it. The Governor immediately despatched a horseman with letters to the President. He returned to Cork on the 23rd, and ordered all the forces of the province and the gentlemen of the country to

¹ *Landing.*—*Ibid.*

² *To me.*—Archives, Simancas, no. 839.

³ *England.*—*C.C.MSS.*, iv. 100.

⁴ *The time.*—*Pac. Hib.*, p. 336.

repair to him. When the Spaniards were close to the harbour's mouth the wind suddenly changed, whereupon they tacked round and made for Kinsale. On the 23rd they landed and marched with twenty-five colours towards the town. The English garrison quitted the place, and withdrew to Cork. The townsmen received the strangers in a kindly way, the Sovereign with his white wand in his hand going round to billet them in the several houses. To banish all fear and to win them by gentle usage, the Spanish General issued a proclamation,¹ promising that no injury would be done them, and full freedom given to any who wished to leave the town and take his goods with him. The harbour was commanded by two castles, Rincorran,² on the east side, and Castle ny parke³ on the west. The Spaniards immediately took possession of these, and put garrisons into them.

The General was Don Juan del Aguila⁴ who had held important commands in Brittany and the Low Countries. De Oviedo,⁵ of whom mention has been made already, returned with him from Spain, where he had gone in the preceding February to urge on the king the need of sending immediate aid to the Irish. Del Aguila was much disappointed⁶ that the native chiefs and their followers did not join him in great numbers. Carew, however, had forestalled him by apprehending the leading men, and taking pledges from the rest for good behaviour. Besides, there was much surprise among them at the smallness⁷ of the force that had come. De Oviedo and he wrote⁸ to O'Neill and O'Donnell to tell them that the long expected aid had at length arrived, and that they looked forward with much anxiety to the coming of these chiefs and their forces.

The history of the siege is given in great detail in the 'Diaries'⁹ of the

¹ *Proclamation.*—*Pac. Hib.*, p. 338. See also his Declaration in answer to the Deputy's Proclamation. *Ibid.*, p. 357.

² *Rincorran.*—This castle was pulled down in 1656. On its site the Duke of Ormonde built Charles Fort, so called in honour of Charles II.

³ *Castle ny parke.*—A view of it is given in *Pac. Hib.*

⁴ *Del Aguila.*—From the beginning he had disputes with his fellow-officers. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 224.

⁵ *De Oviedo.*—See p. cxvi., ante.

⁶ *Disappointed.*—'Relation,' by del Aguila. *Hib. Pac.*, p. 341. O'Sullivan says the chief of Bearhaven offered to join him with 1,000 men fully armed, and as many more if arms were supplied to them, and with them to prevent the Deputy from coming to Kinsale until O'Neill and O'Don-

nell came; but Don Juan did not seem anxious to accept their services. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 224.

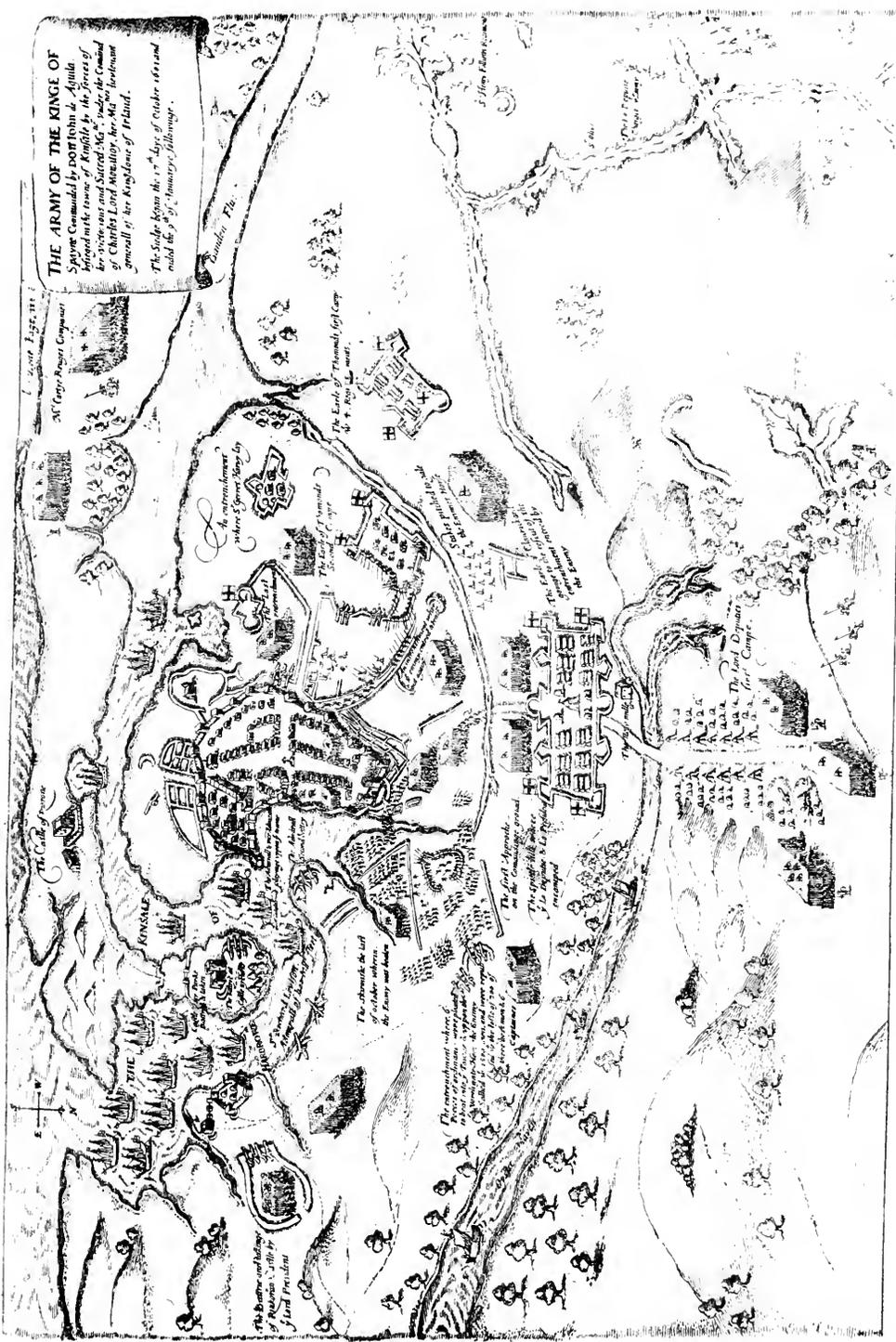
⁷ *Smallness.*—He had but 2,500 men. Some of the ships with troops on board intended for Ireland were sent to convoy treasure ships returning from the Indies, and were prevented from putting to sea afterwards by the stormy weather. *Ibid.*, p. 223. The names of the officers are given *ibid.*, p. 339.

⁸ *Wrote.*—Both letters are given *ibid.*, p. 353; the first is in Latin, the latter in Spanish.

⁹ *Diaries.*—There are several such in *C. C. MSS.*, iv. 179-199, as also abstracts of Spanish letters intercepted by Carew during the siege. See also Moryson's *Rebellion*, pp. 133-187. But it is well to remember that these are the English accounts.

THE ARMY OF THE KING OF SPAIN

Commanded by Don John de Siles, arrived in the town of Kinsale on the 17th of October 1602. He was met by the English Lord and Marshal for the Lord Mountsmurgh, and the Earl of Desmond, who were both of the Kingdom of Ireland. The Duke kept the 17th day of October, and could do so, because of the weather, following.



KINSALE IN 1602

Siege of Kinsale,' in the *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts*. We will give a summary of them here :

1601. Sept. 23rd.—The Spaniards landed at Kinsale.

„ 24th.—Marshal Wingfield was sent to the Pale and to Dublin, to assemble the forces and to get what necessaries the Council could supply the army with. Sir Henry Danvers was sent for the companies at Armagh, and Sir John Berkley for those at Navan. Captain Slingsby, with his foot company and some of Sir Anthony Cooke's horse, marched to view the enemy, and entertained a small skirmish with them.

„ 29th.—The Deputy, President, and Council went to view Kinsale. They found the Spaniards possessed the town, and that the greater part of the shipping was at sea returning into Spain.

Oct. 8th.—The Marshal and Sir John Berkley went to Kinsale to view a fit place to encamp in.

„ 16th.—The Lord Deputy left Cork, and encamped with the army at a place called Owny Buoy, five miles from Kinsale, rather choosing to take the field in that sort unprovided than the country should discover those wants and fall away to the Spaniards.

„ 17th.—The army rose and marched within half a mile of Kinsale, when they encamped under a hill which is called Knock Robin, having not the means to entrench.

„ 26th.—The army dislodged and encamped on a hill on the north side before Kinsale, called the Spittle, somewhat more than a musket-shot from the town, and there entrenched strongly.

„ 30th.—Two culverins began to play on the castle of Rincorran. The same day they gave an alarm to our camp, drawing artillery out of the town, and with it played into our camp, and every shot that was made fell near the Deputy's quarter. Don Juan perceiving the castle would be distressed, attempted to relieve it by boats, but Sir Richard Piercie beat them back.

„ 31st.—The cannon played without intermission. 500 of their principal men drew out of Kinsale, with show to relieve Rincorran by land. At six o'clock of the night they in the castle prayed admission of parley. The Commander came to the President ; but not agreeing¹ about the conditions, for he insisted they should be licensed to depart to Kinsale with their arms, bag and baggage, the battery began afresh. About 2 o'clock, when they found the weak state the castle was grown to, they sounded for another parley ; but this not being accepted, many of them endeavoured to escape under the rock close to the water side. On deliberation it was thought convenient if the Spaniards would quit the place with promise of life only to be sent into Spain, that they should be received to mercy, in order to entice others that were in Kinsale by this merciful dealing to leave the place. In the end

¹ *Agreeing*.—The officer in command, not being permitted to retain his arms, threatened to bury himself in the ruins of the castle. But his company seeing him desperately bent not to yield, did threaten

to cast him out of the breach so as they might be received to mercy. He consented at length to yield, and that his people should be disarmed, and he should render his sword to the President. *Ibid.*, p. 149.

it was concluded that they should be all disarmed. They were brought prisoners into the camp and thence sent immediately to Cork.

Nov. 5th.—Intelligence that Tyrone was coming with a great army to join the Spaniards. Resolved that the camp should be entrenched on the north side, and that the President with 2,100 foot and 325 horse should draw down to the border of the province to stop or at least hinder his passage, the Lord Barry¹ and the Lord Bourke² with the forces of the country to join with him.

„ 10th.—News of the Earl of Thomond's landing with 1,000 foot and 100 horse at Castlèhaven.

„ 18th.—The Deputy called a Council. Resolved; that the soundest course would be to invest the town at once and plant our artillery.

„ 19th.—A demi-cannon played upon Castle ny parke. The Spaniards attempted to relieve the Castle by boat, but were repelled.

„ 20th.—The Spaniards in the Castle hung out a sign for parley and surrendered, being in number 17.

„ 21st.—The Deputy went over into the island to view from thence how the town could be best invested.

„ 22nd.—Four other pieces planted.

„ 23rd.—The six pieces did great hurt to the town. The Deputy sent direction to Sir Richard Levison³ to land three culverins and to plant them in the Island about Castle ny parke.

„ 26th.—Two regiments of the Earl of Clanricarde and Sir C. St. Lawrence were quartered upon the west side of Kinsale, to keep the Spaniards and O'Donnell from joining.⁴

„ 28th.—In the morning a trumpet was sent to summon Kinsale; he was not suffered to enter the town; but received his answer at the gate, that they held the town first for Christ, and next for the King of Spain, and so would defend it against all enemies.

„ 30th.—The Marshal went to the wall of the town to view which was the best place to make a breach, and found the wall close to the gate on the right hand to be the fittest. The artillery beat upon that place and broke down a very great part of the wall.

Dec. 2nd.—The enemy sallied about eight o'clock in the night (being extreme dark and rainy) with about 2,000 men, and first gave slightly towards the new trenches upon the west side, and presently after with a great gross upon the trench of the cannon, continuing their resolution to force it with exceeding fury, having brought with them tools of divers sorts to pull down the gabions and trenches,

¹ *Lord Barry*.—See p. cx., antea.

² *Lord Bourke*.—He was descended from Edmund, 4th son of Richard, 2nd Earl of Ulster, and Slany, daughter of Morrough O'Brien, king of Thomond. He was created Baron of Castleconnell in 1580; his grandson was made Baron of Brittas in 1617. Archdall's *Peerage*, i. 121.

³ *Levison*.—He was Admiral of the Queen's fleet sent to Ireland.

⁴ *Joining*.—Moryson says the total of the English army at Kinsale on November 20th was 12 200 foot and 857 horse, *Rebellion*, p. 160; he gives the names of the officers and the number of men commanded by each, p. 159.

and spikes to cloy the artillery. Succours were sent from the camp, and repulsed the enemy, who at one time obtained possession of the trenches.¹

„ 3rd.—Intelligence that six Spanish ships put into Castlehaven. In these were said to be 200 Spaniards, with great store of ordnance and munition.

„ 13th to 20th.—The weather fell out so extreme foul and stormy and our intelligence concurring so fully of Tyrone's drawing near with his forces, as we neither could nor thought it fit to attempt any thing to any great purpose.

„ 21st.—Towards night Tyrone² showed himself with the most part of his horse and foot on a hill between our camp and Cork, about a mile from us, and on the other side of the hill encamped that night, where he had a fastness of wood and water.

„ 22nd.—Tyrone's horse and foot kept still in sight in the place where they showed themselves the day before. That night some of their horse and 500 of their foot were discovered searching out a good way to the town.

„ 23rd.—Our artillery still played upon the town, but we had no meaning to make a breach until we might discover what Tyrone meant to do. We intercepted letters of Don Juan's advising Tyrone to set upon our camp.

The 'Diary' under the date of December 3rd speaks of six Spanish ships seen to be making for Castlehaven. These had set sail under the command of General Pedro de Zubiaur from Corunna on the 6th of December.³ Five days after they caught sight of land. They intended to go to Kinsale, but the wind forced them to put into Castlehaven. The General has left an account⁴ of the expedition, of which these are the most important parts :

We entered the harbour without let on the 11th at eight in the evening. Some gentlemen of that part of the country came on board and told us how Don Juan was situated. The same night messengers were sent to him to let him know that aid had come, also to the Earl of Tyrone, and to the other ships to tell them not to make for Kinsale. The natives thought we had at least 3,000 men on board, and so the whole province rose in arms,⁵ and all the gentlemen declared themselves ready to join Don Juan, and promised to bring in 1,000 men. The General gave them 1,000 stand of arms. They handed over to him their castles ; the Lord of Castlehaven gave up his castle, the Lord of Baltimore did the like. They were

¹ *Trenches*.—O'Clery speaks of this sally. So too *Annals F. M.* : 'The Spaniards slew many men, and would have slain more were it not for the Earl of Clanricarde, for it was he and those around him that drove the Spaniards back to Kinsale.' vi. 2275. See also Moryson, *Rebellion*, p. 165.

² *Tyrone*.—O'Donnell was with O'Neill. They had joined their forces at Bandon.

³ *December*.—New style. The differences of the dates arise from the English using the Old style, whereas the Spaniards used

the New. This was not adopted in England until the year 1752.

⁴ *Account*.—The original is in the Archives of the Irish College, Salamanca. It was written by de Zubiaur at Luarda in the Asturias, January 14th, 1602, after his return from Ireland.

⁵ *Rose in Arms*.—The O'Sulleavans came within 24 hours with 500 men. The O'Driscols, O'Donovans, and some of the MacCarthys also came to his aid. See O'Sulleavan's *Hist. Cath.*, p. 225.

fortified, and men and guns sent to them. So too the castle of Bearhaven. If we had brought arms for 10,000 men we could have had them, for they are very eager to carry on the war against the English. The Irish are very strong and well shaped, accustomed to endure hunger and toil, and very courageous in fight. The greatest force the enemy has in his camp consists of 4,000 or 5,000 Irish.

On Saturday we saw six ships coming from the direction of Kinsale. The next day they cast anchor at the mouth of Castlehaven harbour. The firing went on vigorously on both sides at a stone's throw from each other, and continued till night-fall; it went on all the next day; forty of our men were killed and fifty wounded. The next day our guns began to play very vigorously. A large battering gun, landed during the night, did them much harm. In the night a letter came from the Earls to the General, thanking him for coming to Ireland and stating that they were going to join Don Juan; that they could not do so sooner owing to the long journey they had to make in bad weather and the deep rivers they had to cross; they were then but seven leagues from Kinsale. On the 17th another letter came from the Earls, asking the General to send them all the men and guns he could. The English ships left the harbour soon after; their loss was very great. Eight days later an order was issued that all the forces which could be spared should be sent to the Earls. 600 Irish and 120 Spaniards set off the same night; the Earls and all the choice troops were encamped two and a half leagues from Kinsale, ready to attack the English as soon as they were joined by a large party of Irish, who they hoped would come from the English camp. On the 24th word came from the Earls that they had arranged with Don Juan at a given signal to make a sally and attack the enemy . . .

‘When O’Neill and O’Donnell and the Irish of Leith Cuinn in general heard the news of the arrival of the Spanish fleet, the resolution they came to with one mind and one intention (although their chiefs and gentlemen did not assemble together to hold their consultation or conclude their counsel), was that each lord of a territory among them should leave a guard and protection over his territory and fair land and proceed, without dallying or delaying, to aid and assist the Spaniards who had come at their call and instance, for it was distress of heart and disturbance of mind that they should be in such strait and jeopardy as they were placed in by their enemies, without relieving them if they could.’¹ O’Donnell was the first to set off on this journey: ‘for it was through him that the Spaniards and their King had begun the war. He was full of joy at their coming, and he thought it of little importance that the English should dwell in the castles which they had seized in his territory, for he was sure they would escape from them at once if the Irish and the Spaniards were victorious in the contest with the Lord Deputy at Kinsale.’²

Our author describes O’Donnell’s journey in detail. He remained nearly twenty days in Hykerrin, waiting for O’Neill. ‘Upon certain

¹ *Could.*—*Annals F. M.*, vi. 2275.

² *Kinsale.*—See ad ann. 1601, postea.

intelligence that Tyrone was coming up with a great army to join with the Spaniard, it was resolved by the Council of State and the Colonels of the Council at war that the Lord President with two regiments of foot consisting of 2,100 men and 325 horse should draw to the borders of the province to stop or at least hinder Tyrone's passage.¹

The 7th of November he left the camp and never ceased travelling until with long and weary marches he came to Ardmayle,² in county Tipperary. By that time O'Donnell had come near to Holy Cross, and lodged in a strong fastness not six miles from him, but not daring to make his passage by Cashel, as he pretended, fearing the Lord President's forces. The way over the mountain of Slew Phelim³ was impassable by reason of the late rain; and from thence into Limerick there was no other passage but by the Abbey of Owney,⁴ a narrow strait, distant twenty miles. But there suddenly happened a great frost, which enabled the enemy to march over the mountain in the night. The Lord President pursued them as far as the said Abbey, where O'Donnell made no stay, and never rested till he came to a manor-house of the Countess of Kildare, called Croom, adjoining the fastness of Connelloe,⁵ twelve miles from the Abbey of Owney, so that the march from O'Meagher's country to Croom (by the way which he took without any rest) was above two and thirty Irish miles, the greatest march with carriage that had been heard of. To overtake him, the President marched from Cashel to Kilmallock, near twenty Irish miles, but his labour was lost. The President thought it meet to hasten to the camp at Kinsale to prevent his coming thither.⁶

Our author gives a detailed account of O'Neill's march to Munster. He and O'Donnell, coming near the enemy, united their forces. They pitched their camp at Culcarrin⁷ wood, a mile from the enemy's, and surrounded it with a rampart. O'Sullivan⁸ describes the events that followed:

The Irish and the Spaniards kept the English, who were between them, in great straits, preventing them from being supplied with corn or food from the towns or

¹ *Passage*.—Moryson, *Rebellion*, p. 151. The author should have said O'Donnell, not Tyrone, for O'Neill had not yet come to Munster.

² *Ardmayle*.—Five miles N. of Cashel.

³ *Slew Phelim*.—A mountainous district on the borders of Limerick and Tipperary, 14 miles E. of the city of Limerick.

⁴ *Owney*.—A Cistercian monastery, founded in 1205 by Theobald FitzWalter, lord of Carrick. It is 8 miles E. of Limerick. It is also called Abingdon.

⁵ *Connelloe*.—The ancient Hy Conall Gabhra, an extensive district lying S.W. of the city of Limerick.

⁶ *Thither*.—*Pac. Hib.*, p. 376.

⁷ *Culcarrin*.—A mile and a-half from Kinsale, on the road to Cork. There are still traces of the entrenchments on the spot.

⁸ *O'Sullivan*.—His account is in most parts very different from that of *Pac. Hib.*, p. 413, or of Moryson, *Rebellion*, p. 141. It is now for the first time published in English.

cities or any other place, and intercepted those who made sallies from their camp for the purpose of foraging. Wherefore the English, not going to a great distance so that they might be able to return speedily, in their necessity used to forage with less freedom and boldness; and on sustaining a little loss, or even at the sight of the enemy in the distance, would throw away what they had and fly. Afterwards they foraged not in the day time but by night, and ultimately they did not dare to appear at all outside their camp for the purpose, so that they had consumed nearly all the supplies which they had with them.¹ Hence want at first set in, next famine, and lastly pestilence assailed them. The Irish had abundant supplies. The Spaniards also could subsist for several days on the provisions which they had brought with them from Spain or which the town afforded, and were protected from the incursions of the enemy both by their valour and by the fortifications they had made.

The Munster chiefs,² who had hitherto assisted neither side, promised to come as speedily as possible to their assistance for the defence of the Catholic religion. The Irish soldiers, regular and auxiliary, relying on whose valour the English held their ground, promised O'Donnell by means of messengers that they would go over to his side before three days had passed, and had begun already to redeem their pledges by deserting the English by twos, by threes, and by tens. Indeed if their total desertion were to be looked forward to it was all over with the English, for of the 15,000 men which they had at the beginning of the siege 8,000 had succumbed to the sword, to hunger, cold, and pestilence, the greater part having been sent to their aid recently from England, young recruits,³ ill-suited to endure perils and toil. Of the rest scarce 2,000 were English, the others being Irish and Anglo-Irish. The Viceroy, alarmed at these dangers, resolved to raise the siege, betake himself to Cork, and content himself with merely defending the city, so that without conflict or bloodshed the Catholics might have had the victory.⁴ Our sins prevented this from coming to pass. In the first place del Aguila by frequent letters over and over again besought O'Neill most earnestly to unite with him. O'Neill, O'Sullivan,⁵ and others were of opinion that they

¹ *With them.* — The Irish reduced the English to great straits, for they did not permit hay, corn, water, straw, or fuel to be taken into the Lord Justice's camp. *Annals F. M.*, vi. 2281.

² *Chiefs.* — MacMahon, Maguire, and others had come with O'Neill. The Four Masters say all the Irish of Munster came to him except MacCarthy Reagh and Cormac MacCarthy, the lord of Muskerry. vi. 2279.

³ *Recruits.* — These were probably the 1,000 men and 100 horse which were sent from England under the command of the Earl of Thomond, and landed November 10th. Moryson, *Rebellion*, p. 151.

⁴ *Victory.* — 'By reason of Tyrone's nearness, the day before the battle it had been resolved in Council to send the horse from the camp for want of means to feed them, and if Tyrone had lain still and not suffered himself to be drawn to the plain ground by the Spaniards' importunity, all our horse must have been sent away or starved.' — *Ibid.*, p. 178.

⁵ *O'Sullivan.* — Chief of Beare. He came with his own forces and was joined by 300 Spaniards from Castlehaven, under the command of Alonzo Ocampo. O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, p. 227. His forces then numbered 4,000 foot and 300 horse. *Pac. Hib.*, p. 379.

should not bring matters to such a crisis,¹ but wait for the desertion of the Irish to them and the flight of the English. But O'Donnell² and many others were of the opposite opinion. Accordingly the majority prevailed over the more prudent side. A day was fixed on which O'Neill was to post himself at early dawn close to the enemy's camp, so that del Aguila, making on his part a sally, might join his forces with him. The letters of del Aguila to O'Neill on this subject were intercepted³ by the Viceroy. O'Neill, having arranged his troops in triple column, endeavoured to reach the appointed place. The English being aware of the plans of the Catholics, while it was still night, by the beating of drums and the sound of trumpets and the bursting of bombs in the place which O'Neill sought to reach, made false pretence and show of battle.⁴ It is said that spies sent out by del Aguila brought back word of the pretended fight that was taking place. O'Donnell, with his troops, on account of his guide's ignorance of the way, was straying about some distance off. The forces of O'Neill and O'Sullivan, hearing the war trumpet sound and thinking that del Aguila had come out into the appointed place, came up speedily. But when they saw the camp in perfect calm and quiet, the enemy having now returned to their fortifications, they perceived the stratagem. And remaining a short time under arms, as the day was now dawning, they advanced a little beyond the place marked out for them; and the first ranks of O'Sullivan's column, which were in the van, took up a position not far from the rampart; they were protected, however, from the enemy's observation by a low mound which intervened. When it was now full daylight⁵ O'Neill, surprised that del Aguila had not sallied forth or given the signal for battle, proceeded to the top of the mound with O'Sullivan, the Spanish officers, and a few others. From this eminence he made a most attentive survey of the enemy's camp. It was very strongly fortified with a rampart, a trench, turrets, and engines. The soldiers were under arms, the horses ready bridled.⁶ Even in point of numbers they were superior to the Irish, for many had left the camp of the latter, especially the Munster men, on the previous day to forage and procure corn. O'Donnell with the third division had not yet arrived. For this reason O'Neill, putting off the engagement for another

¹ *Crisis*.—'O'Neill's advice was not to attack them immediately by any means, but to keep them still in the strait in which they were, until they should perish of famine and the want of all the necessaries of which they stood in need, as some of their men and horses had already perished.' *Annals F. M.*, vi. 2283.

² *O'Donnell*.—'He was oppressed at heart and ashamed to hear the complaints of the Spaniards without relieving them, even if his death or the loss of his people should result from it.' *Ibid.*

³ *Intercepted*.—One of these letters, addressed to O'Neill and O'Donnell by del Aguila, is given in *Pac. Hib.*, p. 405.

⁴ *Battle*.—The author of *Pacata Hib.* says

information of the attack was given to the English commander by Brian MacMahon in return for a bottle of aqua vitæ sent him by Captain Taaffe. p. 414. 'Some assert that a certain Irishman had sent information to the Lord Justice that the Irish and Spaniards were to attack him that night.' *Annals F. M.*, vi. 2285.

⁵ *Daylight*.—'The guides were not able to make their way to the appointed place, opposite the camp of the Lord Justice, until clear daylight next morning.' *Ibid.* vi. 2283.

⁶ *Bridled*.—'The Lord Justice and the Queen's army stationed themselves in the gaps of danger and certain other passes to defend the camp against their enemies.' *Ibid.*

day by advice of the leaders, ordered the troops to retreat. When they had retreated about half a mile they met O'Donnell, and at the very same moment the Viceroy's cavalry was at hand. These crossed the river which was near at a ford. O'Donnell, coming up with his horse, beat them back through the same ford, and put them to flight. The Viceroy's cavalry made another attempt to recross the ford. O'Donnell, thinking they could be easily overpowered between himself and the ford, gradually retreated. While he was thus engaged, a portion of his cavalry, either by accident or through perfidy and treachery, turning back their horses and thrusting themselves into his lines, forced the ranks of his infantry asunder. The infantry thrown thus into disorder betook themselves to flight. The columns of O'Neill and O'Sullivan fled likewise, though the enemy was not pressing on them, and their leaders were in vain calling them back. Thus were they all panic-stricken, or rather their flight was caused by the divine vengeance. The royal cavalry did not press boldly on them as they fled, as they believed they were being led into a snare. Many of the Irish cavalry who were on the English side, strove in vain to encourage the Catholics, urging them to renew the combat and promising them their assistance. O'Neill and O'Donnell were unable to bring them back again to the fight.

Here is the Spanish account of the fight :

On the 23rd of December news came from the Earls that they had arranged with Don Juan, that on a certain signal being given he should make a sally and attack the enemy. To carry out the plan, they drew up their forces in three divisions. The weakest of them attacked the enemy with 1,000 horse and 500 foot. Thinking they were not safe, though they were eight times more numerous than the enemy, they began to give way. The 200 Spaniards who were in the camp alone offered any resistance; 150 of them were slain, the rest escaped to Castlehaven. After this mishap not a single man remained in the Earl's camp. . . . The same morning that the disaster happened, Don Juan made a sally and slew more than 400 of the enemy. He took seven colours and all their guns. . . . During the half hour that the Earl's forces stood their ground, our men gained such a victory as they never gained before. If they had not retired so soon they would have driven the English from Ireland, for they are far superior in numbers. Their great numbers are a great help to us, but the Irish are not trained, and hitherto they have been accustomed to carry on the war by ambuscades in the mountainous parts of the country, and do not know how to fight in regular bodies.¹

'The Irish forces returned that night to Inishannon² with O'Neill and O'Donnell. The condition in which they were that night was not such as they had expected to return in from that expedition, for there prevailed much reproach on reproach, mourning and dejection, melancholy and anguish in every quarter throughout the camp. When they met together

¹ *Bodies*.—Account of what happened to the General Pedro de Zubiaur.

² *Inishannon*.—A village, eight miles N.W. of Kinsale.

their counsel was hasty, unsteady, precipitate. What at length they resolved upon was that O'Neill and Rory O'Donnell and the chiefs of Leith Cuinn in general should return to their own countries to defend their lands against foreign tribes, and that O'Donnell, with Redmond Burke¹ and Captain Hugh Mus,² should go to Spain to complain of their distress and difficulties to the King of Spain.³

On January 6th they set sail from Castlehaven in a vessel that took back the General Don Pedro de Zubiaur also.

'When the Irish had dispersed, the Lord Justice, the President, with the chiefs of the English army in general resolved to attack Kinsale, and to force their way through the shattered breaches. As soon as Don Juan heard this, and when he learned that the Irish, to whom he had come, and who he thought would have relieved him,⁴ were dispersed from him, and that he was left in the strait and blockaded prison in which he was, and that it was not in his power to return to his friends or to go forth against his enemies, the resolution he came to was to send messengers to the Lord Justice and the President to state that he would surrender to them.⁵ The terms⁶ of surrender were that Don Juan should quit the places which he held in the kingdom, as well the town of Kinsale, as also those held by the soldiers under his command in Castlehaven, Baltimore, and the castle of Bearhaven,⁷ the Lord Deputy giving him safe transportation to Spain. 2. That the soldiers under his command should not bear arms against the Queen of England, if supplies came from Spain, till the said soldiers were unshipped in some port in Spain. 3. He might depart with all the things he had—arms, munition, money, ensigns displayed, artillery, and all other provisions of war, as well in Kinsale as in other places. These articles were agreed to on January 12th, and on the 19th the siege was raised. Del Aguila and the Spanish forces set sail from Kinsale on April 26th, on their return to Spain.'

The engagement at Kinsale was not a battle; it was a rout. If we accept the account of English writers, 'of the Irish rebels, twelve hundred

¹ *R. Burke*.—He died soon after in Spain.

² *Mus*.—Mostian or Mostyn. He is mentioned more than once in *Pac. Hib.* One of the same name is mentioned in *C.C. MSS.*, iii, 183, as being in the service of the Queen.

³ *Spain*.—*Annals F. M.*, vi. 2289.

⁴ *Relieved him*.—He told Godolphin, who was sent to conclude the surrender with him, that he found the Lord Deputy, though sharp and powerful, yet an honourable enemy; and the Irish not only weak and barbarous, but (as he feared) perfidious

friends. Moryson, *Rebellion*, p. 182. On his return to Spain he was imprisoned, on the accusation of the Irish.

⁵ *To them*.—*Annals F. M.*, vi. 2299.

⁶ *The terms*.—They are given in full in *Pac. Hib.*, p. 438.

⁷ *Bearhaven*.—The Irish complained bitterly that Don Juan surrendered these strong places, 'not having been yielded or taken to the end they should be delivered to the English.' See O'Sullivan's letter to the King of Spain. *Ibid.*, p. 486, and *Hist. Cath.*, p. 234.

bodies were left in the place, and about eight hundred hurt, whereof many of them died that night; they lost besides two thousand arms.¹ O'Sullivan says, of O'Neill's forces only two hundred of the foot were slain,² and the Four Masters, that 'the number of slain was trifling, not very great on account of the fewness of the pursuers.'³ The Earl of Clanricarde in particular distinguished himself in the pursuit; 'for no man did bloody his sword more than his Lordship that day, and he would not suffer any man to take any of the Irish prisoners, but bade them kill the rebels. After the retreat was sounded, the Lord Deputy did give the order of knighthood to him in the field, in the midst of the dead bodies.'⁴

That each party should reproach the other with being the cause of the defeat was but natural. The Irish said that Don Juan was so importunate in his demands for help that he made them change their wiser plan, urging them thoughtlessly and hastily to attack the enemy in any way they could; this they did, contrary to the advice of Earl O'Neill. Don Juan had promised to join in the fight, but when they came to the place appointed, not only did he not meet them then, but he lay quietly within the walls of Kinsale; and they seeing this, so different from what they expected, some of them began to turn back, from which the confusion grew and the losses arose.⁵

The author of *Pacata Hibernia* tells how O'Donnell was received at his landing in Spain :

Among the many letters and papers found in the castle of Dunboy⁶ after its capture, there was one written by Patrick Sinnett,⁷ an Irish priest then living at Corunna with the Earl of Caracena, to Dominick Collins,⁸ a Jesuit, bearing date February 4th, 1602. In it we find an account of O'Donnell's reception there: 'He embarked with the General de Zubiaur at Castlehaven, the 6th of January. The next day after he came to the Groyne,⁹ where he was nobly received by the

¹ *Arms.*—*Pac. Hib.*, p. 420.

² *Slain.*—*Hist. Cath.*, p. 229.

³ *Pursuers.*—*Anna's F. M.*, vi. 2289.

⁴ *Bodies.*—*Pac. Hib.*, p. 421.

⁵ *Arose.*—MS. in the Archives of the Irish College, Salamanca. Del Aguila was accused of conduct of the same kind when the English and French captured Morlaix, Quimper, and Crodon. He was in prison awaiting his trial for his conduct when he was chosen to command the Irish expedition. O'Connor's *Military History of the Irish Nation*, p. 21; Dublin, 1845, and *C. C. MSS.*, iv. 203.

⁶ *Dunboy.*—It was surrendered to Mountjoy in November, 1602. He caused the garrison to be executed, contrary to the terms of surrender, to the number of about

600. O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, p. 238, *Pac. Hib.*, p. 558.

⁷ *Sinnett.*—He is mentioned by O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, p. 234.

⁸ *D. Collins.*—He was a native of Youghal, and at an early age went to France, and later to Spain, and was employed in the military service of both countries. In his 31st year he entered the Society of Jesus as a lay brother. After the surrender of Dunboy he was taken, contrary to the terms of the surrender, and hanged in Cork, Oct. 1st, 1602. See Roth's *Analecta*, p. 238, O'Sullivan's *Hist. Cath.*, p. 385, and *Pac. Hib.*, p. 577.

⁹ *The Groyne.*—*i.e.*, Corunna, with which this word has no connexion beyond that of sound.

Earl of Caraçena,¹ who invited O'Donnell to lodge in his house ; but he being sea-sick, in good manner refused his courtesy. Wherefore the Earl lodged him in a very fair house, not far from his : but when the sea-sickness was past, he lodged in the Earl's house, and upon the twenty-seventh of January O'Donnell departed from the Groyne, accompanied by the Earl and many captains and gentlemen of quality, who evermore gave O'Donnell the right hand, which within his government he would not have done to the greatest Duke of Spain ; and at his departure he presented O'Donnell with one thousand ducats, and that night he lay at Santa Lucia. The Earl of Caraçena being returned, the next day he went to Saint James of Compostella, where he was received with magnificence by the Prelates, citizens, and religious persons, and his lodging was made ready for him at St. Martin's ; but before he saw it he visited the Archbishop, who instantly prayed him to lodge in his house ; but O'Donnell excused it. The nine and twentieth the Archbishop saying mass with pontifical solemnity, did minister the sacrament to O'Donnell, which done he feasted him at dinner in his house. The King understanding of O'Donnell's arrival, wrote unto the Earl of Caraçena concerning the reception of him and the affairs of Ireland, which was one of the most gracious letters that ever King directed, for by it it plainly appeared that he would endanger his kingdom to succour the Catholics of Ireland to their content and not fail therein, for the perfecting whereof great preparations were in hand. O'Donnell carried with him to the Court Redmond Burke, Father Florence, Captain Mostian, and nine gentlemen more, where they were nobly received.²

The kindly reception that O'Donnell met with on all sides made him hope that his mission would be successful. On February 28th he wrote³ to the King :

SIRE,—All we have learned about Ireland, we have informed the Council of State of. In this letter we merely beseech your Majesty with all humility that you would be pleased to look into this business, for if we know that you take it in hand we shall have more confidence in you than in all the world besides to advance the welfare of our poor country, and you will see the need of making haste. I pledge my word to your Royal Majesty that, once landed there, we shall make the whole country subject to your Majesty in a very short time ; this I promise knowing the state of the country just now. May God preserve your Majesty for many years.

From Corunna, February 28th, 1602.

HUGH O'DONNELL.

Nearly two months had gone by, and yet no sign appeared of succour

¹ *E. of Caraçena*.—O'Sullivan says he had great affection for the Irish, and received the exiles with much generosity. This writer, then a young boy, was one of the Irish exiles whom he treated with much

kindness. The Earl was then Governor of the province of Galicia. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 234.

² *Received*.—*Pac. Hib.*, p. 478.

³ *Wrote*.—Archives, Simancas, no. 2516.

being sent immediately. On the 15th of April he wrote another and still more pressing letter to the King :

SIRE,—I, a faithful, humble, and favoured servant of your Majesty, should commit a great crime if I doubted about the accomplishment of what, for such well-founded reasons, worthy of Christianity and of your Majesty, you have been pleased to offer me and assure me of, it being in every way so conformable to the Catholic sentiments of your Majesty. But having such experience in the matters I mention, that no other, from acquaintance with them, can judge better of them, and knowing that the whole of the success of what I desire arises from succour being sent immediately, and seeing time pass by so quick, and the cruel knife coming so near each day to the throats of this persecuted people, who put their hopes in the mercy of God and in the clemency of your Majesty, I cannot refrain from renewing my sad entreaties. This resolution I have taken in consequence of what I hear to-day (the 15th of April) will happen in Ireland, and I say it with all the earnestness and zeal which I owe to God and to your Majesty, that if within a month from this day there do not land on the northern coast of that kingdom 2,000 soldiers, or at least 1,500, with arms, provisions, and money to enable us to raise and bring together 5,000 or 6,000 of the inhabitants and revive the war, so as to expel the enemy from the Earl O'Neill's territory and from mine and to make them abandon that quarter, even though in the whole of June a great fleet with ~~and~~ should reach there, I doubt very much whether they will reach in time, or whether they will find anything but the blood and ashes of that multitude of faithful men.

Most humbly do I beg of your Majesty to allow me to set off with 2,000 soldiers, a thing that can be done very well this month, and will be most useful until more forces can go ; and if any one asserts the contrary, I ask your Majesty to allow me to go in all haste to the Court, that I may, in presence of the Council, give good reasons for my assertion. If this force is not sent I take it as certain that the whole of the north will fall away, and all the rest will soon follow, and all will come under the intolerable yoke of the heretics. The States of your Majesty will suffer thereby. I say this in God's presence. But I will submit myself in all things to your Majesty's will, putting my hope in God and in your Majesty.

May God preserve your Majesty for many years.¹

HUGH O'DONNELL.

From Corunna, April 15th, 1602.

Reports of his movements were duly made by spies to Carew and Mountjoy. On the 11th of April Carew wrote to the Privy Council: 'Albeit the reasons are many which do move that no credit should be given to intelligence concerning preparations in Spain, the youth of the King of Spain considered, and the violent affections that possess young princes, the importunity of the Irish and their agent O'Donnell, whose estimation by all intelligence is great in Spain, together with the dislike held of

¹ *Years*.—Archives, Simancas, no. 840.

Don Juan (del Aguila), as is reported, are motives sufficient of suspect that the King may run headstrong courses into the worst counsels.¹

In spite of the wearisome delays O'Donnell was hopeful. On the 14th of May he wrote from Corunna to O'Conor Kerry:² 'Of one thing you can assure yourself, the King will not fail to gain Ireland, though it cost him the greater part of Spain.'³ This information differed much from what Mountjoy had. Just a month later, June 13th, he wrote to Carew: 'I hear divers ways that Don Juan is well received, O'Donnell disgraced and commanded to depart in a pinnace for passage, which he excused by sickness.'⁴ Carew replies to him June 28th, giving expression to his fears: 'When these people shall be thoroughly persuaded (as I fear they are too much already) that the King will persevere in the conquering of this kingdom (which, as they affirm, he pretendeth), there is no doubt to be made but the defection will be universal. . . . I do more fear these seconds expected . . . (though the numbers be not great), than those which Don Juan brought, for their last coming, though it were wished by many, yet was believed but by a few, which incredulity weakened their combination. But now having O'Donnell and other principal agents in Spain, in whom their affections are placed and unto whom they do give credit, I do assure myself that all such as are corrupt to the State, without further deliberation or neutrality, will instantly, upon the arrival of aids, declare themselves. No man that understandeth Ireland but hath reason to conjecture the same.'⁵

Yet in spite of the promises made to him, time was passing by and there was no sign of immediate aid being despatched to Ireland. Winter went by and spring too, and yet nothing was done. 'It was anguish of heart and sickness of mind to him that the Irish should remain so long without being aided or relieved by him, and deeming it too long that the army which had been promised to him did not come together to one place, he prepared to go before the King to know what it was that caused the delay in raising the army which he had promised.'⁶

The Conde de Caracena wrote to the King, June 10th, from Corunna, demanding of him the favour of an audience for O'Donnell, in which he might set forth in full detail the state of affairs in Ireland and the pressing want of the promised succour:

SIRE,—The Earl O'Donnell is in a state of great affliction, thinking of the straits to which the Catholics of Ireland are reduced and particularly the Earl O'Neill; yet he holds his own condition to be worse, since they can lose but their lives, while he will forfeit his honour and the good name he acquired by continuing the war for

¹ *Counsels*.—*C.C. MSS.*, iv. 225.

² *O'Conor K*.—*Hist. Cath.*, p. 235.

³ *Spain*.—*C.C. MSS.*, iv. 239.

⁴ *Sickness*.—*Ibid.*, p. 249.

⁵ *The same*.—*Ibid.*, p. 253.

⁶ *Promised*.—*Annals F. M.*, vi. 2295.

so many years, being now absent from his country. This he supports by many reasons and proofs. In fine, what he desires now is that your Majesty would immediately give orders for his departure to that kingdom in whatever way your Majesty may be pleased, though he has no doubt whatever but that your Majesty means to help them, and he is equally sure that the delay has been the cause of his losing his lands, and that his followers are either slain or have gone over to the enemy. He says what he feels most is that your Majesty does not give him an audience ; in twelve days he will go by the post to where your Majesty may be in case you are pleased to allow him, and all the more readily because he thinks the success of his expedition depends on this interview. And it seems to me that the matter is so very urgent and important that it is my duty to write to your Majesty. Your Majesty in all this will command whatever best suits your service ; which I will always carry out, as I am obliged. May God watch over your Catholic Majesty.¹

A week later O'Donnell wrote to the King :

SIRE,—Several times I have written to your Majesty what I thought likely to advance the service of your Majesty and the safety of the persecuted Catholics of the poor kingdom of Ireland. To these letters I have received no answer whatever ; and I am weary of seeing how I am wasting my time here, and I fear that things are going on badly at home. It concerns the interests of your Majesty to learn exactly the fallen state of the Catholics of Ireland. I beseech your Majesty to deign to send me permission to proceed to the Court for the purpose ; and not to trouble you farther, I end by asking God to prosper and preserve your Majesty in all your undertakings, as we your favoured vassals need and desire.²

From Corunna, 20th of June, 1602.

HUGH O'DONNELL.

O'Donnell's request to obtain an audience from the King was at length granted, for in a dispatch from Corunna, bearing date August 2nd, 1602, the Conde de Caracena says : 'I will avail myself of the order of your Majesty in your letter of the 27th of the preceding month, allowing the Earl O'Donnell to go to your Majesty at Simancas. He will set out from this place by the post on Monday, the 9th of this month ; I could not keep him back longer. He has many matters to speak of in reference to this kingdom and to several persons.' The Conde issued an order bearing date Corunna, August 3rd, 1602, that by order of the King the Earl O'Donnell was to receive a monthly allowance of five hundred ducats for the support of himself and his servants.³

He must have left Corunna on the 9th of August or very soon after. The Court was then at Valladolid.⁴ On his way he stopped at the royal

¹ *Majesty*.—Archives, Simancas, no. 2516.

² *Desire*.—*Ibid.*

³ *Servants*.—*Ibid.*

⁴ *Valladolid*.—The royal family usually resided here until Philip II. built the palace of the Escorial.

Señor

V. mag^d muchas veces é escrito pidiendo lo q^e pensava apro-
uecha al servicio de V. mag^d y a la conservación de los
affligidos catholicos del pobre Reyno de Irlanda de to-
qual no é recibido respuesta ninguna y con fado de
como passo mi vida aqui y temendo cosas q^e el despi-
las allá, importa al servicio de V. mag^d y a la sa-
lcam^{to} del caydo estado de los catholicos de Irlanda
Suplico quanto puedo á V. mag^d se sirba de embiar
me licencia para yr a la corte a este efeto y
para no dar mas en fado acabo, rogando a Dios q^e pro-
spere y guarde a V. mag^d en todas sus empre-
sas, como nosotros sus fauorecidos vassallos
tenemos necesidad y deseamos. De la fortuna
a Veinti de Junio 1602

Hugh O'Donnell



castle of Simancas,¹ and there, 'after lying seventeen days on his bed, he died September 10th. By his bedside, to solace him in his last moments in a foreign land, were Father Flaithri O'Mulchonry² and Father Maurice Ultach, a poor friar of the Order of St. Francis, from the convent of the monastery of Donegal, which was one of O'Donnell's fortresses.'³

The death of Hugh Roe would be at any time a great disaster to the Irish cause. Occurring when and where it did, it was indeed a misfortune and a curse for Ireland and its people. Our author gives no details of his death-sickness; nothing beyond the fact that it lasted for sixteen days. There was a traditional suspicion among the Irish that his death was the result not of illness but of foul play. The publication of the State Papers during the last few years has revealed many a secret which the writers thought would never reach the light of day. The suspicion is now a certainty. We have a letter⁴ written by Carew, President of Munster, to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy, bearing the date of May 28th, 1602, a little over three months before O'Donnell's death, as follows :

If your Lordship be remembered, one Pglz Hrgql (*Jacms Blake*)⁵ of Ngreget (*Galway*), desired your Lordship's protection to come unto you to Corke, but before his coming thither your Lordship was gone. Afterwards he required the like from me, and he came unto me. After much speech, protesting innocency and integrity, to clear himself of all suspicion, he took a solemn oath to do service that should merit good opinion and reward. Having no cause known unto me of any fact by him committed, nor yet having power to detain him because he came unto me upon her Majesty's protection, I applauded his enterprize, whereupon he departed from me, and is gone into Zwgetl (*Spain*) with a determination (bound with many oaths) to qerr ukvtlir (*kyll O'Donnell*). That he is gone I am sure by those that were eshgyxqlk (*ymbarked*) with him. God give him strength and perseverance. If a man may judge of resolution by external appearance and protestations, he will effect his business; if not, there is nothing lost. I told him that I would acquaint your Lordship with it, and that but unto your Lordship I would not acquaint any man with his purpose.

¹ *Simancas*.—The Spanish Records are now kept there.

² *O'Mulchonry*.—Better known by the name Conry. Later he was appointed Archbishop of Tuam, and occupied that see from 1608 to 1629. See *Renehan's Collections*, p. 395.

³ *Fortresses*.—*Annals F. M.*, vi. 2297.

⁴ *Letter*.—It is printed here from Carew's MS. in the Lambeth Library, which contains the words in cipher. These are not given in cipher in the printed Calendar, iv. 241. The key of the cipher is very simple; it

merely throws each letter of the alphabet six places back; thus for g in the cipher put a; for h, b, and so on, remembering that i and j, u and v, are treated as one letter. There are some mistakes in Carew's use of the cipher, as where Corde is set down for Corke.

⁵ *J. Blake*.—One of this name, a merchant of Galway, is mentioned in *C.S.P.I.*, iv. 463, as having been received with great favour by the King of Spain, because of the aid he had given some Spaniards who had survived the wreck of the Armada.

O'Donnell died on the 10th of September. On the 9th of October Carew wrote to Mountjoy from Cork :

By this intelligence inclosed it appears that the Spaniards come not this winter, and that O'Donnell is dead, whereof your Lordship may be assured, for the merchant that bringeth me the news I do trust, and I do think it will fall out that he is wuezuelk (*poysayed*) by Pgszl Hrgql (*James Blake*), of whom your Lordship hath been formerly acquainted. At his coming ptav Zwgetl (*into Spayne*), he was suspected by vkvttlr (*O'Donnell*), because he lshgyxlbk (*embarqued*) at Jvykl (*Corde*), but afterwards he insinuated his access and vkvttlr pz klhk (*O'Donnell is dehd.*) He never told the wylzpkla (*President*) in what shtly (*manner*) he would pqr (*kill*) him, but did assure him it zhvrk (*bold*) be lmmliak (*effected.*) It will not be many days before the truth will appear.¹

Such a suspicion in former times seemed to some to exceed the bounds of charity. Here is the way in which the biographer² of a famous man in those times, a preux chevalier sans reproche according to English notions if ever there was one, speaks of his hero :

'Raleigh, Cecil, and Carew, on another important matter were at one. In regard to what, in the phrase of the day, were called practices against rebels, they were as little troubled with scruples of conscience as Sir Humphrey Gilbert, or Sir Henry Sydney, or Arthur Grey of Wilton had been a few years earlier. In plain English, practises against rebels meant the deliberate assassination of rebels, or even of persons vehemently suspected of an intention to rebel.'

Here are some of the 'practices' employed against Shane O'Neill. Indentures were drawn assigning to him the sovereignty of Ulster in everything but the name ; they required but the Queen's signature. As a token of friendship a present of wine was sent to him from Dublin. It was consumed at his table, but the poison had been unskillfully prepared. It brought him and half his household to the verge of death, but no one actually died. The guilt could not be fixed on Sussex. The crime was traced to an English resident in Dublin named Smith ; and if Sussex had been the instigator, his instrument was too faithful to betray him.³ When put on his trial 'he confessed his guilt, took the entire responsibility upon himself, and declared that his object was to rid his country of a dangerous enemy. Of course the prisoner got off unpunished.'⁴ When

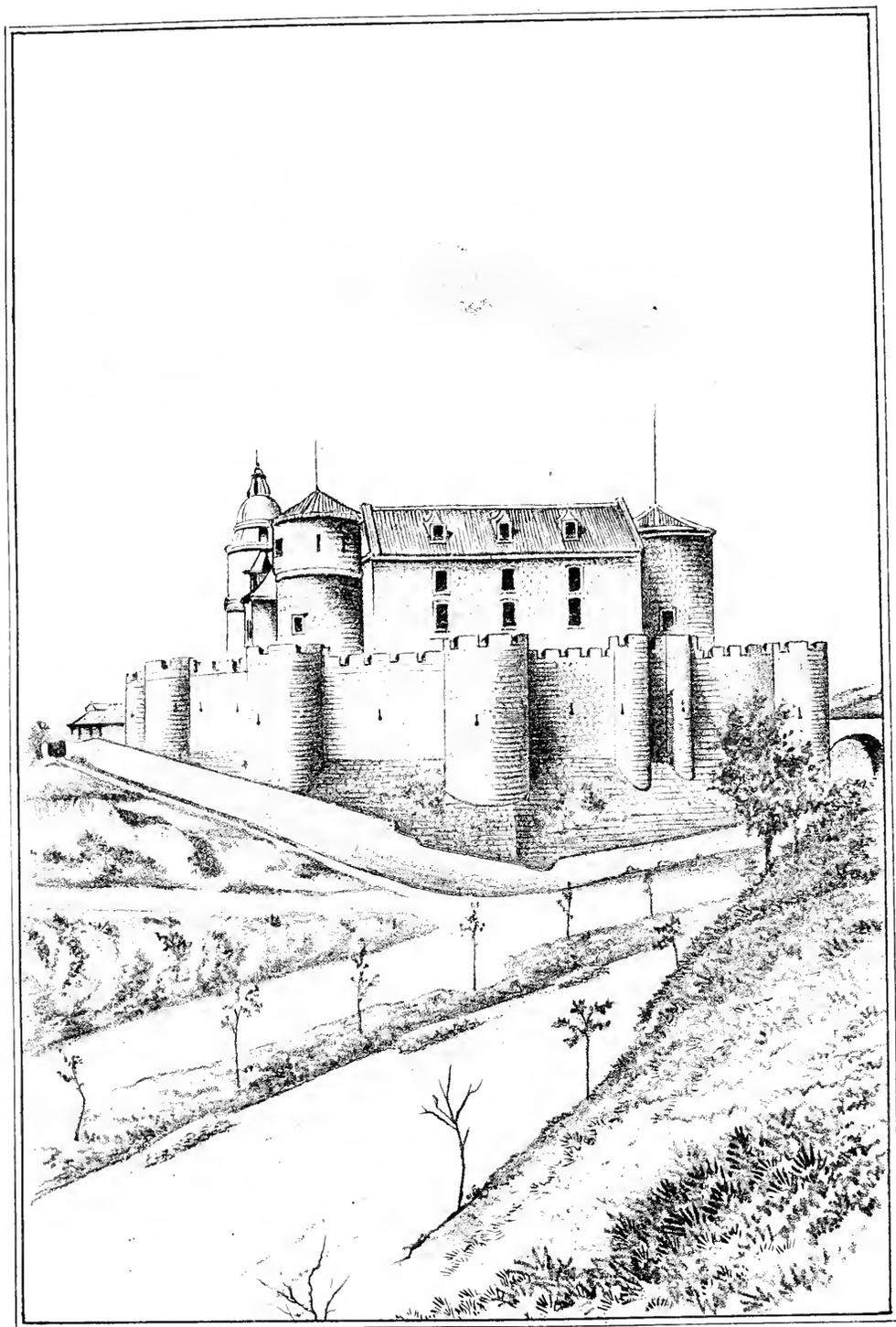
¹ *Appear.—Ibid.*, p. 350.

² *Biographer.* — Edwards, *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, i. 321 ; London, 1868.

³ *Betray him.*—Froude, *H. of England*, viii. 49 ; London, 1864. 'I tried by long circumstance in persuading him (Neil Gray), to receive your Highness, to benefit his country. In fine I brake with him to kill

Shane O'Neill, and bound myself by an oath to see him have a hundred marks of land by the year to him and his heirs for a reward.' Sussex to the Queen, 24th August 1561. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁴ *Unpunished.*—See Richey's *Lectures on Irish History*, 2nd Series, p. 301. The Earl of Sussex was then Lord Deputy.



THE CASTLE OF SIMANCAS

O'Neill refused the invitation of Sir Henry Sydney to an interview within the Pale, because the Deputy's predecessor had attempted to assassinate him, and when he remonstrated against the repeated acts of treachery which had been at least meditated towards him, with Elizabeth's knowledge, she assumed a tone of innocent anger. When at length he sought refuge in Scotland he was killed at the instigation of Sir Henry Piers, an English officer and an emissary of the Government, who received a thousand marks and the estate of Tristernagh, county Westmeath, from the Government as a reward for murder.¹ The Earl of Ormonde, a man of by no means tender conscience in his dealings with his opponents, was indignant that he should be asked to take any part in such practices. He writes to Burghley: 'The clause in the Queen's letter seems most strange to me. I will never use treachery to any, for it will both touch her Highness's honour too much and mine own credit; and whosoever gave the Queen advice thus to write to me is fitter to execute such base services than I am.' 'To Ormonde,' remarks Froude, 'the Irish were human beings with human rights. To the English they were vermin to be cleared from off the earth by any means that offered.'²

As for Carew and Mountjoy, the one the instigator of the poisoning of O'Donnell, and the other the approver after the fact, we have proofs of the most convincing kind that both employed hired assassins to get rid of their political opponents. In the pages of *Pacata Hibernia* we find Carew's emissary, Nugent, attempting to shoot John FitzThomas, the brother of the sagan Earl of Desmond, having made an offer to the President that 'if he might be well recompensed, he would ruin within a short space one or other of the two.'³ Again, a certain Annyas was employed to poison Florence M'Carthy Mor.⁴ Even Cecil was contented to hear his promise to take a rebel alive or to bring in his head; 'though his soul never had the thought to consent to the poisoning of a dog, much less a Christian,'⁵ yet we find that a proposal was made to him by a certain Atkinson to kill the Earl of Tyrone by means of 'some poisoned Hosts;' the proposal⁶ is still in existence, endorsed by Cecil. He wrote to Carew in reference to the young Earl of Desmond, that he should not be allowed to escape out of his keeping; and he adds: 'Whatever you do to abridge him out of providence shall never be imputed to you for a fault, but exceedingly commended by the Queen.'⁷ Mountjoy wrote to Cecil, August 23rd, 1601, that one Walker, an Englishman, had come to Sir Henry Danvers at Armagh, having plotted the manner to kill Tyrone. . . . 'Sir

¹ *Murder.*—*Ulster J. of Archæol.*, ii. 2.

² *Offered.*—*H. of England*, xi. 258.

³ *The two.*—*Pac. Hib.*, pp. 68, 82.

⁴ *F. MacC. Mor.*—See his *Life*, p. 302.

⁵ *Christian.*—*C.C. MSS.*, iv. 468.

⁶ *Proposal.*—*Life of F. MacC. Mor.*, p. 305.

⁷ *The Queen.*—*Ibid.*, p. 318.

Henry imparted this offer of his to me, and I wished him to give way to it, as I have done to divers others, and may not refuse the like to any, for if any one speed it is enough, and they that miss lose nothing but themselves.¹

On the 15th of October Carew again wrote² to Mountjoy from Cork, confirming the news of O'Donnell's death, expressing his satisfaction thereat, and pointing out its political consequences at home and abroad :

O'Donnell is certainly dead. The report is both brought and sent to me from Lisbon by merchants from this town, which I employed into Spain. I know they dare not deliver untruths to me. The death of this traitor will much advance the Queen's service in Ireland ; for the other Irish which live in Spain are not of the estimation which O'Donnell was of.

The Franciscan church in which O'Donnell was buried exists no longer. Every trace of it has been swept away. O'Clery and the Four Masters say he was buried in the choir³ of the church, a place specially reserved for founders and signal benefactors. He was not indeed a benefactor of this monastery, yet the feeling of brotherhood between the houses of the Order throughout the world made the members of one house look on the kindness done to any other in the same light as if it were done to their own. No monument marks the spot where he lies. The inscription over the grave⁴ in which his brothers Rory and Caffir are buried, close by the tomb of Hugh O'Neill, is the sole memorial of as a noble chief, as stout a warrior, as ever bore the wand of chieftaincy or led a clan to battle.⁵

.
 UTRUMQUE . ANTECESSIT . ÆTATE . ET . FATI . ORDINE .
 FRATER . PRIMOGENITUS
 HUGO . PRINCEPS .
 QUEM . PIE . ET . CATHOLICE . PRO . FIDE . ET . PATRIA .
 COGITANTEM .
 PHILLIPUS . III . HISPANIARUM . REX .
 ET . VIVUM . BENEVOLE . AMPLEXUS . ET . IN . VIRIDI . ÆTATE .
 MORTUUM . HONORIFICE . FUNERANDUM . CURAVIT .
 VALLISOLETI . IN HISPANIA . JIII . IDUS . SEPTEMBRIS .
 A . S . MDCII .

¹ *Themselves.*—*F. MacC. Mor.*, p. 465.

² *Wrote.*—*C.C. MSS.*, iv. 356.

³ *Choir.*—Called by the Spaniards presbiterio. It is close to the spot where the Calle de Victoria and the Calle de la Constitution meet. No. 6, C. de la Victoria, called El Circulo de la Victoria, is built on it.

⁴ *Grave.*—In S. Pietro in Montorio, Rome.

⁵ *Battle.*—Mitchel's *Life of Hugh O'Neil*, p. 215. 'History does not present a more chivalrous and devoted Irishman than Hugh Roe proved himself to be during his short and eventful career.' O'Donovan, *Annals F. M.*, vi. 2385.

Few pieces of intelligence were more acceptable to the English nation than that of O'Donnell's death. Here is how the Earl of Shrewsbury writes of it to Carew, October 17th, 1602 :

The death of O'Donnell is very welcome news to us here, and no less cause to you there. There goeth withall a report here that a kind of snake or serpent was found within him. It may be he was troubled with worms, as many children and men be ; but if he was not tormented with the worm of conscience whilst he lived, for his hateful treasons and other villainies against his natural sovereign, which made him no doubt carry a black soul away with him, it were to be wondered at.¹

A few months after Carew wrote to Mountjoy :

Out of Spain I hear that the Irish are clean out of heart and hopeless of succour. Of this I am informed that the merchant reports O'Donnell certainly to be dead.²

O'Donnell left a will. Unfortunately we have only a part of it.³ It runs thus :

. . . Also I declare, that in case the Earl O'Neill (though I know and believe he will not do so) should wish to violate the agreement⁴ and settlements arranged and made between him and me and our heirs, I hereby beg his Majesty to uphold my brother in his rights and to retain him in his service.

Also I say and declare this is one of the terms of our agreement, that all aid and help sent by his Majesty to the Earl O'Neill and to me shall be divided into two equal parts, and the same shall take place with regard to our heirs, seeing that one claims no pre-eminence above the other, and whichever of them shall be the elder in walking together shall be at the right of the other. I beseech his Majesty to uphold my brother according to the agreement, and to oblige him to serve all the better, I pray his Majesty to place him in some position of trust with a sufficient salary.

F. Florence Conry was one of those who had gone to Spain with O'Donnell to solicit aid, and was by his bedside when he died. Immediately after O'Donnell's death he addressed to the King the following Statement⁵ on the condition of affairs in Ireland :

F. B. Florence says that at the end of nine years, during which the Catholics have carried on the war against the English army more by a miracle than by human

¹ *Wondered at.*—*C.C. MSS.*, iv. 370.

² *Dead.*—*Ibid.*, p. 384.

³ *Part of it.*—Archives, Simancas, no. 2511. It is endorsed: 'Some heads of the will of the Earl O'Donnell.' I have made inquiry at Simancas and Valladolid for the whole of the will ; but in neither place is there any record of it. The connexion of this part of it with the King of Spain will explain why it is in the Spanish Archives.

⁴ *Agreement.*—'Rury O'Donnell was he to whom O'Donnell had, on the night before his departure, left the government of his people and lands and everything that was hereditary to him until he should return. And he commanded O'Neill and Rury to be friendly to each other as they themselves both had been. And they promised him this thing.' *Annals F. M.*, vi. 2327.

⁵ *Statement.*—Archives, Loyola.

power, they find themselves so exhausted by the struggle and so discouraged, receiving nothing but letters from Spain, that in order to remove this doubt they sent to Spain the best messenger they had, namely, the Earl O'Donnell, to make known their wants to his Majesty and to ask for aid ; and when lately they heard that the Earl had died, and that his entreaty did not avail with his Majesty, and that no aid in men is going there but only some money and more letters, they will certainly make terms in one of two ways : if all the Catholics are still in strength, they will make terms all together ; and if they are not, but in great straits, the enemy will willingly give very good terms to each lord individually, and in this way they will leave the leading men without help or power to offer resistance. This would be a great pity, and so Spain will lose this Irish nation, after the infinite hardships which they have undergone to serve the King ; and two evils will ensue therefrom : the first, that the other foreign nations, seeing this pitiful ending and the wretched spectacle of the destruction of Ireland for want of help, will never again incur any risk for or put their trust in Spain ; the second, the Irish who are so long Catholics, for they received the faith 1,300 years ago, will turn heretics through mere compulsion and necessity, as there is no one to aid them. And the Queen of England will employ the seventeen thousand soldiers whom she keeps in her pay each year in Ireland and all the Irish soldiers, in the war of Flanders or on the coast of Spain or on the way to the Indies. All this may be prevented by sending help in men there without any delay, as the Earl O'Donnell demanded ; that is, if the help sent amounts to 10,000 or 12,000 men, they should go to Cork or to Limerick ; if to 2,500, they should go to his territory and be placed in garrisons in Donegal and Sligo, and they should not be led out to fight but erect fortifications there with the footsoldiers of the country.

If the aid sent amounts to 3,000 or 4,000, they should go to Galway and take possession of that city, where the Earl O'Neill and his brother can come without hindrance from the enemy, and for this reason the Earl O'Donnell brought with him the Baron of Leitrim,¹ who is now here, because all the people about Galway are his vassals and are tyrannized over by his rival. When our troops surround Galway, neither the Viceroy nor the enemy can succour it by land or by sea after two days have elapsed ; after eight, not even by sea. Galway is almost an island, and by making a trench from an arm of the sea to a lake, all succour will be cut off by land ; and by making a little fort on the other side of the river where St. Mary's church stands with two pieces of artillery, the entrance will be cut off for the ships which now go up to the walls. If his Majesty is pleased to send 3,000 men to Galway now, the Baron, who is here, promises to take them there to capture Galway with them, if the Viceroy is not in the city. If he happens to be there, he will take them to a place two leagues from Galway, where they can stop in spite of the enemy, and he will undertake to provide them with bread and meat for six months ; and if on coming there they do not find all he says to be true, he will be satisfied that they should cut off his head.

¹*B. of Leitrim.*—This is Redmond Burke, who went with O'Donnell to Spain by desire of O'Neill. See p. cxliii., antea. 'The Baron of Leitrim's Memorial,' evidently

presented to the King, is in the Archives, Loyola. As its contents are very nearly the same as those of Conry's Statement, we need not give it here.

This is the reply¹ that was given to Conry :

At the meeting of the Council in² . . . last year, his Majesty decided that 50,000 ducats should be sent, with whatever arms and ammunition could be provided. Later he was pleased to order that the sum should be 30,000 ducats, and that from the beginning of this year 20,000 ducats should be sent every month; the Earl O'Neill should be informed thereof. Though his Majesty ordered the Minister to procure the said sum of 30,000 ducats, in order that Don Martin de la Cerda might take it with him in two ships that have been got ready for the purpose in Corunna, and though frequently urged to do this, he has not done so up to the present. The result is that the Irish who are living here have lost heart and spent the supplies given them for the journey, owing to the delay. The season too is so far advanced that if the expedition is further deferred, Don Martin de la Cerda and all he is taking with him, as well as the above-mentioned Irish, run manifest risk of being lost. Besides, the Earl O'Neill and the Catholics who are of his party will be entirely ruined, not caring to make terms for all, since they relied on his Majesty's promises. In this way the enemy will be freed from the excessive expenses that the war will bring on them, and can more easily attack his Majesty's subjects; from which irreparable harm may ensue. Much harm has been done already in the estimation of the Irish by the delay, for they think his Majesty has changed his mind, and is the cause of the delay for some reason unknown to them, for they do not suppose it arises from want of money. Taking it for granted that his Majesty will not abandon this business, which tends so much to God's service and his own advantage, as has been already proved on several occasions, the Council is of opinion that they should be provided with money immediately, from whatever source it is to come, in order that they may set off without further delay with Don Martin and the others who are going; and if this cannot be done, these people should be undeceived and told that they are to look to themselves, though this would have such bad results that his Majesty ought not to allow it.³

The help did not come, and history tells what the sad consequences were to the cause of Ireland and its people. Whosoever cares to 'trace the pitiable state of the Gaels of Ireland,' both chiefs and people, in the events that followed within a very few years the defeat at Kinsale and the death of O'Donnell, will find it set forth in the pages of Rev. C. P. Meehan's *Fate and Fortunes of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*.⁴ We will give briefly the events that followed immediately on these disasters, from *the Annals of the Four Masters*.⁵

O'Neill and Rury O'Donnell returned to the north with their forces. In the beginning of the winter of 1603, Mountjoy sent letters and messengers to Rury O'Donnell, requesting him to come upon terms of peace and tranquillity, for news had reached

¹ *Reply*.—It bears no date.

² *In*.—The date is omitted.

³ *Allow it*.—Archives, Loyola.

⁴ *Tyrconnell*.—See also Rothe's *Annals*.

⁵ *Annals F. M.*—vi. 2335. See also O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, p. 230., who tells of the resistance offered to the English after the capture of Kinsale.

him that O'Donnell, his brother, had died in Spain, and that the war was at an end by his death, and that it would be a great want of wisdom if he did not make peace immediately. As soon as he had read the letters Rury called his advisers to him to consider what he should do; and he began to deliberate with them in council. Some of them said that the report of O'Donnell's death was not true, but that the story was fabricated to allure and deceive him and to bind him under the law. Another party asserted that the rumour was true, that it was good advice to accept the peace. So what they finally agreed upon was to ratify the peace with the Deputy. They showed great honour to the son of O'Donnell and made peace with him.

O'Neill and most of the Irish of the north came under that peace, for a proclamation of a general peace and a restoration of his blood and territory to every one that wished for it had been issued by his Majesty King James.¹

A few words, before we conclude, about Niall Garbh. He had been promised, as a reward for 'passing over' to the English, the whole country of Tyrconnell. This was to descend to his heirs. In January, 1602, the Lord Deputy and Council wrote to the English Privy Council asking 'that they would procure her Majesty's warrant to pass unto Neale Garvie O'Donnell the country of Tyrconnell, in such sort as they promised the same unto him under their hands almost a year before, so warranted by direction from her Majesty.' They added: 'he thinks the time long till he hath his grant, and in his late letter to the Deputy he protests that he will do no more service until he have seen me and that his grant be performed.'² Docwra reported to the Lord Deputy that 'he found him to be by his nature proud, valiant, miserable, tyrannous, unmeasurably covetous, without any knowledge of God or almost any civility, good to be used while he was satisfied, which he could hardly be, being like a quince requiring great cost ere it be good to eat, or whilst he is kept under (which was the fitter course to be held with him); yet he thought him sure to the State in regard of the pledges he had given, but much more because he could no way better his estate by leaving the Queen's service, nor be secure of any word from O'Donnell whose brother he had killed.'³

Tyrconnell was given him to keep till it was passed to him by letters patent; but he was not satisfied. He claimed as his Tyrone too, Fermanagh, and every part of Connaught to which the O'Donnells had at any time extended their power.⁴ The Lord Deputy and Council decided against his

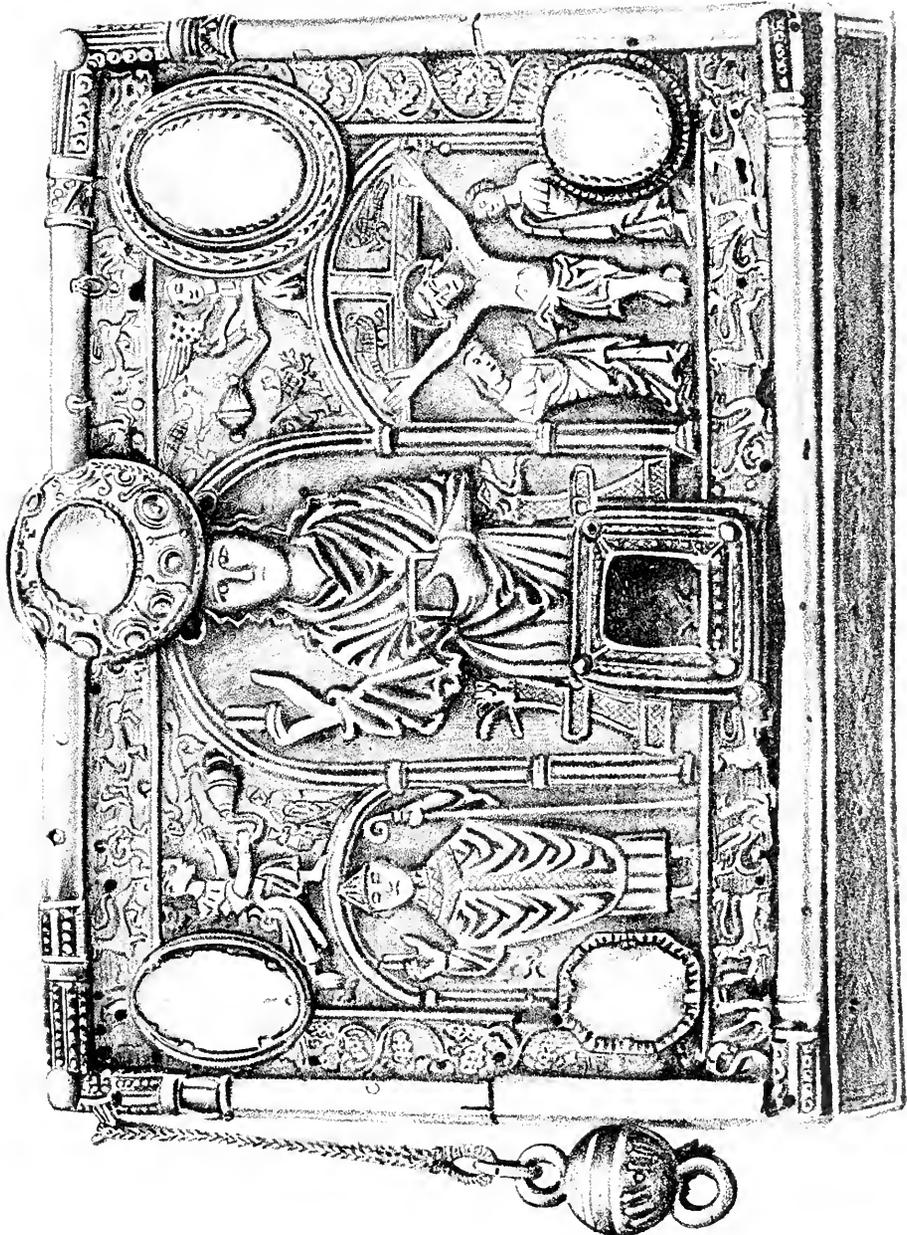
¹ *K. James.*—*Annals F. M.*, vi. 2335. He ascended the English throne March 24th, 1603.

² *Performed.*—Moryson, *Rebellion*, p. 143.

³ *Killed.*—*Ibid.*, p. 101; *Hist. Cath.*, p. 261. The allusion here is to Manus, Hugh

Roe's brother, slain by Niall Garbh, of which more later.

⁴ *Power.*—Docwra, *Narration*, p. 266. See Sir Neale O'Donnell's 'Demands unto the Lord Deputy,' and 'the Lord Deputy's Answers,' in *The Flight of the Earls*, p. 202.



THE CATHACH

claims, 'which decision he took with a great deal more indignation and fury than became a man that was to raise his fortune only by favour of another.'¹ He insisted that the people should swear allegiance to him and not to the Queen; he would allow no officer of the Crown to enter his territory, nor would he permit any thing to be sold to the English garrisons or work to be done for them.² He even had himself inaugurated³ as the O'Donnell at Kilmacrenan 'without consulting the Viceroy or the Council.' Docwra was ordered to arrest him. He fled into the woods of Kinnaveer, in north Donegal. Later he repaired to the Deputy on protection, and went to England to solicit pardon for his offences. He was given back his own patrimonial inheritance from Laght to Sheskinloobanagh, on both sides of the river Finn.

In 1608 he, his son Neachtan, and two of his brothers were supposed to have taken part⁴ in the conspiracy of O'Doherty, who, to avenge the insults offered to him, had slain the Governor and garrison of Derry. They were taken to Dublin, and thence to London. His brothers were set free in the following year; but Niall and his son ended their lives in the Tower of London, the first after an imprisonment of eighteen years.

It would be beside our purpose to follow the history of the Clann O'Donnell farther or to trace them in foreign lands. Those who wish to pursue the subject will find much to interest and enlighten them in the appendix to O'Donovan's edition of *The Annals of the Four Masters*,⁵ and in his papers on 'The O'Donnells at home and abroad' in *Duffy's Hibernian Magazine*.

The Cathach⁶ or 'Battler' (so called because it was borne three times round the troops of the O'Donnell before a battle on the breast of a sinless cleric), of which we give a print reduced by a third, is a cumdach or box made by order of Cathbhar O'Donnell about the close of the 11th century, as an Irish inscription on it records. It contains a portion of a Latin psalter on vellum, said to have been written by St. Columba. Its present frame-case was made for it by order of Daniel O'Donnell, who, after the treaty of Limerick, left Ireland and entered the French service, in which he attained the rank of Brigadier. It is now in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy.

Here is the record of Hugh O'Neill's death in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, under the date 1616:

O'Neill (Hugh), son of Ferdoragh, who was styled Earl of Tyrone at the

¹ *Another*.—Docwra's *Narration*, p. 250.

² *For them*.—*Ibid.*, p. 266.

³ *Inaugurated*.—*Annals F. M.*, vi. 2345.

⁴ *Taken part*.—See the accusations of Ineen Dubh in *The Flight of the Earls*, pp. 195, 216.

⁵ *Annals F. M.*—vi. 2377.

⁶ *Cathach*.—See Gilbert's *Facsimiles of National MSS. of Ireland*, part 1, plate iii., where a portion of the manuscript is reproduced in facsimile and an account given of the Cathach; also Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 319, and Betham's *Antiquarian Researches* 1. 109; Dublin, 1827.

parliament of 1585, and who was afterwards styled O'Neill, died at an advanced age, after having passed his life in prosperity and happiness, in valiant and illustrious achievements, in honour and nobleness. The place at which he died was Rome, on the 20th of July, after exemplary penance for his sins, and gaining the victory over the world and the devil. Although he died far from Armagh, the burial-place of his ancestors, it was a token that God was pleased with his life that the Lord permitted him no worse burial-place, namely, Rome, the head city of the Christians. The person who here died was a powerful, mighty lord, with wisdom, subtlety, and profundity of mind and intellect; a warlike, valorous, predatory, enterprising lord in defending his religion and his patrimony against his enemies; a pious and charitable lord, mild and gentle with his friends, fierce and stern towards his enemies until he had brought them to submission and obedience to his authority; a lord who had not coveted to possess himself of the illegal or excessive property of any other except such as had been hereditary in his ancestors from a remote period; a lord with the authority and praiseworthy characteristics of a prince, who had not suffered theft or robbery, abduction or rape, spite or animosity to prevail during his reign; and had kept all under the law as was meet for a prince.

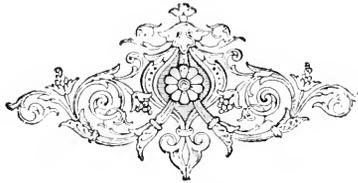
He too lies in the church of San Pietro in Montorio. On his tomb is the simple inscription :

D . O . M .

HIC . QUIESCUNT .

UGONIS . PRINCIPIS . O'NEILLI .

OSSA.



BEATA
Gloḁa Ruafḁ Uj Doimhḁll.

LIFE
OF
HUGH ROE O'DONNELL.



RO TUISMÍOIH éim clann aohamha oíla Ohoimnail (Aóth mac Maġnupa mic Aótha óice mic Aótha Rúaroh mic Néill ġarib mic Toimíreabaiġ an fíona, &c.). An Inghean Dubh, inġlu Semar mic Alaxantair mic Eom Chathanaig mic Ohoimnail, do ríol Cholla uair mic Eachóac Doimléim, roba bainreigí vía Doimnail, & roba iríde maġair an robtar aifġhva dia éloim. Itiact anmanna a fflírcal íli nuġo ġlime Aóth Rúaroh, Ruóraiġe, Maġnur, & Cathbair.

Oála an cerimeic oibíre Aótha Rúaró, do maóóiríde iarí na ġlimeíam ro chettoir vía oileamíam & vía learuġhad do faoírelantairí foichenélecharí chenél Conail ġulban mic Néill, 7 nuġ bo hiao foim na má ro étt eiríde foir altpom & oillíam, aét ro ġabrac ar aill do énel Eóġham mic Néill, ar robaó oírib leó do maġhad ní ve maó vía roiríoh co haoir inġloma. Ro ġhabroim iaríom foir fár & foir foirbair ar aoí érotha & chaomíveníam, alarí & lílabra, lína & lína, ionnfair & oirbairair. ġo ro líe a ainn & a allad ro éoice cóíġóairí Eíeann eroir ġhallaibh & ġaoírealarí eí ma ríú raimce tarí álíí maóóachta, & ro choimhíon chóíġ blíáona vécc. Aét cuar immoio do óanaríab Duiblíne aóbélor & lírólíear an meicín, & bairí do ruimlíreétt occa in a míamíam na baol a aithġlín oEíenócharí ríu harthe a anfalad & oioġhalta ġíerí achlímeoíl vía líeéí co haoir

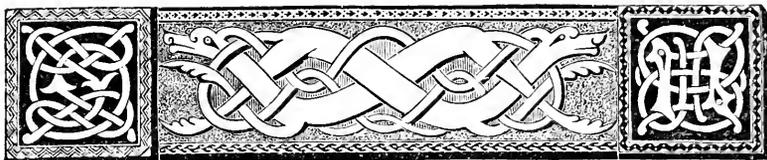
¹ *O'Donnell*.—We have given his pedigree and that of Ineen Dubh, pp. xii. and xxx., antea.

² *Foster*.—See p. xxxii., antea.

³ *Puberty*.—The Irish divided life into five periods. *Macdacht* was the second, from the age of seven to fifteen.

⁴ *Provinces*.—*Cuígeadh*, a fifth. It came to mean a province because Ireland was divided into five parts at a very early date. Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 52.

⁵ *English*.—*Gall* was the name given to all strangers, the Gauls being the foreigners best known to the ancient Irish.



A FAMOUS progeny sprung from O'Donnell,¹ (Hugh, son of Manus, son of Hugh Oge, son of Hugh Roe, son of Niall Garbh, son of Turlough of the wine, etc.). Ineen Dubh, daughter of James, son of Alexander, son of John Cathanach MacDonnell, of the race of Colla Uais, son of Eochaidh Doimhlen, was the wife of O'Donnell, and she was the mother of the most renowned of his children. The names of their sons in the order of their birth were Hugh Roe, Rury, Manus, and Caffir.

As for the eldest of these, Hugh Roe, immediately after his birth he was given to be fostered and brought up to the high-born nobles of the tribe of Conall Gulban, son of Niall, and it was not these alone that got him to rear and foster,² but some of the tribe of Eoghan, son of Niall, took him, for they were sure that something would ensue through him if he reached puberty.³ Then he continued to grow and increase in comeliness and urbanity, tact and eloquence, wisdom and knowledge, goodly size and noble deeds, so that his name and fame spread throughout the five provinces⁴ of Erin among the English⁵ and the Irish,⁶ even before he passed the age of boyhood and completed his fifteenth year. Moreover, the fame and renown of the youth were reported to the foreigners⁷ of Dublin too, and they reflected in their minds that there would not be one like him of the Irish to avenge his wrongs and punish the plundering of his race if he

⁶ *Irish*.—The people of Ireland are known by various names derived from their ancestors. They are called Milesians from Milesius, Gadelians from Gaodhel, a more ancient progenitor. O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, p. 162.

⁷ *Foreigners*.—Danar, properly a Dane or black foreigner, is often synonymous with robber, pirate, ferocious person, without any distinction of nation. *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, p. xxxi; London, 1867.

ῥῆγῥόδατα. Ro hairneiróltoí uóirb beór zuyi mo éairimzuyrte fárué & lucht
 meáirneiri & tiorchanta na toúochairthe co ttiocraoh a ionnraíndairium
 no béraó mlrceobúarómeaó foimiarom & fori moí Emeann ar élna, feirb mo
 thinzéal Columb Cille mac Ferólinnoth naoimféaroh aímra do chenel
 cconail & rli lán do maoh & do veolairveacht an Snyiaetta naoimh bail
 atrubairt:

Τιοκραὸ ῥῆι ἀν ληγῆ αἰρο,
 Ὅο βερα ζολμαρῖς ἢ ζαὸ τῖρ,
 Ὑρὸ ἐ ρῖν ἀν ὀονν ὀάσῆα
 ἱρ βιαρὸ .ix. ἢβλιαῶνα ἢ ἀ Ριζ.

Αεβεμαε φοιρῆνο combaó é Cáillín maónaáa mo thairimzuyi.

fol. i. b. Arail ann van. Ro omnaizrte na zoill cletna eipom & an Iarla úa
 Néill (Aoth mac Fiyóoricha mic Cunnó bacairz mic Cunnó) do eumarohm
 accosaiz & accairiaoriaró rui ar oile ἢ a naohairó uairi moa vlihbnyrúe
 oia thuytirórbrom ó chlin máiri, & ba hi veairbrúyri an Aósha Rúaroh
 meieberemari moa comnam & moa céomumteru don Iarla úa Néill,
 Sioban inzlin uí Ohoimnail & comhanm.

An tlia Néill mo hoiponó vclinnuy fori éenél nEozain peacht maí
 & oia nzoipéi anmam an tan rín (Toiyóóólvach Lumeach mac Neill
 Conállaiz mic Aipe mic Cunnó mic Enju mic Eozain) ba maiochyrúe do
 Zhallaib don chuy rín, & níri vo tualainz pollamnaó a flairhura la
 hemyite 7 anpobpacht, & no bioóromh vo zuyer occ ionnlach & occ
 ltaicóoraioit an Iarla uí Néill ruy an luytir & ruy an reanaó ar omán a
 aichmuoghéa lair, ar ar imne baoyrúe hi ttauile a maoh & a aoipe an tan
 rín, & ba peaiath imózla & nyreclavoe vay cfin a éneóil. Ba hairpe
 rín mo zóbrac zoill áea cliaé Duiblinne aímryr & mitchomóim ve
 (zerúo maiaoh uóirbrom zó rín) ar an ceairiaoriarin baor úó rui cenél
 cconail, & do muimnyrte occairb comba loy vacomál & vionforraó rui

¹ *Columkille*.—This prophecy was made not by St. Columkille, but by St. Caillin. It will be found in the poem in which the Saint foretells the kings who would descend from Conall Gulban. See *The Book of Fenagh*, p. 152. On Caillin, see p. xv., ante. We have given St. Columkille's descent from Conall Gulban at p. xii.

² *Earl O'Neill*.—E. of Tyrone. His name recurs very often in the course of this work. We have given his pedigree at p. xlv., ante.

³ *The O'Neill*.—After the chief's inauguration, he was no longer called by the name given him in baptism. O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, p. 34.

was allowed to reach manhood. It was told them too that prophets and people with foreknowledge and predictors of futurity had announced that there would come one like him who would cause disturbance among them and in the island of Eire also, as Columkille,¹ son of Feidhlimidh, the famous holy prophet of the Cinel Conaill, a man too full of grace and of the gifts of the Holy Ghost, promised where he said :

There will come a man glorious, pure, exalted,
Who will cause mournful weeping in every territory ;
He will be the god-like prince,
And he will be king for nine years.

Some say it was Caillin of Fenagh who made the prophecy.

Moreover, these same English were afraid that he and the Earl O'Neill,² *i.e.*, Hugh, son of Ferdoragh, son of Conn Bacach, son of Conn, would join in alliance and friendship with each other against them, for the Earl was much attached to his parents for a long time ; besides, O'Donnell's daughter, named Joan, the sister of Hugh Roe, of whom we have made mention, was Earl O'Neill's spouse and first wife.

The O'Neill,³ who was inaugurated chief of the Cinel Eoghain some time before, and who had the title then, *i.e.*, Turlough Luineach,⁴ son of Niall Connallach, son of Art, son of Conn, son of Henry, son of Eoghan, was submissive to the English at that time, and he was not able to govern his principality owing to his weakness and infirmity, and he was ever accusing and complaining of the Earl O'Neill to the Lord Justice⁵ and the Council through fear of being deposed by him, since he was in the flood of his prosperity and (in the prime) of life then, and he was a shield of protection and defence to his tribe. Wherefore the English of Dublin⁶ conceived suspicion and an evil opinion of him (though he was obedient to them up to that) on account of this friendship of his with the Cinel Conaill, and they reflected that the capture of Hugh Roe would enable them to

¹ *T. Luineach*.—See p. xliii. antea. ² He was a lord prosperous in peace and war, till old age and infirmity came on him.³ *Annals F. M.*, vi. 1984. The Queen intended to make him Earl of Clan O'Neill, but the patent was not perfected.

⁴ *L. Justice*.—This is used here and in the *Annals F. M.* as synonymous with Lord Deputy, Lord Lieutenant. See Ware's *Antiquities*, p. 170.

⁵ *Dublin*.—Athliath, *i.e.*, the ford of the hurdles. O'Curry's *MS. Materials*, p. 269.

oisghaó for cheneál ceonail & Eóghain a lighabailroim an Aóda Rúaró
 ceni baoi acht in a shiolla buice an ionbaró rin. Conaó ar na foéamb
 peimhaite mo pccuoracat na goill chléna a éumpeach cró ma riu mo foicht
 lair forbas an nleth mo oimnaighleat do tocht ar a loir. Ba hamlaith
 foieadómnaasair an shabhaíl huir. Ro hoirlamaisleóh baie mbeluib
 mbraflangacch (im feill Michl do hronniadó anno. 1587.) mo Ath cliaé
 cona foimno foimnata fhuimrigh 50 nairhonn ioisghaile & 50 tpealmuib
 tiosa leo riu huireclaióe & ionóun mo aóair a neapccaradó, zona
 ffoiréain fíona & coruma riu eieic 7 conniadó mo on élnaigeachta duir an
 tairiutir eill nhabala for Aóth úa nDomnoill. Ba tma aile an
 lurtir Sep Iohn Párric 7 na comairle ar éina mo gniithe mo rin co hion-
 fóilóe. Baifó a oir an lurtir a beic riu laim Ríó Saxan icclour for
 moir mbanba co oiró teoma mbiaóan. O mo baoi zac aóme ba hadailz
 mo callna lair an lunnz pemraite, & iar ttoróecht na zaoicé anóir zac
 nóieach, fóir mo gluar an mbair achóit ar éuan Duiblinne amach mo
 ionóomann an aólin, zur mo féolartair feac moir Ertair buó thúath laim
 éle riu hoir neieann co maicht co rlnchuan Sínlige hi eueh éonail mic
 Néill Ro auir ainnróe fo líeomair Ratha Maolám amac for fan
 brairige. Cairéal eiróe baoi fori na tpaóa. Ro fothaóiló ecclair
 riu huir 7 oirrienn do Mhairie inaóair an éomroé hi ceomfoeruib só, &
 ba mlnóat aihóere riu hionatáigróe laóe 7 éleimó na ceomó ceomfozuir.
 Lá cloimnó tSuibne coniótaé 7 ariáat mo airtreabírat an mbloiró éire baoi
 riu himealbóir an chúain zur an moir móir, 7 ariáil cenmothá moir. Do
 éneál Eoghain mic Néill óóib iar mbunóar, 7 a halrain do óeochatar an

fol. 2. a.

¹ *Gunwale*.—This is the portion of the boat called *beal* in Donegal.

² *Wine*.—‘The Captain had this command given him that he should proffer his wines to be sold, being sack, which the Irishmen love best.’ *Life of Perrott*, p. 279.

³ *Beer*.—This was the common intoxicating drink of the people of northern Europe. It was made from barley, wheat, or oats, and flavoured with aromatic herbs.

⁴ *Deputy*.—Lit. by the hand of, hence the substitute for another.

⁵ *English*.—The name Saxon became

familiar to the Celtic inhabitants of Britain (and of Ireland too earlier) than the Anglican name. Hence Saxon, not Angle, has been the name by which Teutonic immigrants in Britain (and English immigrants in Ireland) have been known to their Celtic neighbours from that day to this. Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, i. 13; London, 1870.

⁶ *Banba*.—Ireland is often called by the names of its most famous kings, but particularly it has three names, Eire, Fodhla, and Banba, three sisters of the royal blood of the Danaans. *Ogygia*, p. 13.

⁷ *Rinn Edair*.—The promontory of Edar;

extend and secure their sway over the Cinel Conaill and the Cinel Eoghain, though he was but a mere youth at the time. Wherefore, for the aforesaid reasons these same English planned his imprisonment before he should succeed in effecting what they feared would come about by his means. That capture took place in this way. A vessel was got ready, with black gunwale,¹ deceptive, precisely at Michaelmas in the year 1587, in Dublin, with a murderous, odious crew, having implements of battle and weapons of war for defence and attack against their enemies, with abundance of wine² and beer,³ for traffic and barter to trade with, to see if they could get an opportunity of seizing on Hugh O'Donnell. By the advice of the Lord Justice Sir John Perrott and of the Council too this was done secretly. The Lord Justice was appointed to be the Deputy⁴ of the English⁵ king in supreme authority over the island of Banba⁶ for the space of three years. When every implement that was desired was ready in the said ship, and while the wind was coming straight from the south, the vessel went out from the harbour of Dublin into the deep sea and sailed past Rinn Edair⁷ northwards, keeping the coast of Ireland on the left till she came to the old harbour of Swilly,⁸ in the territory of Conall, son of Niall. She stopped there opposite Rathmullen⁹ out in the sea. This castle was on the edge of the shore. A church¹⁰ was founded there for the divine office and mass in honour of Mary, mother of the Lord, close by, and it was a well-known resort for most of the laity and clergy of the neighbourhood. It was built by the Clann Swiny, and it was they who inhabited the portion of territory along the edge of the harbour as far as the ocean and others besides this. They were of the tribe of Eoghain, son of Niall, by descent,¹¹ and they had come from Scotland

1587.

he was chief of Eachrad shortly before the Christain era. The Bailey lighthouse, Howth, stands on the rimn.

⁸ *Lough Swilly*.—An inlet of the sea running twenty miles due south into Donegal.

⁹ *Rathmullen*.—A village on the west shore of Lough Swilly. Here the Earls embarked when leaving Ireland in 1607. See *The Flight of the Earls*, p. 77.

¹⁰ *Church*.—The Carmelite monastery and church were seized by Knox, Protestant

bishop of Raphoe from 1610 to 1632, and made into a residence. O'Sullivan gives an account of his persecution of the Catholics. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 286. See also De Burgo's *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 617; Col. Agrippa, 1762, who gives the proclamations issued by Chichester at his suggestion.

¹¹ *Descent*.—See p. xix., antea. Keating ridicules Spencer's statement that they are originally of English descent. See preface to *H. of Ireland*, p. xx.

τού ριν & ποβταρ ιαττ βα τιαριγνιούε εαθα το ριζ όοναιλλ ινω αζαίό α
 λρεαματτ.

Τιμιτέεχτα να λυιγζε ιμιοριάνιρλιν λι τοραιζ. Ιαρ τιτιόεαχτ τι
 ζυρ αν εκύαν φορ ιονχαιβ Ναχια Μαολάιν αιαιλ ατρυβηραμαρ, το μελλετ
 α ρεολα ρηι λάρ 7 ιιο ριουιζιριε α λιανζαριεαόα οία λιμφορταό λι όοιμφοόριαβ
 αν χαλαρό. Όο κοιλάτ οριεαμ οια φοιμνω φορ τιρ ιαρ τταν ινω εεκορρε
 ελιηαιζεαό φο όειλβ ριούα & εαονχοιμιαε, 7 ζαβαιττ φορ βιαέ & ταιρρελαό
 φορ εριεε 7 κονηαό ρηιρ αν εκάχ το ευριλέταρ φορ α εκινο, & αουαιατ
 κομβαιο ριον 7 κορμαιμ λέό ιρην λυιγ.

Ο ιιο ελορ λα μιιιτιρ αν ούναρό αν νί ριν ιι έαριττατ λι φοιλλ, αέτ ιιο
 ζαβρατ φορ ελιηαέ αν ρίονα 7 αν ληθα ιιιιιαλε 7 οεε κοιόλ φορ α έελε
 κομβταρ ιιβεα. Ιαρ βριορ ρέελ τον εριέ ιια εκοιμφοζυρ το ιονάλατ αν
 οόεum, 7 βαταρ αζ ραμολ κομβταρ ρυβαζ αιαιλ ακεελι. Ηιρ βο είαν οόιβ
 ραίηλαό κορυρ τιόχαό Δόό ιια Όοιιιαιλλ ρεχτ αιιιυρα φορ εέλιόε τον
 βαίλε λα βαορ 7 μεαβιαό φορ α βαοιέριλιν 7 φορ ευαριε μαεσαέτα κοι
 οίμιο όόεεβαρό να εριχε ιι α χαοιιτέεετ. Ο ιιο ελοάταρ έεειν αν νί ριν
 λα ηαορ αν βριαέ ιμφοατ αρ φορ εύλαό οόεum α λυιγζε. Ρο ραοιόιτέ
 οαίεαίιαιι 7 οεοζβαυιόα αν ούναρό ιι α ιιολζηαιό το έυιιγζαό ρίονα το
 fol. 2. b. να ηαορ οαοαιβ ουρ ρανζαοαρ. Αρβηιατριοιι νατ βαοι leo νί βαό μό αιι
 ολωάρ νί νορ ρίιιυρεό αν φοιλιιιν, 7 ναχ αρ μελλετίρ ιαόαιβ φορ τιρ το
 ραζιό ναέ αόιν αέτ μά ιιο έιρεαό ιαέαό οαζόαοιιε ιια ιιοόεum τον λυιγ,
 ιο ζέβταρ αρρλιρταλ 7 αρριαουζαό τον ελιηαιρι το ιιαριαό αεα οια ρριον.

Ιαρ ρριορ ρέελ το μαε Σιιιβε (οριορ αν ούναρό, Όοιιιαιλλ) να οαίεαίιαιι
 το ούιιταό ιιιον ρριον, βα ηαόηαρ λαρ ιιιορην, κοιιό ί αιιλε το ιιιιόοιρρε
 α αιιφέν οό α τηζεαριμα (αεοη ιιά Όοιιιαιλλ) το έοόυιρεαό τον λυιγ. Βα
 ροόαιιγ όη αέοζαοέαόρριη αν ιονβαίό ριν, ύαρι ιι βαοι αον οία οεζκοιιαιι-
 λεααιβ οια οιοεαόαιβ ναέ οια ολλαιιιαιιβ ιια χαοιιτέεετ το ρείιιοιέτιρ να
 το ρέουζαό κοιιαιιλε οό, 7 ιι ιιαιιεε ταρ αοιρ κοιεε ιιβλιαόαν οέεε, 7
 ιι έαιιγ αζάορ ναέ αζλιοεαρ αν ταν ριν. Βα ραίηλαό όη τον άορ βαοέ
 βοιιρραοαχ βαταρ ιια ραριαό ζυό ιαττ βα ριιιε αρ αοι ιάοιρ. Ιαρ εκριόό α
 εκοιιαιιλε τον φοιμνω αιιιζηαιό ιιο λαραττ αιιαχ λυιγζιιε ιιβεεε το ιιαλα

¹ *Leaders*.—Some of this family came to Munster in the 13th century, and settled on land given them by the MacCarthys.

Frequent mention is made of them in *The Annals F. M.*

³ *Hy*.—Or *I*, the plural of *Ua* or *O*, a

to that country. They were leaders¹ in battle of the king of Hy Conaill² against his enemies. 1587.

As for the ship of which we spoke in the beginning, after she came to the harbour opposite Rathmullen as we have said, her sails were lowered on the deck and her anchors were cast to secure her close to the landing-place. A part of her crew went on shore after a while in the guise of merchants under pretence of peace and amity, and they set to espy and pry about, to traffic and bargain with every one who met them, and published that they had wine and beer in the ship.

When the people of the castle heard this they made no delay, but set off to purchase both the wine and the strong drink³ and to drink together till they were drunk. When the neighbourhood learned the news they assembled there and were carousing until they were merry like the rest. They were not long thus when Hugh O'Donnell came recreating himself, to visit the place in thoughtlessness and sport on a harmless excursion and youthful tour, with many young men of the country in his company. When the spies heard this for certain, they went away back to their ship. The butlers and cup-bearers of the Castle were sent after them to ask for wine for the guests who had come. They said they had no more than what the crew would need, and they would allow none of it to go out to any one, but if some of the gentlemen would come to them to the ship, they should get attendance and entertainment with what remained over to them of the wine.

When Donnell MacSwiny, the owner of the castle, learned that the butlers had been refused the wine he was ashamed thereof. Wherefore the plan which his ill luck suggested to him was to invite his lord Hugh O'Donnell to the ship. It was easy to lead him astray then for there was not one of his wise counsellors, of his preceptors, or of his learned men in his company to direct him or to give him advice, and he was not yet fifteen years of age, and he had not then acquired wisdom and sagacity. It was the same with the thoughtless forward persons who were with him though

grandson. The tribe-name with this word prefixed is often used to signify the territory of the tribe. *Intro. to Top. Poems*, p. 8.

⁴ *Drink*.—Linn is rather a general term for any strong liquor than the name of any particular kind.

φοι υπι να τριαζα, 7 ιμιαυτε ζυρ αν λυνη μοιρι ζο ιμβαταρι ορι ρυι λοι. Ο μο
 ριττιρι αν ριανλαχι βαττορι ηυη λυνη ζο ιμβαοι Δεο ιττορρια, μο ραιτεμζιρτε
 ρυυ, αρι Δοιθε μο ηιελοριττ ανομη χυεα Δετ ιαεαο υαοιμε ρειθ μο ετμζεαλλρατ
 ιμ Δοθη Ριυαο ιμ ιναο Συιθνε &c. Ρο ρρεαυτελαιττ 7 μο ριαυοιυιττ υο
 ραινε βιυ & ληυα ζυρι βατ ρυβαυζ ροιμενιμναιζ. Αν ταν βα ηαιμε υοιθ
 οcc ολ, μο ζαττα αναηυμ ρορρια & μο ηιαοαο κοιηλα αν ταιυτε ταρι ανηυ, &
 υο ιατα ιμ αριαζαλ ρορριατα, βαυλ να μο ευμαιηυτε ληυηαιηι νό λυριομολ υο
 ζηιοιηι ιμ αζαυο Δ ηαιιατ, & ηυζαβταρι Δεο 7 ιμ ιοβα λαιμν λεο υοη λυχε υο
 υεαχατταρι ανομη υια ραιζυο. Υο εαοττ τρια ρεεελα να ζαβαλα ροη οεριοχ
 ηι οκοιτειμθε, & υο οεομαλλαττ να κοιηφοχηαιθε υοευμ αν χαλαυο υυρ αν
 fol. 3 a. τταυηυτετιρ βαοζαλ ρορι Δορ να οεζγε. Ιμ βαιο βα υε ρουοαιη αρι μο βαταρι ιμ
 ιομυοιηαιη αν χηυαιη ιαρι ρηεαυηζταυηαιηυζ χυεα αν ανζαυηεαο ρυλαμυζ 7
 ρορταοα, 7 μο ιαβατταρι λονζα ηατ λαοιυληυζ αεα υια ττοζηαιηι ηαο υια
 τταυηοχηταιη. Υυρ ρυεε ανη αεουμια καυζ μαε Συιθνε να τταυατ εοζαν οζ
 ατακοιηαιε. Βα ηαιττε υοη Δου εηυυοιεε, & μο ζαβ οcc ηυαιλ ζυαιλ &
 αιττιηε οιλε υαρι Δ εηυ. Ιμυ βο τορυβα υοφορμ οη αρι μο βαοι ιμ οκοιεεαο
 Κοηοδθαρι ηυε ηλρρα ζευιλ ηο ζηαβταυρ υαρι Δ εηυ, υοιζ βα ρορι αιαυαιη υαοη
 λορρ υο υεοχηατταρι.

Υαλα να λυνηζε ιμιορμαυορλμ 7 να ραιημε βαοι ιμυτι, ο μο ρορυβρατ αν
 τοιρρε ιμυα τταυηζαταρι, 7 υο βλματτ λεο ιμ ιοβα τοιρρευθε υο ηυαιηηοιυθ 7
 υαιττιηυθ οη εηυε, ιμυροατ αρι ρορι οευλαυο λα τρυλταη αν τρυποθη ζο ηανζαταρι
 αν ιμυηι μοιρι. Σεολαιττ ιαυρυοθε λα τυμνηρλμηεαο να ζαοιτι αμιαρτυαυε
 ρυι ηορι ηερεαηη ραυρδλρ ρυοοτρυορεε να κοηαιηε ηεμευεοχηαταρι, ζυρι μο
 ζαβραττ ηι οευαν Ουιθλιννε υο ηυοιρι. Δε ελορ ρο χηηετοοιρι ροη οεατραιζ
 υιλε Δ ττυυθεετ ραιηλαυο 7 υοη λυρτιη 7 υοη εοιηαιηε ραιηηευ, & Δου υα
 Οοιηηαιηλ ηι ρορκομλθ λεο, Βα ραοιηυο ιαυοιηι υια ηοχηταιη χυεα, & ηυι
 βο ρορι Δ ρεαυε ιττιη, 7 μο τηοχηυηυρτε εηυοιηι ζαν ρρυηηεαχ υια ραιζυο
 κοιηβαοι ληεαο ιμ ιοηχηαιθ ρυυ, & ζεβιτ οcc ιομαεαλλαιηι ρυρ & οcc

¹ *Na dtuath.—i.e.*, of the territories. The names of these three districts are still retained among the old inhabitants; they are Ross Gull, Tuath Tory, and Cloghaneely, all in the northern part of the barony of Kilmacrenan.

² *Conor MacNessa.*—He was the son of Fachna, King of Ulster, and of Nessa, daughter of Eochaidh Sulbuidhe. He

lived about the beginning of the Christian era. By the aid of his mother he supplanted his step-father, and became King of Ulster. As his reign was one of great renown, chiefly owing to the military organisation of the Red Branch Order, the northern province is often designated as peculiarly his. See Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 205.

they were older in years. The inexperienced party having taken their resolution, they unmoored a small boat that happened to be on the edge of the shore, and rowed to the big ship till they were side by side. When the people who were in the ship saw that Hugh was among them, they bade them welcome, yet they allowed in to them only a few persons, as they had promised, along with Hugh Roe and MacSwiny, &c. They were served and feasted with a variety of food and drink till they were merry and cheerful. While they were enjoying themselves drinking, their arms were taken from them and the door of the hatch-way was shut behind them, and they were put into a well secured apartment where they were not able to use either skill or valour against their enemies, and Hugh and those they pleased of the people who had come in to them were made prisoners. Meantime, the news of the capture spread throughout the district universally, and the neighbourhood crowded to the landing-place in order to inflict hurt on the deceivers. But it was not easy, for they were in the deep part of the harbour after hauling up their anchor, raising and securing it, and there were not ships or boats to pursue or take vengeance on them. MacSwiny na dtuath,¹ that is, Eoghan Oge, came there like the rest; he was Hugh's foster-father, and he proceeded to offer other hostages and pledges in his stead. This did not avail him, for there was not in the province of Conor MacNessa² a hostage whom they would take in his place, since it was solely to look for him they had come.

As for the ship of which we have spoken and her crew, when they had finished the business for which they had come, and taken with them the most desirable of the hostages and pledges of the country, they went back with the current of the tide until they reached the ocean. They sailed after that with the strength of the north-west wind along the shore of Ireland south-eastwards back by the way they had already come, till they landed in the harbour of Dublin again. It became known immediately throughout the whole city and to the Lord Justice and the Council especially that they had come after this manner, and that Hugh O'Donnell was in their custody. They were glad of his coming, yet it was not at all through love of him, and they summoned him to them without delay that he might be face to face with them, and they proceeded to converse

with him and ask information of him, and in a special way they observed and searched into his natural qualities. In the end, however, they ordered him to be put in a strong stone castle¹ where the noble descendants of the sons of Milesius were in chains and captivity expecting slaughter and death, together with some of the nobles of the Fingallians² who had come to the island long before and had entered into amity and friendship with the Irish against the English, who came last from the country of the Saxons to take the island from both of them. It was their solace and satisfaction day and night in the close prison where they were, to be lamenting over the hardships and sufferings and relating the great cruelty which was inflicted on them both English and Irish, and hearing of the unjust sentences pronounced and the wrongs and wicked deeds done against the high-born noble descendants of the sons of Milesius and of the Fingallians alike.

As for Hugh O'Donnell, he was, just like the rest, in chains for the space of three years and three months, hearing of the ignoble bondage in which the Irish were. It was anguish and sickness of mind and great pain to him to be as he was, and it was not on his own account but because of the great helplessness in which his friends and kinsmen, his chieftains and leaders, his clerics and holy ecclesiastics, his poets³ and learned men, his subjects and whole people were, owing to their expulsion and banishment to other territories throughout Erin. He was always meditating and searching how to find a way of escape. This was no easy thing for him, for he was put each night into a well secured apartment in the castle for security until the morning⁴ of the next day came. That castle was situated thus. There was a broad deep trench full of water all round it and a solid bridge of boards over it opposite the door of the castle, and a grim-visaged party of the English outside and inside the gate to guard it, so that no one should pass them, in or out, without permission from the party of foreigners. However, there is no watch of which advantage may not be taken at last. One time, just at the end of winter, that Hugh was with a number of his

³ *Poets*.—File taken by itself means a poet, but it was the general name applied to a scholar. Filidecht included the study

of law, history, languages, music, and poetry. O'Curry's MS. *Materials*, p. 2.

⁴ *Morning*.—*Tert*, i.e. the third hour.

companions, in the very beginning of the night, before they were put into the well secured cells in which they used to be every night, they planned to attach a very long rope to the window near them, and they let themselves down by the rope until they alighted on the bridge outside the door of the castle. There was a very strong iron chain on the door to draw it out to oneself when desirable. They put a bar of solid wood a palm thick through the chain, so that no one should come in haste out of the castle to pursue them. There was a young man of Hugh's own people awaiting their escape, and he met them after coming out. He had two well tempered swords under his cloak, and these he placed in Hugh's hands. Hugh gave one of these swords to a certain famous hero of the Lagenians,¹ of the race of Cathaoir Mor, son of Feidhlimidh Firurglas, *i.e.*, Art Cavanagh.² He was a champion in battle and a leader in conflict. He then covered the flight of the youths through the streets and roads of the town. As for the guards, they did not perceive the escape immediately; and when they perceived that the youths had got off, they went at once to the gate of the castle as fast as they could, for they thought they would catch them instantly. When they came to the gate, it was impossible for them to open it or to draw the gate in; so they set to call to them the people who happened to be in the houses near the gate on the other side of the street. After coming at their call, these took out the bar which was through the chain, and they raised up the gate for the people of the castle. A great crowd of the city people went in pursuit of the youths who had escaped from them. This was not easy, for these were outside the walls of the town before they were noticed, as the gates of the royal city were wide open then. They went after them and leaped over fences and enclosures and walls outside the town until they stopped at the slope³ of the mountain opposite due south. This mountain is long and very wide; it was the boundary between the Irish of the province of Leinster⁴ and the English

church of this name close to Begerin near Wexford.

³ *Slope*.—The Irish word *reidh*, according to Joyce, is usually applied to a mountain flat, or a coarse, moory, level piece of land among hills. *Irish Names of Places*, 1st series, p. 387; Dublin, 1869.

⁴ *Leinster*.—After Ireland was divided into five parts by the Firlbolgs, Slainge, son of Dela, and his followers, obtained as their share the territory extending from the mouth of the Boyne to where the Nore, Suir, and Barrow meet near Waterford. Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 52.

of Dublin. Its roads and ways were numerous, but fear did not allow them to go by the usual roads. Moreover, they did not delay on their way till they crossed Slieve Roe¹ before that morning, though fatigued by the journey and travelling all the night. As they were tired and weary, they went into a dense wood which happened to be on their way, and they remained in it till early dawn. They prepared to go on after that, for they did not think it safe to remain in the wood, owing to the fear and great dread of being sought after and looked for by their enemies.

His flight was not a cloak before a shower² for Hugh O'Donnell, for he could not go on with his companions from where he was, because his white-skinned, tender feet were wounded and pierced by the furze and thick briars, and the roughness and intricacy of the road by which he had come, as his shoes had fallen off his feet owing to the loosening of the seams and ties from the wet, which they had not met with up to that time. It was a great sorrow and affliction to his companions that they had not him with them farther, and as they could do nothing for him, they took leave of him and left him their blessing. Wherefore he resolved after a while, when some of the party had left him, to send one of his people to a certain nobleman of the free-born tribes of Leinster, who happened to be in a castle in the neighbourhood, to see if he could obtain refuge or protection from him. Phelim O'Toole³ was his name; he was a friend of Hugh before this time (as he thought) for he had once gone to visit him when he was in prison in Dublin, and they formed a friendship with each other, whenever either of them should seek the other's aid. So that it was fitting he should go for protection to Phelim on account of that friendship which they had contracted. The messenger went off to the place where Phelim was and told him the business on which he had come. He was rejoiced at his coming, and promised to aid Hugh in every way he needed, so far as he could. However, neither his friends nor his relatives allowed him to conceal or hide him through fear of the power of the law of the English revenging it on him. It became known to them afterwards that he was in the wood, as we have said, and every one who heard it went to look for him,

southern part of the present Co. Kildare. After the English invasion they took refuge in the mountains of Wicklow. O'Toole's

H. of the Clan O'Toole, p. 141. Phelim's territory of Glancullen was given to Richard Wingfield, Marshal of the army, in 1603.

and they set off with their followers in search of him. As it was evident to Phelim and to his relatives¹ that any one else might find him, they resolved to take him themselves and bring him back to the city to the Council. He did so. When he came to Dublin the Council were delighted thereat, and they made little or no account of all the hostages and pledges who escaped from them, and they were thankful for the visit which restored him to them again. Though great their cruelty and enmity to him the first time, they were greater the second time on account of his escape from them, and iron gyves were put on him as tight as they could be, and they put him in the same prison, and they watched and guarded him the best way they could.

1590.

His escape in this way was heard of universally throughout the land of Erin, and his recapture. There came a great gloom over the Irish, and the courage of their soldiers, and the minds of their champions, and the hearts of their heroes were confounded at hearing that news. There were many princesses and great ladies and noble white-breasted maidens sorrowing and lamenting on his account. There were many high-born nobles clapping their hands and weeping in secret for him, and he not only parted from the people with whom he was on terms of friendship and intimacy, but he went among those who had done him evil and shown him enmity. And with good reason on their part, for the multitude expected that through him relief would come to them from the dreadful slavery and bondage in which the English held them.

He was in this way in the same prison for the space of a year up to the end of winter, to Christmas night exactly, in the year 1592. When it seemed to the Son of the Virgin full time that he should escape, he and some of his companions found an opportunity on the part of the guards in the very beginning of the night before they were taken to the refectory, and they took off their fetters. They went after that to the privy, having a long rope, and they let themselves down by means of the rope through the privy till they came to the deep trench which was around the castle. After that they climbed to the opposite bank, till they were

1592.

though usually synonymous with *basghaire*, *i.e.*, death-cry, is used to express the outward manifestations of joy as shown by the clapping of hands.

on the edge of the trench at the other side. The hostages who escaped with Hugh were Henry and Art, the two sons of Shane,¹ son of Conn Bacagh, son of Conn, son of Henry, son of Eoghan. There was a certain faithful servant who visited them in the castle, a horseboy, to whom they imparted their secret, so that he met them face to face when they wanted him to be their guide. They went off after that through the crowded streets, near the castle, without being known or overheard by any one, for they were not noticed while thus engaged, but like every one else of the city people, as they did not stop to converse with or visit any one whatever in the houses of the fortress at that time, for it was the beginning of the night exactly, and the gates of the city were not yet closed. They went out through the city in that manner. They leaped over the enclosure and impediment of the surrounding fences and of the strong, firm palisade which was outside the city, until they came to the slopes of Slieve Roe, where Hugh had come before the first time he escaped. The darkness of the night and the hurry of the flight separated him who was the oldest of the party from them. This was Henry O'Neill. Hugh was the youngest of the nobles. They were not pleased at the separation. They went away however, their attendant leading the way. The night came on with a drizzle and a violent downpour of rain and slippery slime of snow, so that it was not easy for the high-born nobles to walk on account of the inclement weather and the want of clothing, for they had hardly any upper garments, having left them in the privy through which they had come.

This hurried journey, strange and unusual, was more severe on Art than on Hugh, and his gait was feeble and slow, for he was corpulent, thick-thighed, and he had been a long time closely confined in the prison. It was not so with Hugh, for he had not passed the period of boyhood, and he had not ceased to grow in size and strength then, and he was active and light on that account, and his gait was quick and nimble. When he perceived Art growing weak and his step heavy, what he did to him was to place one hand of his on his own shoulder and the other hand on the shoulder of the servant. They went on in this way across the upper part of the slope of the mountain. They were tired and weary after that, and they could not bring Art further with them. As they could not, they went under the shelter of a lofty cliff of the mountain which was in

fol. 6. b. imbelairb. Iarí naímuiriomí dóiribh amhriúe faoiúit an gíolla uadairb lia íreairb go gleano Mhaoluisgria bail íuarbe Fíacha mac Oíola. Gíllm óaingen oioéoglaíúe eiríúe, 7 no gnaéaríúe gíall Dumbinne cona míoúnaib eatha íomriúe 7 íonhriúe fariú oia eiréachá 7 ímriéú. Nó ehorúat an éi Fíacha co íeiriúa íriu co íreírcebaíte íolair eínn lair, & ní ehumgairí ní úo, aét arí a doí gíríbat íomúa íolairúa an íonhriúe 7 gíríbo calma accongáib chaéa, níri bo íuaríachíomí dóirb eínn baos ínn bíu. Gach gíall 7 gac cimbíú no eíarúú íuaríúb ní ehaiur no ehéiréú aét arí éucee no oáiréú 7 ba íléú aétina híúe ool go gíllm Mhaoluisgria bail ambaos an Fíachá aíríubíomoi arí ba íe aóúnáirí. Achumac eítna oona gíallairb íeíríaríu arí éuríe ío óalírat íaríeírín, & ío íoríúíre an gíolla. O íuaríeíríomí aíríu ímbuí an Fíachá a íeú aríeéla nóú, 7 an íonhriúe íoríúgáirb na hoeca ío eíátarí aríu ecaéíríúg, 7 naé arí bíreá ímbíeíharó íoríu muna eírta oía eíríeírín íeíríaríu.

fol. 7. a. Íaríúam oí íorígha an tí Fíacha íuaríac oia óírí gíríúa oí neoch baarí eairíu lair oíob, & ío íríb íoríu eéet íár an ígílle íorí amhriú na nóce. Aíríaríat ío eíreírí íeíb ío ílírbáú íríú, 7 oí comíat arí, 7 ílí ío bíúú leó 7 aríúe ío líonn 7 eíríamí, go íuaríeatarí gírí an ílírb baíl hí íaríeabíeí na íoríu. Míonáirí aírí níú bó íoríneac íáúal íuríúgáú 7 íaríúgáú na íoríeíeíonhriúe íorí eírú na eíríuáú oí eíeíeatarí íorí aníaríarí. Ní íuaríeatarí bíeíríeíeí nae bíeíeána íuarí eíríeíríe eíríeíeíeíe ío accoríaríb oia ecaíomína arí íúacht & oíríeíeí na gíríeíríe gíllmíuatu, aét arí ba eíeíeíeíe eíríeíeíe ío accoríeíríeíríe 7 ba eíeíeíeíe ío accínnairb eíeíeíeíe eíeíeíeíe eíríeíeíeíe eíeíeíeíeíe aírí íeóú oia gac leé íomíaríb & aírí íomíamí aníonarí níuíríeíríom, 7 aríeabíomíeíríeíríe íuaríeíeíe íorí íeíeíeíeíe 7 a íaríarí ímíeabí 7 a íuaríeíríamí íorí íoríeíríe 7 eíríeíríeíríe, eíríe íaríeíeíe íarí na íoríu oírí íaríeatarí níú bó oíomíe íorí íeíe, aét ba íe accubac eíríeíríeíríe an eíríamí eílna baos aní íarí na íoríeíeíe íorí íeíeíeíe, uírí ní ío íaríeíríeíríe bíeíeíeíe ína ímíeíeíríe aet íaríeíríe íaríeíríe, & aríomíe oí bátorí íorí aet míoú bíg. Íaríúam eíríeíeíeíeíríe an íaríeíeíe arí lígíe íeíe 7 íoríeíríeíeíeíeíeíríe íoríu ní oínn bíúú 7 oínn líonn oí eíeíeíeíeíe, & ní eíríeíríe

¹ *Hostage*.—He afforded protection to the Catholics from the oppression of the Protestants, concealing some of them and

receiving others openly. O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, p. 152. See what has been said of him at p. xxxix., antea.

front of them. After stopping there they sent the servant away with the news to Glenmalure, the place where Fiach Mac Hugh was. This was a secure, impregnable valley, and the English of Dublin were accustomed with their instruments of battle to besiege and assault it in order to plunder and lay it waste. This Fiach maintained it valiantly against them, so that many heads were left behind with him, and they could do nothing against him ; but though their attacks were many and various, and though there was strength in their implements of war, he was not submissive to them so long as he lived. Every hostage¹ and every prisoner who escaped from them did not halt or go away, but went to him, and his first journey² was to go to Glenmalure, the place where Fiach was, as we have said, for it was his strong dwelling. So, too, the hostages aforesaid addressed themselves to him, and sent their servant to him. When he came where Fiach was he told his story to him and the state in which he left the youths who had escaped from the city, and that they would not be overtaken alive if he did not go to their assistance immediately.

Thereupon Fiach selected a party of his people (of those trusted by him), and he bade them go with the servant to the youths. They rose up at once as they were ordered, and went off with one having food and another ale and beer, until they came to the mountain, the place where the men had been left. Alas! truly the state and position of these nobles was not happy or pleasant to the heroes who had come to seek for them. They had neither cloaks nor plaids, nor clothing for protection under their bodies, to save them from the cold and frost of the sharp winter season, but the bed-clothes under their fair skins and the pillows under their heads were supports heaped up, white-bordered of hailstones freezing all round them, and attaching their light coats and shirts of fine linen thread to their bodies, and their large shoes and the fastenings to their legs and feet, so that they seemed to the men that had come not to be human beings at all, but just like sods of earth covered up by the snow, because they did not perceive motion in their limbs, but just as if they were dead, and they were nearly so. Wherefore the heroes raised them from where they lay and bade them take some of the food and of the ale, and they did

² *His first journey.*— See Spenser's *View of Ireland*, p. 187.

úatha, uairi zaō deōz no eabsoir oūr melccoir hi fhuir̄i fori ambeolair̄
 recctair̄. Achc chlna mo chātamair̄ an tí Ar̄c fó úeoir̄, & acrāonacht an
 oūi rin. Dāla an d̄ōtha mōrcongair̄ an c̄omair̄m íar̄ rin & mo batari
 a b̄mōza fori for̄bair̄t íar̄ na hól achc a úi choir̄ na má, ar̄ ar̄ imne
 batarīr̄e inamballair̄ mār̄ba zan mōtuzaō íar̄ nac & ion̄bolzaō f̄uir̄ an
 meōd 7 f̄uir̄ an r̄neachta. Cuir̄t na f̄uir̄ fori iomochūr̄ eir̄om̄i z̄uir̄ an
 n̄gleann ac mūb̄iamair̄. Oo māta h̄it̄t̄z̄ ú̄l̄īr̄īt̄t̄ inoiāmair̄ an ú̄l̄īr̄f̄ōa.
 Ro bōt̄ iccá ú̄l̄īz̄f̄i 7 leārūzaō ann da zaō ni ba toir̄z̄r̄e co toir̄īac̄t̄
 teāchta co ú̄iceal̄ta oia áith̄ieoir̄ 7 oia f̄iōr̄ r̄ccél ó a éliāmair̄m Ofō
 úa néll. Oo māt̄r̄om̄ lam̄ fori im̄t̄ēc̄t̄ íar̄fūr̄e íar̄ mb̄iēt̄ oon teāc̄ta
 f̄air̄. Ba oūil̄z̄ ú̄ōrom̄ t̄r̄iall fori an tūīar̄ rin, oir̄ ni mo chum̄-
 ainḡret̄t na lēze f̄reapaō oia t̄r̄aigh̄t̄ib̄ i t̄r̄aitēt̄e íar̄ na t̄r̄iegh̄ōā oon
 meōd mēhērēit̄mār̄, & ba h̄iecc̄ln̄ da nach oile a é̄uic̄c̄bair̄ fori each, 7
 a z̄abáil eir̄ti a ú̄ib̄ lam̄air̄b̄ oo mūoir̄i tan no é̄ar̄ib̄lainḡēō. Ú̄āoir̄om̄ amne
 co mo ētār̄īcc̄ār̄at̄ lēize a oir̄ ōm̄ōam̄ f̄uir̄ íar̄ t̄r̄iūoll ar̄ mōc̄t̄ain oia āth̄ār̄ōa
 būōōein. F̄āoir̄oir̄ an tí f̄iacha ōīum̄ mār̄ic̄ē lair̄ ir̄im̄ āth̄āīz̄ oia r̄nāōāō
 t̄ar̄i ab̄ann ú̄r̄e. n. ob̄ r̄il i coic̄c̄r̄ic̄ coic̄c̄r̄ō z̄āilán & na M̄r̄e. Ro batari
 ēt̄ār̄īnār̄e 7 aor̄ coim̄eta ó z̄allair̄b̄ Dūr̄blinne fori áth̄air̄b̄ é̄ōom̄ine na
 hab̄ann 7 fori a conair̄ib̄ coit̄é̄ln̄ōa oc̄ clōr̄ ōōib̄ d̄ōt̄ ó Ooim̄naill oo beir̄ in
 z̄lionn̄ M̄haoir̄lūz̄ia, ar̄ nāc̄ elair̄ōf̄ō t̄ār̄īr̄ib̄ co coic̄ceaō Concōbair̄i, 7 nach
 é̄l̄atair̄ na cim̄b̄r̄e ar̄ é̄lna ac mūla im̄ār̄iōn mū ar̄ an ccāēr̄iāz̄, z̄uir̄ b̄ō
 fol. 7. b. h̄iecc̄ln̄ oona h̄ōcc̄air̄b̄ ar̄ a aba z̄abáil in z̄ār̄f̄ōcc̄ur̄ oon chāēr̄iāz̄ t̄ar̄i ác̄
 nōōmār̄ō noim̄ōm̄ain mo baor̄i fori an ab̄ann z̄o mānḡatār̄i zan māt̄uccaō zan
 for̄cloir̄t̄ēc̄t̄ oona z̄allair̄b̄ combatār̄i fori iōrl̄ainn̄ an oú̄ine an up̄ōrāc̄
 oir̄oche. Ro baor̄i an l̄ucht̄ lár̄ mo t̄r̄iecc̄eaōrom̄ hi tōrāc̄ íar̄r̄an c̄c̄t̄na
 hel̄ú̄r̄ hi t̄r̄echum̄ur̄c̄ an oiōr̄ma n. Fel̄im̄ ó tūāth̄air̄ cona b̄r̄iāth̄air̄i íar̄
 t̄tocht̄ ooir̄b̄ r̄nāōār̄om̄ & oia c̄ōmār̄ice am̄air̄ cach ú̄l̄īr̄nār̄om̄ 7 oo
 é̄ln̄z̄air̄ accōt̄tāz̄ 7 accār̄īōl̄ra f̄uir̄. Mār̄iār̄ō an cōt̄tāēr̄im̄ beor̄, 7 mé̄iār̄ō
 coōīūr̄ō mb̄ētha eir̄t̄ti cenél Conair̄l̄ mic̄ Néll 7 r̄l̄iocht̄ Cāth̄āoir̄i

¹ *Liffey*.—This river rises in the glen at the south of the Kippure Mountain, county Wicklow, twelve miles south of Dublin. Its course is at first westwards, by Blessington, Ballymore-Eustace, and K lullen, where it turns to the north, and flowing by Newbridge, in a north-easterly direction,

to Celbridge, it enters Co. Dublin at Leixlip. From that its course is due east, by Lucan, until it falls into the sea in Dublin harbour.

² *Rere*.—The Irish word is translated in O'Clery's *Glossary* 'the rere of a house where food is kept.' The Four Masters say,

not succeed, for every drink they took they let it out of their mouths again. However, Art died at last and was buried in that place. As for Hugh, he retained the beer after that, and his strength was on the increase after drinking, except in his two feet, for they were like dead members without motion, owing to the swelling and blistering from the frost and snow. The men carried him to the valley of which we have spoken. He was put into a house hidden in a remote part of the thick wood. He had medical skill and care in every way he needed until the arrival of a messenger in secret to inquire and get news about him from his brother-in-law Hugh O'Neill. He proposed to set off after the messenger had come to him. It was painful to him to go on that journey, for the physicians could not heal his feet all at once after being pierced by the frost as we have said, and some one else was needed to put him on horseback and to take him between his two hands again whenever he alighted. He was so until the physicians cut off his two great toes after a while when he came to his own country. Fiach sent a troop of horse with him in the night to escort him across the river Liffey ;¹ this is a river on the confines of the province of Leinster and of Meath. There were ambuscades and watches from the English of Dublin on the shallow fords of the river and on the usual roads since they heard that Hugh O'Donnell was in Glenmalure, that he might not escape by them to the province of Conor, and that the prisoners too might not escape who had fled with him out of the castle ; so that it was necessary for the youths for that reason to go very near the castle, over a difficult and deep ford which was on the river, and they came without being perceived or overheard by the English till they were at the rear² of the castle in the very beginning of the night. The people by whom he had been abandoned formerly after his first escape were among the troop, *i.e.*, Felim O'Toole, with his brother, who had come to escort and protect him like the others, to establish and cement their friendship and amity with him. This friendship lasts still, and will last to end of time between the tribe of Conall, son of Niall, and the race of Cathaoir Mor, son of Fedhlim

ad ann. : 'The youths who were along with Hugh proceeded on their way until they came to the green (*faithche*) of the fortress

(*duine*) unperceived by the English.' There is an Irish word, *wlann*, which, according to O'Donovan, means a lawn, yard, green.

μόρι με Feilim Fiuirglaig. Τιομνατ ceiliobnað 7 pagbaitt blnoachtain oc ár oile íar naróm a ceapactpað amlað þin.

Όάλα Δόσθα huí Όhóinnailí íarí níméεετ σοιβήροε úατα 7 íarí na págbail na ófnaí áετ an tofn óglaé .i. τοηηροεαlβαc buíθí ó ógann, σο úεαχαíθ φορí a íaríarí ηην ηgλίνη ηαιηποfηic, σο ραννίμιντερí μεθ Δεúα uí Néill úóηρúε 7 no λαβnað βέρλα na τεúαε ηεετρηοντο & ηοb αιτηηεαch εóλαch fτοηηα, úóηg no βιοú ηη íαρíáιλε an íaríla uí Néill tan ουρ ριεεú ρηí a εορρεcib gο εαéρμαg Δεααλιαc. Ροβταρí ιολαρíα βεóγ εαιηροε an tí Δεúα uí Néill úona gallaib ραúfηη, ηαρí σο βειηεαú τοúλαιεετ 7 τυάρμαρταíλ ηόβρα óηη ocυρ αρηαίτε úóηb ταρí εfηη gαβάλα αηγε 7 λαβαρηα αρí a ρον ηηη ηρεαηαú. Όα úana an úóεελαé ηη na τευεααρταib ηηρíη 7 ηηí βο ηημεεελαé ηη gαβáλ εηηε gηαιερfηgτεib na ηgall. Ιοταρí αρí íαρíοηη Δόó úα Όοηηηαιλ 7 εηρíηη φορí οíβ ηεαχαib áηα ηεεμαλλα ηηóταib ραóηηúηηγε 7 ηfηgτεib ραlηα na ρfηηηηúε gομβάταρí φορí ηηí na úóηηηηe ηηα ματταηη βο gαιηητε ο ηηβfηi colpéa ηηαρí. Ρο εμηúαεετ εαéαρí αρíηποfηic λαρíηa ηαλλ-ηαρηεαib ρεεηε ηηαηη ocε ηηβfηi colpéa φορíηηα αβαηηη 7 οηοιχεηετ ταηηηηη οαη. Όηοιχηετ Δεθα σο gαιηεí οον βαίλε ηηρíη, 7 βαρíú εοναρí εοιτεéfηηο gαλλ 7 gαοιúεαé gαβáλ εηηερηαη εαεéρμαg. Δεετ εηfηηα ηηη ρεlιεε an οηηαη σοιβήρúε gαβαíλ εηηεεε, εονfúβ σο ηόηηαε gαβáλ gο ηηηη na ηαβαηηη αε ηηηβηομαρí βαιλ ηηηβηúó íαρεαηηε úηηηηηη úfηóúf 7 λfηταρí βεεε ρηí ηηοηη-λυχηταú. Όο εοταρíηοηη ηηηη εεηηαé εονηηη ραρηεεαib an ροηηε ιομαρíευη-εηαηg φορíηηα ηηηηηαé αλλεταρíαé íαρí τεαβαηηε a λοηγε εο ραρúβηηη úó. Όα ηαηε λαρíοηη αηfηηηα αρí αηηfεε ρηαηηη οαρηεεαε, 7 βα ηαχηηηαú μόρí λαρí αρí ηη ηο εεετ αηηηοαíλ ηúαηη ó ηαχη ηοηηηηηg οηα τεαηηο αεηηαχη. Gαίβαú an

fol. 8.a.

¹ *O'Hagan*.—This tribe were owners of a small district called Tullaghoge. They took part in the inauguration of the O'Neill, casting the gold sandal over his head. *The Flight of the Earls*, p. 11. There was another tribe of the same name in Munster, descended from a totally different ancestor.

² *Language*.—The Irish word *beurla* means any language; but for the last three centuries it has been used to denote English in particular.

³ *Meath*.—Tuathal Techtmar, ardrigh A.D. 76, cut off a part (*meidhe*) from each of the four provinces to support his Court at

Tara. The exact extent of the territory will be found in Keating's *H. of Ireland*, pp. 54 and 233.

⁴ *Boyne*.—This river rises in Trinity Well, at Carbury Hill, Co. Kildare, and flows through this county. It forms for four miles the boundary with King's County, and for seven with Meath. Entering this county at its south-east corner, it passes by Trim, Navan, and Slane. It meets the Mattock at Oldbridge, four miles west of Drogheda, and passing through this town it falls into Drogheda Bay. See Wilde's *Boyne and Blackwater*; Dublin, 1849.

Firurglas. They bade farewell and gave their blessing each to the other after strengthening their friendship in this way.

As to Hugh O'Donnell, after they had gone away from him he was left with only the one youth, *i.e.*, Turlough Buidhe O'Hagan,¹ who had gone in search of him to the famous valley; he was one of Hugh O'Neill's own people, and he spoke the language² of the foreigners, and knew them and was acquainted with them, for he was in attendance on the Earl O'Neill whenever he came on business to the city of Dublin. Hugh O'Neill had many friends too among the English themselves, for he gave them large presents and stipends of gold and silver for supporting him and speaking on his behalf in the Council. For these reasons the young man was bold and was not afraid to go by the usual roads of the English. Hugh O'Donnell and he went away after that on two fine fleet horses by the straight-lined roads and the muddy ways of ancient Meath,³ so that they were on the bank of the Boyne⁴ before morning, a short distance to the west of Inver Colpa.⁵ A fine city had been built by the foreigners some time before at Inver Colpa on the river, and also a bridge over it. Drogheda⁶ was the name given to that town, and the usual road for the English and the Irish to take was through the town. But yet fear did not allow them to go through it, so that what they did was to go to the bank of the river of which we have spoken, where there was a poor miserable fisherman who had a small ferryboat. They went into the curach,⁷ and the ferryman left them on the opposite bank after generous payment was given him. His mind was happy on account of the sum of money he had received, and he was greatly surprised, for he had never received a like amount before from any persons to whom he had given his curach. The same

¹ *Inver Colpa*.—This place has its name from Colpa, one of the sons of Milesius, who was drowned here when attempting to land with his followers. *Ogygia*, p. 182. St. Patrick landed here after being repulsed by the chief of Hy Garchon, *i.e.*, Wicklow. *Trias Thaum.*, p. 124. The ancient name is still preserved in that of the village of Colpa.

⁶ *Drogheda*.—*i.e.*, the bridge of the ford. It is latinized Pontanum. By the English

of that time the word was usually written Tredagh, which resembles somewhat in sound the Irish word. It is a seaport, thirty-two miles north of Dublin.

⁷ *Curach*.—A boat made of twigs covered with hides, having its name from corium, a hide. Formerly boats of considerable size were made in this manner. See *Ogygia*, p. 254, and Ware's *Antiquities*, ii. 174. Caesar says boats of this kind were used by the Britons. *De Bell. Civ.*, i. 54.

man went with the horses through the city; and he gave them up to them at the other side of the river. 1592.

They mounted on their horses and proceeded after that on their journey until they were two miles from the river. They saw a bushy, dense grove in front of them on the road they came and a huge rampart all round it, as if it was a kitchen-garden. There was a fine mansion (called the great monastery)¹ belonging to an illustrious youth² of the English by the side of the wood. He was much attached to Hugh O'Neill. They jumped down from that same rampart and went in somehow, for his follower knew that place well. They unsaddled their horses and made a halt there. He went into the house and was entertained, for he was well known there especially more than in other places. He procured a retired apartment for Hugh, and took him with him, where he waited on and entertained him after a while as well as he desired.

As they thought this place where they were was very secure, they remained there till the night of the next day. They set out after that on their own horses in the dark at the beginning of the night over Slieve Breagh³ and through Machaire Chonail,⁴ until they came to Tragh Baile mic Buain⁵ before morning. This town was built on the edge of the shore by the foreign race of whom we have spoken, between Dundalk⁶ and the sea. As the gates of the town were open in the early morning they resolved to go through it without halt or delay. They went on their way after that on horseback without being noticed, and so they passed through the city and no one recognised them while so engaged until they were on the other side. The reason why it was necessary for them to go through the town rather than by another road was, because there were watches and ambuscades set by the English on the boundary in every remarkable place and on each path and road by which they thought Hugh O'Donnell would come to them, as there were on the river Liffey, and they thought that fear would not allow him

era. It comprised the level part of Louth, from the Boyne to the Carlingford mountains. See *Ógygia*, p. 279.

⁵ *Tragh Baile mic Buain*.—*i.e.*, The strand of Baile, the son of Buan. He was sixth in descent from Rudhraidhe, monarch of Ireland 212 B.C., who was buried here. See

O'Curry's *MSS. Materials*, p. 464. This was formerly the name of the strand.

⁶ *Dundalk*.—This place has its name from Delga, a Firbolg chief. It was the chief residence of Cuchullin, the most distinguished of the Knights of the Royal Branch. See O'Curry's *Manners*, &c., ii. 197.

ceat̃maiz̃ cipimouy. O maugatar̃ tar̃ p̃p̃iat̃rl̃ig̃ib̃ na ceat̃mach̃ moctar̃
 p̃ub̃aiz̃ p̃oib̃p̃aoil̃iz̃ ar̃ aba a ceſp̃mar̃ tar̃ ſac̃ mbaog̃al̃ baoi p̃ſmpo, ar̃ m̃ mo
 meacclaiỹet̃ nach̃ ñ ar̃ mochtam̃ ōo h̃uip̃ũõiu ar̃ ba p̃o m̃am̃aỹ Aōōa ũi
 Néill̃ báoi an c̃moch̃ p̃m̃ ceat̃maiz̃ ac̃uar̃o. Uot̃ar̃ ar̃ ſo p̃iõ m̃õi an aōaiz̃p̃m̃
 ōo leiz̃eāō a p̃c̃ip̃r̃, 7 ba h̃im̃ill̃ ōoib̃ im̃b̃it̃ an ōúp̃m̃ ſep̃ bo ſap̃p̃oc̃c̃uỹ ōo
 ſal̃laib̃ iac. Ba caip̃a 7 ba com̃al̃ta ōofoim̃ an tí bui h̃uip̃ũe Toip̃p̃oel̃baē
 mac Eip̃m̃ mic F̃elim̃ R̃úar̃o ōo p̃oſp̃iclañoib̃ ceñél̃ Eoſam̃ 7 ba h̃ionanñ
 mach̃ar̃p̃ ōópãoē & ōoñ iap̃la ūa Néill̃. Ro p̃iaōaiz̃eāō iſp̃oim̃ co h̃aip̃-
 m̃it̃neāē an aōaiz̃ p̃m̃, 7 ſaib̃it̃ p̃eñm̃ib̃ ar̃ aōap̃ac̃ t̃p̃e p̃l̃iaē p̃úait̃ mic
 b̃p̃eogh̃am̃ ſo maugatar̃ ſup̃ an mach̃a buō ēuar̃o. Anait̃ anñ an aōaiz̃p̃m̃
 p̃o ōic̃leit̃. T̃iaſait̃ ar̃ a b̃ápac̃ ſo ōim̃ ſl̃ham̃ mic ceat̃baō, baſ̃ ĩp̃aib̃e
 Aōōó Néill̃. Ba p̃aoil̃ōp̃um̃ p̃ap̃añ aoiōeāō ōo p̃mach̃t̃ c̃ucca, 7 ōo p̃ataō
 ſañ p̃up̃eāē m̃ ap̃aſ̃al̃ uaiſneāē ſo h̃ip̃oil̃iz̃iōe ſañ p̃atuſ̃aō ōa naē aoñ
 ip̃m̃ ōúnaō achĩt̃ maō uach̃aō ōaop̃t̃ap̃ip̃i mo bat̃ar̃p̃ oſ̃a p̃p̃oēaileāō 7 oſ̃
 ap̃uip̃t̃oile ōó, oip̃ ba p̃ap̃mach̃ Aēōó Néill̃ m̃ ionbar̃o ip̃m̃ ōo ſal̃laib̃
 ōuib̃l̃im̃e, 7 ñip̃ b̃o h̃ail̃ ōó tochĩt̃ tar̃ a ñl̃p̃p̃uaſ̃p̃ia achĩt̃ co h̃im̃cleit̃e.

Ōala Aōōha ũi ōoim̃aill̃, íap̃i c̃oip̃i p̃c̃ip̃r̃i a aip̃t̃ip̃i & im̃m̃iz̃ ōe ip̃m̃
 ōúnaō p̃m̃ p̃é c̃eēoip̃a noiōē coñ a l̃áib̃, ōo b̃l̃it̃ lam̃i p̃oip̃ im̃t̃eachĩt̃ 7
 t̃iom̃ñap̃i c̃eileab̃p̃aō ōo Aōōó ūa Néill̃, 7 p̃ag̃bar̃o beñoachĩēam̃ occa. Ōo
 c̃uip̃ſt̃hap̃ ōip̃im̃ ñiap̃eāē laip̃ ōia ſ̃naōhaō ar̃ ēúanaib̃ 7 c̃l̃it̃hep̃maēam̃ ſo

¹ *Fiodmore*. — *i.e.*, the great wood, now the Fews. There are two baronies of the name in the south of Co. Armagh.

² *Turlough MacHenry*.—Owen O'Neill, who died in 1456, was the common ancestor, on the father's side, of Earl Hugh and Turlough. His daughter married Hugh O'Donnell; from these the O'Donnells of Spain and Austria are descended. *Annals F. M.*, vi. 1922. He was a half-brother of the Earl.

³ *Mother*.—This was Joan, daughter of Cuconnacht Maguire. The Four Masters, under the date 1600, the year in which she died, say of her that 'she was the pillar, support, and maintenance of the indigent and mighty, of poets and of exiles, of widows and orphans, of the clergy and men of science, of the poor and needy, the head of counsel and advice to the gentlemen and

chiefs of the province of Conor Mac Nessa, a demure, charitable, meek, benign woman, with pure piety and the love of God and her neighbours.' After the death of Earl Hugh's father she married Henry O'Neill of the Fews. *Annals*, vi. 2223.

⁴ *Slieve Fuaid*.—In the barony of the Fews, between Castleblaney and Armagh. It has its name from Fuaidh, one of the colony which came to Ireland with the sons of Milesius. Keating, *H. of Ireland*, p. 134.

⁵ *Armagh*.—*i.e.*, The height of Macha. She was the only daughter of King Aodh Ruadh, from whom Assaroe has its name. At his death she claimed the kingdom by right of descent. She was opposed by Dithorb and Kembait̃h, her father's cousins, who with him had governed in turn, each for a period of seven years. She defeated her opponents and drove them into exile.

to go through the town at all. When they had gone through the streets of the town, they were glad and delighted at having escaped from every danger which was before them, for they feared nothing when they had come to that place, since the country to the north of the town was under the sway of Hugh O'Neill. They went on to Fiodmore¹ that night to get rid of their fatigue, and they were safe while there though they were very close to the English. Turlough Mac Henry,² son of Phelim Roe, who dwelt there, was his friend and foster-brother. He was of the nobles of the Cinel Eoghan, and he and the Earl O'Neill had the same mother.³ They were entertained with much respect that night, and they went on next day though Slieve Fuaid⁴ Mic Breoghán till they came northwards to Armagh.⁵ They remained there that night concealed. The next day they went on to Dungannon⁶ Mic Cathbaidh, where Hugh O'Neill was. He was glad of the coming of his guest, and he brought him without delay to a private chamber secretly without being perceived by any one in the castle except by some of his trusty people who attended on and entertained him, because Hugh O'Neill was submissive⁷ to the English of Dublin at that time, and he did not wish to transgress their commands except secretly.

As for Hugh O'Donnell, after getting rid of the fatigue of his journey and hardships in the castle for the space of four days and four nights, he prepared to depart and he took leave of Hugh O'Neill and gave him his blessing. A troop of horse went with him to protect him from robbers and kerne⁸ until he came to the district of Lough Erne. The lord of that

She was the only woman who occupied the throne of Ireland, having reigned from A.M. 3559 to 3586. She built the palace of Emania, now Navan fort. See O'Curry's *Manners, &c.*, ii. 112, and Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 179.

⁶ *Dungannon*.—This was the chief residence of Hugh O'Neill, Strabane and Benburb being those of Turlough Luineach. O'Neill's castle was on the rising ground just over the town. Little, if any, of it is now remaining. A more modern residence was built on the site later; of that too only a small part remains. It has its name from Genan, son of Cathbadh, a Druid, who lived here in the first century of our era.

⁷ *Submissive to them*.—'Articles agreed unto by the Earl of Tyrone before the Right Hon. the Lords of her Majesty's Most Hon. Privy Council, for the better settling and confirming of his country, June 17th, 1590,' will be found in *C.C. MSS.*, iii. 37.

⁸ *Kerne*.—They are called by mediæval writers *turbarii* and *turbiculi*. Dymmok describes them as 'footmen armed with a sword and a target of wood, or a bow and sheaf of arrows with barbed heads, or else three darts which they cast with wonderful facility and neatness. Within these few years they have practised the musket and caliver, and are grown good and ready shots.' *Treatise of Ireland*, p. 7.

territory, *i.e.*, Hugh Maguire, was his friend and a relative¹ by the mother's side. He was rejoiced at his coming, and he proceeded to entertain him splendidly. A boat was brought to him well built, black-polished; he went into it, and took his leave of Maguire. They rowed away then as far as the narrow neck which was at the lough of which we have already spoken, the place whence issues the famous river abounding in salmon, which is called the Erne.² That territory was some of his own patrimony. Some of his own loyal and faithful people came and they brought fine fleet horses to meet him there. From that they went to Ballyshannon.³ There was a very strongly fortified castle⁴ on the bank of the ford, built formerly by the ancestor of Hugh, Niall Garbh, son of Turlough of the wine, in the year 1423. The castle was a noble dwelling and a princely residence of his family, and of his father especially, for he was the chief of the territory then. He had left some of his own people to guard the castle, and the men were glad that the heir⁵ of the chief had come, and they let him in.

He rested there for the present until the country assembled (every one who was in his neighbourhood) where he was. This, indeed, was not easy, for the country was in the course of being plundered and robbed by the English and by the Irish, and there had sprung up fierce disputes and contentions among themselves, so that they were not submissive to their prince as they should be, for he was an aged man then, and he was not able to unite his people or to secure their hostages or pledges since he (Hugh) had been captured, and age lay heavy on him, for he was now old. When the English of Dublin saw the territory in this condition they gave order to the troops which were away in the province of *Olneccmacht*⁶ that a certain number of them should go to the territory of Conall, son of Niall. The captains of the people who were appointed to go there were Captain Willis⁷ and Captain Conell. They marched away with two hundred

the Castle Park. Of the old walls the only part remaining is a piece incorporated with some back buildings attached to the premises of Mr. Stephens, a merchant of the town. See *The Donegal Highlands*, by Rev. Dr. MacDevitt, p. 56; Dublin, n. d.

⁵ *Heir*. — *Damhna*, the material out of which anything is made; hence the compound *Righdhamhna*, a royal heir.

⁶ *Olneccmacht*.—An ancient name of the province of Connaught, the origin of which is unknown.

⁷ *Willis*.—See an account of the ravages which he wrought in Maguire's territory in *Introd.*, p. liii. MacSwiny Banagh attacked him as soon as Hugh O'Donnell reached Donegal. O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, p. 156.

Եսրբ Կնար, և ու յո անբա՛ տա յնմոս ճօ յանջատար Օսոն նա յնչալ թոր սր
 արբաւիջե. Սաօ ճ Օսոմնալլ յրո մեաւե Եօն սաճաճ թօճարօ, 7 ու յօ
 թօթբա՛ նաճ ու ճօ. Բօ Բաօ մամրեթի Ելաճ ԵննօԵԲաճ Լուօմթօճարն ան
 շարթօլ ալլաճիար թոր սր նա ժաճա, 7 Բա ԵԵ յա Օսոմնալլ աճ յթօԲարթ
 Օսոմ Տ. Բթօթբարթ թօճճ յաճն անո 1474, և Օօ յճիաճճ արթթաճճ 7
 աճճԵաճճ Օճ Երթե ան շան յրո թոր թօճեճ և յօմճԲաճալ նա յնչալ. Եսրբ
 նա ճօլլ յրո մամրեթի, 7 Օօ ճնաճ թարթ 7 թալլալ Օօ ճճճօսրան յաճճ
 Օսրթթաճ, 7 Օօ շիճԲաճԵան ճարթաճճճ յաճճճ յՕճ 7 նա մաճ մեաճԵաճ.
 Բօ շիթթիճճ Օսոն ան մեթօճ ճիթ Եօ Եսո ճ Ելնար ոճթ Եօ ԵԵրթե 7 ճօ ճլեն
 Եօլման ճլլե մաճ Բթօլմոճ Եօ թօմաթաճճճ թօճան 7 Բա Եճճճն յնչալ 7
 անարթի Օօ ժաճԲարթ յօն, սար Բա ԵաճԲալ սաճան 7 յմճճա ճօթօճԵալ ան
 յօնԲար թո մա յթօճն թաճան 7 մա Լաճճիաճ Լօնօան (ճԵաճ սաճաճ յօն)
 ար ալլարթօճճ անոմլ 7 ան ճճարթ 7 ար յօնճարթե անթարթ 7 ան ԵրԼաԲար,
 7 Լա թօճարթօթման ա թթօթարթ 7 ա թարթի, ա ճարթմաճճ Եաճա, Լա ճթան 7
 ճթարթեճճ անճարթճճ 7 ան ճալլ արթ, ար յար Եօ Եաճճա Եօլար ԵրթեճԲաճան
 յաճն ճօ թո. ճԲԵար Լար ան սաճաճ թօլոճ թոն Երթեթարթօ Եարթալլ Բաօ
 թոր Եօճարթ մեալ ան ճիան յօ մաճ ճճմլնօ ՕՕսոն նա յնչալ յիար. Լա Եսա
 մեաթոճլլ ան Բալե ժաթթեաճ յօճարթե Օօ ճճնճ Եօնալլ ճլլան. Օ յօԲ
 մոմլ Լար նա ճալլան ճճճա արթ մեճԵար, 7 Բարթթօ նա ճրթե թոր աճճ-
 ար, ոճ յճճճար թարթան ճթաճ Եօ յօթճնօ նանթարթ 7 նանթարթն նա
 յօթարթ 7 նա թարթան, Օօ ճարթ անթօ և անթճանար թարթօ, 7 ու անթար

fol. 10. a.

¹ *The Duff*.—This river rises in the barony of Rosclougher, Co. Leitrim; it is there called the Black River. It falls into Donegal Bay four miles to the west of Bundoran.

² *Monastery*.—See *Intro.*, p. cxxviii. What follows would seem to refer to something like a round tower, but there is no tradition of any such having ever existed there. The words refer perhaps to the bell-tower of the church.

³ *The Castle*.—See *Intro.*, p. xxvi. Sir Henry Sidney, the Lord Deputy, who visited it in 1566, says of it: 'It is one of the greatest I ever saw in Ireland in any Irishman's hands, and would appear in good keeping one of the fairest, so nigh a portable water as a boat of ten tons may come within twenty yards of it.'

⁴ *Religious*.—The word *sruthe* is trans-

lated *seniores* (elders) by Colgan; *Trias Thuam.*, p. 298, and *sapientes* (wise), by Usher; *Primordia*, p. 895: Dublin, 1639, and by O'Donovan, *religious seniors*; *Annals F. M.*, i. 417.

⁵ *Servants of God*.—Hence the word *Culdees*. See *Reeves' Essay* 'On the Celi-de, commonly called *Culdees*.' *Transactions of R.I.A.*, xxiv.: Dublin, 1873.

⁶ *Sons of Life*.—Wicked persons and malefactors of every kind were called sons of death.

⁷ *Bearnas More*.—See p. xiv., *antea*.

⁸ *Glencolumcille*.—A valley two miles in length and half a mile in breadth, in the N.W. extremity of Donegal. The western end of it opens on Glen bay, which has on its southern side the cliffs of Malinmore Head. It has its name from a monastery

soldiers over the Duff,¹ the Drowes, and Assaroe, and they did not stop on their way till they came to Donegal on the shore abounding in fish. O'Donnell was in the castle with a small body of troops; yet they could not harm him. There was a fair monastery² with a conical-capped tower near the castle³ to the west on the edge of the strand. O'Donnell had given it to the Order of St. Francis long before, in the year 1474. Its religious⁴ and servants of God had gone away at that time to fly from and avoid the English. The English dwelt in the monastery, and they made booths and tents of the holy retired dwellings and of the cells of jointed boards of the servants of God⁵ and sons of life.⁶ They made subject to them the part of the country from Bearnas More⁷ to Lough Erne and to the Glen of Columkille,⁸ son of Fedhlimidh, and it was necessary to give pledges and hostages to them, for the Irish had great terror and dread at that time of the English troops and of the soldiers of London (though they had only a few of them) on account of the strangeness of their weapons and appearance and the novelty of their armour and speech and the loud noise of their trumpets and tabours⁹ and war music, together with the cruelty and activity of their warriors, and the strange arms, for the Irish had no precise knowledge up to that. The castle,¹⁰ which was on the edge of the harbour, two miles to the west of Donegal, was taken by a part of the force of which we have spoken. The place belonged to O'Boyle,¹¹ a famous chief of the tribe of Conall Gulban. Since these same English had a secure position there and the hostages of the country were in their power, they used to go through the country commonly in companies and in bands in twos and threes to carry off food and provisions for themselves, and they did not hesitate to

established there by St. Columkille: a part of which, with the leaba or bed of the Saint, is still in existence. A Station much frequented by the people is here, having at intervals on both sides of the valley some very ancient incised crosses. Of the population we may with full truth use the words of Petrie when speaking of the inhabitants of the islands of Arran: 'They have all the virtues peculiar to the Irish character, with, perhaps, as little admixture of its vices as the lot of humanity will permit.'

⁹ *Tabours*.—A small drum, no doubt from the same root as the French *tambour*.

¹⁰ *Castle*.—In the townland of Ballywell, on the water's edge, a mile by water from the town. The site is marked on the Ordnance Map. A small part of the outer wall, about six feet square, is still standing.

¹¹ *O'Boyle*.—See *Introd.*, p. vii. The territory of the O'Boyles was originally the three tuatha in the N.W. of the barony of Kilmacrenan, of which they were deprived by the M'Swinys. See *Annals F.M.*, iii. 322.

take with them their heavy cattle and long-fleeced sheep at all times. They proceeded to call additional troops and hosts to them to go beyond Bearnas More in order to oppress and plunder the territory and everywhere to rob them of their herds and flocks and to reduce them to slavery and great misery in the end. But yet as the robbery and evil deeds which the English practised on the people of the country in their own dear native land were not pleasing to God, he gave the prophecied¹ child of mighty deeds (Hugh Roe, son of Hugh, son of Manus) to the tribe of Conall, son of Niall, for their relief and succour, to protect and free them from the merciless foreign tribe, as Moses,² the son of Amram, came to the aid of the people of God to free them from the Egyptian bondage.

When the English learned the report of which we have spoken, and when it was told them that the Roe who had escaped was come to the country, a quaking fear and great terror seized on them, and they resolved in consequence to leave the country if they could, and they wished they had never come into it. As for Hugh O'Donnell, he summoned the country to him, and he did not wait for them then (because he heard of the spoiling and profanation of the monastery), but he came to Donegal face to face with the English. However, the country did not keep him long without coming to his call (such as were friendly to him) in companies and in bands as speedily as they could. Thereupon, he sent his messenger to the English to tell them not to delay or abide any longer in the church, and that they would not be prevented from going away by whatever road they pleased, but only they should leave behind them whatever cattle, captives, herds, and flocks they had, and the riches and wealth of the country in like manner. They left them behind immediately as he ordered them, and they were thankful to go away with their lives, and they returned to the province of Connaught whence they had come. After their departure in the month of February, the brethren returned to the monastery and set about cleansing and renovating it after the barbarous crew, and saying the divine office and the mass, as was their custom, and praising the Lord in their prayers and in their petitions sometimes on behalf of their friends and of their benefactors, and especially of Hugh O'Donnell, for it was he that brought them

μα ἡμετέρας οἰα φοραὸ πρᾶιμελέταρὸ & οἰα παρῆρ ἀλ τοιμῆεαὸ & πορτοηνερταρῆρ ἀν ἀηφρῆε ἀλλῆμαρὸα υαυῶιβ.

Ὅαλα δόδα υἱ ὀοῖμαλλ, λυῶρῖοε co ἡδέρῖηαῖς ἡμεῖρη 7 υειρὸ μῆ, 7 το βῆτ λειζε chuga το κοῖηοῖρῖν α ὄρη, 7 η ἡο πέτρατ ἡεαπαὸ τὸ co ἡο ἡειπερὸελιζῆε α ὀι ορῶαη ἡμῆρ φο ὕεὸρ, 7 ἡηρ βο ἡοῖρῖλᾶη co τῶηρ ἡβλιαῶηα. Ἀρῆ ἰη ἡηρ ἡελεερῖμῆ ὅε ἡμῆρ ἀη ἡέ ἡη ἡαη ὀέηοη ἡεερῖ ἡἱ βα τοηρεοῖοε το ἔαῦεζαὸ τῆαῖ, το ἡαλαηε & το μῆρὸεζαὸ ἡειηεαεḥ, 7 τῶηε α ἀηφραλὸ ἀρῆ ἡρρεαηρὸιβ. Ὑὸρῖοηῆ ἡα οεḥαηεῖζε ἀἡαἱλ ἀρῖμῖραμαρ ὀ ἡοηεεe co ἡαρῖηλ. Οτ ἡἱρῖοηῆ ἀῦαηε ἡα ἡαηρῖηε ἡρῖηαḥοε ἀρῆ ἡηῖεετ & ἡρῖηαλλ ἡα ἡἱηε ἡαἡηαῖα ἡηεεα, βα ἡοα λαρ ἡοβὸἱ ἡα οῖαηεῖζε εḥη ὀηηεζε ἀη ἡῖηε ἀηβαοι, cem κοηρῖηηεεερῖετ α λεζε ὕὸ, & βαρεῦ το ἡόμε ταρῆ ἀηḥεζαηε τεῖτα το ἡοη ἡο cenél conaλλ το ηεαεḥ ἡοβα ἡαηαὸ οἰα ἔηηεῖḥ ὕοιβ, 7 ἀταρῖελοηαὸ 7 ἀτῖοηὸλ ἀῶῶηη ἀλλαεḥαηρ ὀοη τρῖαḥ ἀηῖοηε . 1. Ὑḥῖμῖρ ἡὸρῆ ἔηηε ἡαῦα. Ὑοηηατῖοηῆ α fol. 11. a. ἡἱηοαὸ λᾶηῆ ἡοη ἡηῖεετ ἡ ἀη ὀαἱλ, & το ἡοηάλατ ἡηεεα ἡηβῖη ἀλλαῖαρ ὀοη τρῖαḥ ἀρῖμῖραμῖρ. Ὑοη ἡεε ἀηη υα Ὑαοἱḥἱλλ τῶεζ ὀεε ἡαε τῶηεζ ἡηε τοηηρὸεḥβαῖς τὸρῖεαεḥ τῶεζαḥοε το ἡεηél conaλλ. Ὑοη ἡαηεε ἀηη ἡαε Ὑαἱβηε ἔηηε βὸζαηε, Ὑοηηεαὸ ἡαε ἡαοἱλμῖηε ἡḥῖηεζἱζ ἡηε ἡαοἱλμῖηε ἡηε ἡέἱλλ. Ὑα ἡέ ἀη τρῖρ ἡḥῖ ἡο βῖὸἱ ἡῶρῖηεετ ἀἡḥαηε λα ἡεζ ὀ cconaλλ, ἡαε Ὑαἱβηε ἡάηατ, 7 ἡαε Ὑαἱβηε ἡα τεῖαῖ ἀη οἱαρ ἡαἱε. Ὑαταρ ἡατ ταηεαταρ ἡηη τοἱεḥῖταλ ἔḥετῆα ἀλλῆαρ ὀοη τρῖεἱβ υα Ὑοἱηαἱλλ α ἀεḥαηρ ἡηῖη ἡὸἱ ἡαε ἡαεζῖηαρ ἡηε Ἀḥῖηα ὀἱεε ἡηε δὸἱα ḥῖαηο cona κοῖηαη . 1. ἀη ἡεζḥη ὀυḥ ἡεζῆη τῖḥεμαρ ἡηε Ἀλααηοαρ ἡηε Ἐοἱη ἡηαῖηαῖς ἡαῖαρ ἡη Ὀḥηα, 7 ἡεζḥη ἡηε Ἐαἱη ἀ ἡαεḥαηηρὸε. Ὑα ἡḥῖηηοε ὀαη ἀταρὸεετ ἡῖοε ἡηη ὀαἱλ ἀρῆ ἀρῆ βα εḥηο ἀηηε 7 ἀῖῶηαηε το ἡεηél conaλλ. 7 ζερῖβὸ ἡοραὸ ἡοηḥάλλα 7 ζερῖβο ἡαḥῖοηετα ἡ ἀηρὸιβ ἡηά, ἡο Ὑαοἱ εηοἱοε εηρῖαὸ 7 ἡηηηηη ἡρᾶηηαρ ἀἱε ἡḥεἱε ἡḥα ἡοηηεζαηε ἡετῖρ ἡοη ἡαη εῖαῖ

¹ *Beginning of Spring.*—*Immelc* is derived from *immefolc*, the beginning of spring, or from *oi-melc*, sheep-milk, this being the time when the sheep give milk. In O'Connell's MS. Irish Dict. it is explained *Féil Brighde*, i.e., Brigid's festival, February 1st. *The Book of Rights*, liii.

² *Tir Hugh.*—A barony in the south of Co. Donegal. It has its present name from Aodh (Hugh), son of Ainmire, son of

Sedna, son of Fergus Ceannfoda, son of Conall Gulban. See p. vii. antea.

³ *MacSwiny of Tir B.*—His chief dwelling was Bawan, in the parish of Kiltar, barony of Banagh.

⁴ *Maelmuire.*—i.e., tonsured in honour of Mary, the servant of Mary; it is often latinized Marianus. Many Irish names are formed from the word mael prefixed to names of Saints.

back to their abode of psalmody, to their pleasant hospitable dwelling, and drove away the savage foreigners.

As for Hugh O'Donnell, he returned to Ballyshannon and remained there. He called in physicians to examine his feet, but they could not cure him until his two great toes were cut off in the end, and he was not quite recovered for a whole year. However, he did not omit during that time to do what was necessary to unite the people, to destroy and slay thieves, and to avenge his wrongs on his enemies. He was on his sick-bed, as we have said, from the beginning of spring¹ to April. When he saw the great cold of the spring season departing and the summer weather approaching, it seemed to him a long time to be on his sick-bed without leaving the castle where he was, for his physicians did not permit him, and what he did, contrary to their prohibition, was to send messengers to the Cinel Conaill (such of them as were obedient to his parents), and to assemble and collect them to the east of the well known mountain, *i.e.*, Bearnas More of Tir Hugh.² He resolved to go himself to the meeting, and those that were to the west of the mountain which we have mentioned assembled to him. O'Boyle came, Tadhg Oge, son of Tadhg, son of Turlough, a famous chief of the Cinel Conaill; MacSwiny of Tir Boghaine³ came, Donough, son of Maclmuire⁴ Meirgeach,⁵ son of Maclmuire, son of Niall. He was the third man who was in command of the mercenaries of the King of Hy Conaill, MacSwiny Fanad⁶ and MacSwiny na dtuath being the two others. Those to the east of the mountain who came to the same gathering were O'Donnell, his own father, Hugh, son of Manus, son of Hugh Oge, son of Hugh Roe, with his wife, *i.e.*, Ineen Dubh, daughter of James, son of Alexander, son of John Cathanac, mother of Hugh; the daughter of Mac Cailin⁷ was her mother. It was an advantage that she came to the gathering, for she was the head of advice and counsel of the Cinel Conaill, and though she was slow and very deliberate and much praised for her womanly qualities, she had the heart of a hero and the soul of a soldier,

¹ *Meirgeach*.—*i.e.*, wrinkled.

² *Fanad*.—This district forms the N.E. extremity of the barony of Kilmaecrenan, extending from Lough Swilly to Mulroy Lough, and from the sea southwards to Ramelton. According to O'Dugan, O'Breslin

was the chief of this territory until he was driven from it by the MacSwinys. *Topog. Poems*, xx.

³ *Mac Cailin*.—*i.e.*, Mac Callum Mor, the Earl of Argyle. After her first husband's death she married Turlough Luineach O'Neill.

conetl̄rtair, 7 fōri acele rairnead̄ occ aic̄e a huile 7 a hec̄ōra fōri ḡac̄ n̄don̄ ton̄ aih̄illeū, & no biōū buir̄one ion̄da a halbam 7 ariail̄ d̄eim̄n̄oc̄oib̄ fōri a cori 7 fōri a ecommar, fōri a tuill̄nie 7 fōri a tuar̄artail̄ buir̄oem̄ vo ḡreap, 7 ḡo rair̄n̄f̄ōad̄ in̄ aih̄l̄et̄ baoi a mac (an̄ R̄īad̄), hi eom̄br̄oēt̄ 7 hi cum̄neach̄ oḡ ḡall̄aib̄. Taim̄e d̄an̄ iym̄ com̄d̄ail̄ éf̄ta mac Suir̄ne na t̄t̄īad̄ Eóḡan̄ ócc̄ mac Eoḡain̄ oicc̄ mic Eoḡhain̄ m̄d̄ōri mic D̄oim̄n̄aill, & mac Suir̄ne r̄án̄at̄, D̄oim̄n̄aill mac Toim̄p̄roheib̄asḡ mic R̄īad̄ōri. Bá r̄é ion̄ad̄ eir̄d̄alta in̄ mo d̄álar̄a na maitē oib̄lim̄b̄ ic̄c̄ill̄ mic nen̄áin̄ in̄ eit̄rim̄l̄f̄ōon̄ t̄m̄och̄ait̄ éēo éen̄úil̄ l̄uḡoead̄ r̄m̄ l̄l̄n̄ann̄ an̄ éuar̄ō, aih̄m̄ in̄ mo hal̄t̄ Colum̄b̄ cille mac Feilim̄ mic Feir̄ḡura an̄ naom̄ aih̄ma vo éen̄él̄ conaill, & mo baū t̄ó mo r̄oḡuḡl̄é an̄ éeall̄ c̄l̄tur, & ar̄ in̄nt̄er̄īoē mo hoim̄-
 fol. 11. b. on̄n̄ḡēe ua D̄oim̄n̄aill hi c̄l̄n̄n̄acht̄ na c̄m̄che, 7 ba r̄é aih̄ch̄in̄oead̄ na cille c̄l̄t̄ta na no oim̄nead̄, & mo b̄ad̄ ar̄ ón̄d̄ōri 7 ar̄ aih̄m̄it̄em̄ vo naom̄ éolum̄b̄ vo ḡm̄ēi ton̄ in̄oim̄ la éen̄él̄ econdaill. Baar̄i moim̄io oim̄oḡa oíáim̄he vo éen̄él̄ econdaill na tan̄ḡat̄oim̄ h̄im̄īoē ton̄ éur̄im̄. Ba oib̄rīoē d̄óū mac d̄éua óḡ mic d̄éuha R̄īad̄ōri. Ba oib̄ r̄h̄och̄t̄ an̄ éal̄bar̄iḡ mic maḡn̄ura mic aeoḡa oicc̄. Ro baar̄i beōr̄ oim̄oḡ m̄d̄ōri vo cl̄ann̄ t̄Suir̄ne na t̄t̄recomm̄ar̄ce íar̄i na t̄toḡann̄ ar̄ a t̄t̄īm̄ ó éein̄ m̄áim̄ 7 ar̄ ann̄ mo aih̄t̄reab̄r̄at̄ fōri uir̄ locha Feab̄ail̄ mic loḡtam̄, & ariat̄t̄ ba t̄uir̄iḡ moḡḡona, 7 ba tuar̄ic̄em̄īoē eatha ton̄ Calbach̄ ua d̄oim̄n̄aill & oia r̄īoel̄ na t̄l̄ḡhar̄oh̄. In̄ taim̄e ann̄ oD̄och̄ar̄-
 t̄aḡ, Seann̄ óḡ t̄aoim̄ead̄ t̄m̄och̄ait̄ éēo h̄im̄e heōḡhain̄ mic Neill, uair̄ ar̄é

¹ *Scotland*.—The employment of Scotch auxiliaries about this time was very common in the north of Ireland. Frequent mention is made of them in *The Annals F. M.* It was but natural that Ineen Dubh should put special reliance on her countrymen.

² *Both places*.—i.e., from the east and from the west of Bearnas More.

³ *Cantred*.—So the Irish *triochat* is usually translated. O'Curry quoting from an ancient Irish poem, says there were thirty townlands in each cantred. A townland sustained 300 cows and contained twelve ploughlands besides, the ploughland being as much as a six-horse plough could plough in a whole year. For instance, Meath is said to contain eighteen cantreds, Connaught thirty more, Ulster thirty-five.

See *The Battle of Magh Leana*, p. 106. O'Donovan says the cantred contained thirty ballybetaghs or one hundred and twenty quarters of land, each quarter containing one hundred and twenty Irish acres. *Tribes, &c., of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 149. See 'The Townland Distributions of Ireland,' by Reeves, in *The Transactions of the R. I. A.*, vii., 473; Dublin, 1860.

⁴ *Leannan*.—It rises in the south of the barony of Kilmacrenan, and flowing to the N.E., passes close to the villages of Dromore and Kilmacrenan, and falls into Lough Swilly at Ramelton. It was the boundary of Fanad.

⁵ *Erenach*.—The origin of this word is very doubtful. Colgan says he was a person appointed to exercise authority over those who held church lands. *Trias Thaum.*, p.

inasmuch as she exhorted in every way each one that she was acquainted with, and her husband especially, to avenge his injuries and wrongs on each according to his deserts. She had many troops from Scotland,¹ and some of the Irish at her call and under her control, in her hire and pay constantly, and especially during the time that her son (the Roc) was in prison and confined by the English. There came to the same meeting MacSwiny na dtuath, Owen Oge, son of Owen Oge, son of Owen More, son of Donnell, and MacSwiny Fanad, Donnell, son of Turlough, son of Macmuire. The precise place where the nobles of both places² came together was at Kilmacrenan, in the middle of the cantred³ of the Cinel Lughaidh, on the north of the Leannan,⁴ the place where Columkille, son of Feidhlimhidh, son of Fergus, the renowned saint of the Cinel Conaill was fostered, and it was by him the church was first established, and in it the O'Donnell was inaugurated in the chieftaincy of his territory, and it was the crenach⁵ of the same church that inaugurated him; and it was through respect and reverence for St. Columb that this was done there by the Cinel Conaill. There were also innumerable bodies of the Cinel Conaill who did not come there on that occasion. Of these was Hugh, son of Hugh Oge, son of Hugh Roc. They were the descendants of Calvagh,⁶ son of Manus, son of Hugh Oge. Among those also who took no part in it was also a large number of the clann Swiny, who, having been banished from their territory long before, dwelt then on the margin of the Lough of Febal,⁷ son of Lottan, and they were the leaders in battle and captains of fight of Calvagh O'Donnell and of his posterity successively. Shane Oge O'Doherty,⁸ chieftain of the cantred of the island of

631. In some places the office seems to have been hereditary. The Four Masters use the word as synonymous with abbot. On this question, see O'Hanlon's *Life of St. Malachy*, p. 116, Todd's *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 160; Dublin, 1864, Colton's *Visitatio*, edited by Reeves, p. 4; Dublin, 1850.

⁶ *Calvagh*. — See *Introd.*, pp. xii. and ccxv., for the reasons why his descendant did not join Hugh Roe O'Donnell.

⁷ *Lough of Febal*.—Now Lough Foyle. It is an inlet of the sea which divides the

counties of Derry and Donegal; at its mouth it is only a mile in width, at its widest part it is over ten. In ancient times all the extent of water from Lifford to the sea went by this name. Lodan was one of the Tuatha De Danaan chieftains.

⁸ *O'Doherty*.—This family was descended from Conall Gulban. See *Introd.*, p. xii. Shane O'Doherty spoken of here died in 1600; he was father of Sir Cahir, about whom see Meehan's *Flight of the Earls*, p. 191.

an émocharáctepm maonn uCoḡan ó Conaill do churo ionna, 7 tur fuit
 co ceimél ceonail h pmetur. Baḡar uroḡ mór do muntur ḡallcobar
 ḡan techt anu aḡaíl chách tíra mroḡar 7 mímún. Iar tarceḡomá an
 uaḡaró rlóíḡ rín h ceḡm a chéle, mo eitpóelíḡrít an aipḡ 7 an uarail
 maḡm for leir 7 ḡabairt ac ceimó a comairle 7 oḡ a reimóad 7 oḡa
 meimóeicpí eionnur no foibeḡar a naḡairt, 7 no blḡar fo aipí do
 mórí an eád aḡmḡa hḡmóḡácar úaróib 7 ambaóí ino ḡraonḡa rḡú do éneél
 conaill fo úeim. Ba rḡar ueríó lar na maíḡib 7 la húa nDoimnaill rḡurín
 (o mo aipḡrḡarí a emḡe 7 aróble a doipí) a éḡḡarḡar do telḡeáó oia
 mac. 1. do doḡ Rúaó & ó Doimnaill do ḡarḡm úe. Ro mólḡac eách
 hiccóitḡmḡe an comairle hḡurín, & mo ḡuite rḡmḡaró. Do maḡaó an
 tarḡelḡmḡeáó oia rḡarḡíó úa rḡmḡíl aḡacoimnaie. Ro oḡmḡrḡarḡmḡe an
 talóó Rúaó h ceḡmḡaḡ na rḡíche la foḡeḡḡḡa & la beaḡoachḡam a
 aḡarí, & do moime oḡm an anma rḡeib ar techḡa mo ba ḡnaḡ oia éneél
 fol. 12. a. ḡó rín, 7 do ḡarḡa o Doimnaill úe. ḡabairt eleḡe na eille occ ḡḡarḡ-
 ḡmḡe an chomḡeáó oarí a chḡmḡ, & occ caḡḡam rḡarḡm 7 hḡmḡ ino
 onoiḡ Cḡmḡ 7 an Cholḡmb aḡmḡḡamomí in hḡoimḡḡe a rḡarḡmḡa amaíl
 ra béḡ oíḡb. Ba hḡurín rḡarḡ laithe do mír Maí do rḡonḡarḡh mo ḡarḡmḡó
 a ḡarḡm rḡarḡa úerḡomí oon churí rín.

1592.

Turḡeḡḡa doḡa Rúaó íarḡomí o mo hoimḡeáó ino ionaó a aḡarí aḡaíl
 moḡa téchḡa, rír meḡe eipḡeáó na ḡḡarḡḡarḡaó ó ar oile oon uaḡaó
 rlóíḡ do maḡa na focharí eitḡm rḡoíḡḡeacḡ & maḡeacḡ, ḡo maḡaic hḡurín
 ceoicḡmḡe ḡo ceḡél Coḡham ino Néill, ar ba hoḡe a rḡoḡa rḡurí an ḡan
 rḡom, uarí baḡarḡarḡe occ foḡmḡán forí a éḡmḡmí o mo lá laḡe 7 emḡe

¹ *Island of Eoghan*.—*i.e.*, Inishowen; not strictly an island, but a peninsula between Lough Foyle and Lough Swilly. It was formerly the patrimony of Enna, hence called Tir Enda. Afterwards it passed into the hands of the descendants of Eoghan. In the fourteenth century it came into possession of the Cinel Conaill. *Book of Rights*, p. 132. In *The Description of Ulster*, written in 1586, it is stated that O'Doherty was forced to pay tribute not only to O'Neill

but to O'Donnell also. See *C. C. MSS.*, ii. 435.

² *O'Gallagher*.—This family took their hereditary surname from Galchobar, sixth in descent from Maclcobha, monarch of Ireland from A.D. 618 to 622, who was son of Aodh, son of Aimmire, son of Sedna, son of Fergus, son of Conall Gulban. See Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 393. The Four Masters give a detailed account of the disputes that took place between the O'Galla-

Eoghan,¹ son of Niall, did not come there because this cantred was the portion given to Eoghan from Conall from his share in the division, and it came back to the Cinel Conaill again. There was a large number of the clann Gallagher,² who, like others, did not come there, through spite and dislike. When this small body of forces had been brought together the chiefs and the nobles withdrew to a place apart, and they proceeded to take counsel, and to inquire and forecast how they might attack their enemies and bring under their obedience once more all of the Cinel Conaill itself who were at variance with and divided from them. Thereupon it was agreed on by the nobles and by O'Donnell himself (since he was aware of his feebleness and advanced age), to transfer his chieftaincy to his son, *i.e.*, Hugh Roe and to proclaim him The O'Donnell. All unanimously applauded that resolution, and it was done accordingly. The erenach, *i.e.*, O'Ferghil, was sent for. He inaugurated Hugh Roe in the headship of the territory by the order and with the blessing of his father, and he performed the ceremony of naming him in the legal way that was the custom of his tribe hitherto, and he called him The O'Donnell. The clergy of the church proceeded to supplicate the Lord³ on his behalf, and to sing psalms and hymns in honour of Christ and of Columb of whom we spoke, for the success of his sovereignty, as was usual with them. It was the third of the month of May exactly that his title of Prince was conferred on him on this occasion.

1592.

As for Hugh O'Donnell, after he was duly inaugurated in his father's place in a lawful way, he did not allow the small force of horse and foot which he had with him to scatter or separate until he came into the territory of the tribe of Eoghan, son of Niall, as he had a great grudge against them at that time, for they used to lay waste his territory ever since his father had grown weak and infirm and he himself had been captured by the

ghers and the O'Donnells, the former being in league with Calvagh O'Donnell and Turlough Luineach O'Neill in opposition to Hugh Roe's father. *Annals F. M.* v. 1873. See p. xlvii., antea.

³ *The Lord*.—The word *Coimhulke* occurs

very frequently in the *Leabhar Breac* and other ancient Irish MSS., and, according to O'Donovan, is always applied to Christ, not to the Holy Trinity, as O'Brien and O'Reilly have erroneously asserted. *Annals F. M.*, vi. 2073, n.

φορ α αθαρη, 7 ο πο ηερζαβαδ ε βυθουειν λα ζαλλαιβ. Ραδ οϊλε ανν ταν
 αρι ποβταρ ιασ cenel nEozam ba coill φορκατο ε βα σορ τιοιν το ζιερ
 τα ζαδ δον το cenel cconaill φα τειν no φροθαροαδ ε no μηφρναϊζεαδ
 in αζαο α φφααα φιρσϊιρ, ε ηιρ βο τοϊβιρτοε namά acht τα ζαδ neach
 in eccairicich no βιοδ φρηεβερτ νό mo eccairicilr φη cenel Conaill αρι α
 μορφαρ μοσ. Αφαιλλ βεοφ ηιρ βοτ φαηοφνλαδτ ε ηιρ βοτ φαηατραδ in ορι
 οϊλε τον chur φη Ηα Νεϊλλ (Τοηηφδελβαδ Luinead mac Νεϊλλ conallaiζ) 7
 αν τιαρλα ο Νεϊλλ (Αδοδ mac Φηροοιρε) ποβα οερβιηαρ οδφοιν ε οια αδαρη
 το ζιερ, conad αρι na φοταιβριη βα φορηα ουερεccaρη ουλα ιττορφαδ το
 φρομαδ α εεοζαριοδ 7 ομβλιε α αμειρτοε ε α βαριαντοε. Ιαρι ποχταμ
 τον ιαταδ φλοζιφη ι cenel Eozam πο εριοιφτε ε πο μοηηρετ αν ποβα
 κομινφραν οοϊβ τον εμich. Ζονταρ, αηιλιζεφλι ζαch δον ποβ inechta αρα
 ηυζφατ αν φλοζ. Φυαηηφτε εοαλα ιομθα βο 7 οαμη, 7 ζαδ μοϊλε αρι εφνα
 ιφ na κομφοκαυβε. τοιζ in οεαχαττορι ηαυθε ημφρι. Ηη πο φαοιφτε
 τια αν τιη Αδοδη Ριιαδ το εηιζε ηι τριαϊτε αφ αν λιζε οθηαρηφ αμβαοι,
 ε in τηαροφατ οια νόοη ε in βαοι φορ μνημαν οοϊβ τειχεαοη ηα cenel
 cconaill ο chēm ιάρι.

fol. 12. b.

Αφ ανν τια βαοι ούνάριφ ιί Νεϊλλ (Τοηηφδελβαζ Λυμζ) αν ιονβαοδ
 φη αν αν Στραβανβάν βαρ ηι κομιαδ αν τα φηναβαν φορηαζαδ οϊλε na
 οφθαζ φη αοιοιε .1. Φιονν ε Μοσθαρη, ε ηιρ βο ζναδ αιτρεαδ na
 αηηρησν ιί Νεϊλλ ηι φυοθε ζυρ αν τοηηφδελβαδ ηηρη. Ηηι υο μορτοε
 φαηηρε Αδοθα Ριιαδ in Ηα ηεϊλλ οτε chuala ζορη πο οάλφοιν αδοchum οια
 ηφρεαδ in αghar cenel conail ε Αδοθα mic Φηροοιχα mic Cunn βακαζ
 (πορα φαηα ε πο βα ελιαναν οδφοιν) οι φαρτην αηηφφφρεα φαρτην υυλιρ ε
 φαρτην φυλορι αν ανμanna εο οιβ εεοαδ λαοch leo combάτορι λαη αν ταρηη,
 ε in ανταρ το ζιερ acht acc ηιαth ε ταρρεεεαδ αν τειηε ma τειηεαλλ.

Βα τοδραδ μνημαν, 7 βα κομβηρεαδ εμθε λα ηαδοθη ια ηοοινοιλ

¹ *Friendly*.—See an account of the battle that took place eight years before this near Strabane, between Turlough Luineach and Hugh O'Neill, in which Turlough and his English allies were defeated, in *Annals F. M.*, v. 1813.

² *Strabane*.—*i.e.*, the white strand, a town in Co. Derry, sixteen miles south of Derry. The site of O'Neill's residence

is said to be that occupied by Castle House, in Castle Street. No trace of it remains.

³ *Left behind*.—The Irish Annalists make frequent mention of the bursting forth of lakes and rivers throughout the country. They even go so far as to set down the very year when these eruptions took place.

⁴ *Willis*.—The outrages and exactions practised by him and the English under his

English. There was another reason too, for the Cinel Eoghain were a wood of refuge and a bush of shelter at all times for every one of the Cinel Conaill itself who opposed and resisted their own true prince, and not only for them but for every one in other territories who was in opposition to or in enmity with the Cinell Conaill by reason of their hatred of them. Besides, the O'Neill, *i.e.*, Turlough Luineach, son of Niall Conallach, and the Earl O'Neill, *i.e.*, Hugh, son of Ferdoragh, who was always attached to Hugh and to his father, were not friendly¹ and affectionate to each other then. Wherefore, for these reasons it was against them he wished to go first to perform his first feat of arms and to display his enmity and anger. When that small force had come to Cinel Eoghain, they harassed and preyed that part of the country near them. Every one fit to bear arms whom the army got hold of was wounded and slain. They found much spoil of cows and oxen and every sort of beast too in the neighbourhood, because warnings had not preceded them. nor, indeed, did the people of the territory imagine that Hugh Roe would rise so soon from the sick-bed on which he was, and they did not conceive in their thoughts nor did it occur to their minds to fly before the Cinel Conaill for a long time before.

At that time the residence of the O'Neill (Turlough Luineach) was at Strabane,² the place of meeting of the two ancient rivers which the deluge left behind³ together, *i.e.*, the Finn and the Mourne, and it was not the custom of the O'Neill to dwell or stay there, except this Turlogh. The affection of Hugh Roe for O'Neill was not increased when he learned that he had invited to him to strengthen himself against the Cinel Conaill and Hugh, son of Ferdoragh, son of Conn Bacach (who was his friend and brother-in-law), two famous captains named Captain Willis⁴ and Captain Folart,⁵ together with two hundred soldiers who were with him at that time, and they never ceased spying and prying about the country all around.

It was anguish of mind and a great heartbreak to Hugh O'Donnell that

command in Fermanagh and later in Donegal, while Hugh Roe was confined in Dublin Castle, are given by him and by Maguire as the chief reasons why they took up arms. See pp. xlvi. and liii., *antea*.

⁵ *Folart*.—He is called by the Four Masters Foyal, vi. 1983, and Fool by O'Sullivan. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 165. His name seems to have been Fuller; so we may infer from *C. C. MSS.*, iii. p. 156.

the English of Dublin should obtain a knowledge of his patrimony or of the province either, for it was not easy to establish a friendship with any one who was reported to be in amity with the English on account of the great information and knowledge which they had, and of the vindictiveness with which they had inflicted cruelties on him without cause. When he had wasted the territories, as we have said, he returned to his own country. Hugh O'Donnell did not delay long after that, for he went back on that day week to plunder Tir Eoghain.¹ The inhabitants of the country, a second time, with their herds and flocks, with their treasures and chattels, went away, in order to fly and avoid capture, to the remotest places they could. He went with his forces in pursuit of them and on their track until he came to Cianachta² Glinne Geimhin,³ and when he had gone far into the territory, he was told that Turlough O'Neill with his force of both English and Irish and with his own troops also was in the neighbourhood and awaiting him. As soon as he heard that, he called his counsellors and his heroes in battle to him immediately, and when they had come he told them the same tidings and the business for which he had summoned them, and said to them: 'I have heard it for certain from persons of knowledge and experience that the well known saying has always proved true: every army which does not attack will be attacked.'⁴ Wherefore, it seems to me' said he, 'if we abandon the territory now and turn our backs to our enemies, they will follow on our track and on our footsteps to attack us boldly on our rear, and they will feel sure that weakness and fear is our reason for not attacking them at all. But if we first make the attack now boldly, obstinately, fear and deadly terror will not allow them or the foreign tribe that is with them to follow us again.'

All alike approved of that opinion. They did then in regard to it as he said, for they made a resolute attack and an angry advance on them in the middle of the day exactly. When they saw the Cinel Conaill coming towards them, they did not wait for them, but went off to escape from them to a certain castle⁵ that was on the bank of the Roe,⁶ this is a river

⁵ *Castle*.—The castle of Limavaddy.

⁶ *Roe*.—This river rises in the Sperrin mountains, near the southern boundary of

the barony of Keenaght, and running due north, falls into Lough Foyle six miles above Limavaddy.

bꝑú na Roa, abann iꝑúe fíl hɪ cianachtaib̄ glinne geimín. Ba dainḡean
 t̄iḡlaíúe an cairtiall uair mo bui cloéall cairḡiúe t̄o éaob̄ t̄e cona
 lam̄ta a leim t̄on leé t̄ia mbu. Baṡar iolair m̄úí & móꝑélaꝑáó & cláó
 ccoim̄daingl̄n t̄on éaob̄ aꝑaill t̄e cona lam̄ta ní t̄ó. Ba t̄ion f̄lóiḡ 7
 rochar̄t̄e an cairtiall hɪꝑm, 7 nɪ uo h̄lɪuꝑa a ionꝑúe iꝑtɪ. O manḡataꝑ
 roim̄ fo d̄ainḡean an t̄únaíó ma f̄íu maimec la h̄úa n̄Doim̄naill cona f̄lúaḡ
 rochtain meim̄b, ḡeibair̄ o Doim̄naill lonḡꝑoꝑe t̄on t̄áob̄ aꝑaill t̄on abainn
 ḡo aꝑ a baꝑach. D̄ála uí Chaṡain, Ruair̄oꝑ mic Maḡnuꝑa mic Doṡchar̄t̄o mic
 Slain t̄óꝑꝑuch an t̄ípe, faoíóꝑ aṡeṡta t̄o f̄aiḡiú uí Ohoim̄naill, 7 ꝑeꝑbenn
 laꝑ. Aꝑf̄ó bui hɪꝑúóu oca aḡ maó ḡuꝑ b̄ó t̄al̄ta t̄óꝑoim̄ o Doim̄naill
 maꝑan tan f̄m, & ḡo moṡṡnaꝑce acaꝑaꝑaó ó élin f̄ꝑꝑ, 7 mo f̄áíó chucca
 hɪomaꝑceíóe t̄ó (an t̄aꝑ laꝑ) aꝑ aba an chaꝑaꝑaó hɪꝑm an ceꝑeich ba
 t̄uꝑ faimec foꝑi aꝑaꝑam̄ & comaiꝑce t̄o leḡeaó t̄ó an ionbaíóꝑm, 7 naé aꝑ
 meileceꝑeaó chucca t̄o moíꝑi t̄ia mb̄eꝑoim̄ foꝑi a luꝑce. Ro t̄imḡeall beoꝑ
 fol. 13. b. t̄a t̄mealaím̄ t̄écc maꝑcaé t̄o úa Doim̄naill aꝑ f̄aioꝑe, 7 ꝑnáóáó t̄on ch̄áé t̄o
 t̄eaṡataꝑ foꝑi a ionchaib̄ t̄on cuꝑꝑm.

Soaꝑ ó Doim̄naill foꝑi cúlaó, aḡt na má mo aꝑꝑi mꝑm ceꝑé t̄iaꝑbo
 moꝑúll̄ꝑ na bú t̄ia t̄aꝑeꝑ comaiꝑce ḡo cenn t̄eoꝑa noíóce con aláib̄ oḡa lot
 7 occá lam̄im̄lleaó ḡo maḡt̄ fo t̄eóíó ḡo a t̄íꝑi f̄eꝑm. O maṡaꝑeꝑm̄ ḡo a
 t̄únaꝑaꝑ ḡo Doṡn na nḡaill t̄eꝑíó hɪꝑúóu, 7 t̄o bꝑl̄t̄ha a leiḡe chucca t̄o
 choim̄chúḡꝑm a choꝑꝑ, & anaíó occa oꝑꝑaꝑ f̄ꝑu mé t̄á m̄oꝑ, 7 mo lécc cuim̄ꝑanaó
 t̄iá f̄loḡ an aꝑl̄t̄e f̄m. Ba foṡa laꝑm̄m̄ mo bui úa Néill con a ḡaill̄aib̄ ḡan
 ꝑuabaꝑe f̄ꝑꝑ m mé f̄m. Ro t̄aꝑeꝑloꝑaó a f̄loḡ t̄ia f̄aiḡiú íaꝑ t̄aꝑeꝑf̄m an
 t̄a m̄ioꝑ aꝑꝑbꝑoꝑaꝑ, 7 t̄o coꝑl̄l̄t̄ aꝑꝑ t̄aꝑ b̄l̄ꝑmaꝑ moꝑ, t̄aꝑ Finn, t̄aꝑ
 Moṡaꝑm, ḡuꝑ au f̄eꝑaé mbán baile mb̄ataꝑ na ḡaill̄ 7 úa Néill t̄uꝑ an
 t̄aꝑꝑꝑeꝑꝑ ambol̄ḡhal. O na faꝑḡbaṡataꝑ na ḡaill̄ daingl̄n an t̄únaíó t̄ia
 ꝑꝑoḡaꝑeꝑoim̄ am̄ail ba m̄l̄naꝑe t̄óib̄, ba ꝑeó t̄o moꝑꝑat̄ t̄l̄nt̄e 7 t̄l̄nóála
 t̄a t̄iúó 7 t̄a d̄anaó hɪ c̄l̄t̄oꝑa haꝑt̄e an baile, 7 m mo ꝑeꝑaꝑat̄ f̄ꝑꝑ ḡuꝑ mo

¹ *Strong part.*—Donjon, the strong tower.

² *O'Cuhan.*—These were a branch of the Cinel Eoghain. In the twelfth century they drove out the O'Conors. *The Book of Rights*, p. 50, n. An account of this clan will be found in *The Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, iii. 1.; Belfast, 1855.

³ *Horse-trappings.*—These are often

mentioned in *The Book of Rights* as being given by the chiefs to the kings as a tribute, and by the kings to the chiefs as a stipend. Thus 'the truly heroic king of Uí Liathain was entitled to a steed and trappings (from) across the high sea' from the king of Cashel. p. 83.

⁴ *Finn.*—This river rises in Lough Finn,

in Cianachta Glinne Geimhin. The castle was strong and impregnable, for there was a steep cliff by the side of it, so that it was not possible to leap over on the side where it was. There were numerous walls and a great trench and a strong rampart on the other side, so that no attempt could be made on it. That castle was a shelter for a host and an army, and it was not easy to besiege it. As they had reached the strong part¹ of the castle before Hugh O'Donnell and his army could succeed in coming there, O'Donnell encamped on the other side of the river till the next day. As to Rory O'Cahan,² son of Manus, son of Donough, son of John, chief of the territory, he sent a messenger to O'Donnell and with him a letter. In it he said that O'Donnell was his foster-son before this time, and that he had entered into friendship long before with him, and he sent him word that it would be becoming, he thought, owing to that friendship, that he should leave to him the property which had come under his care and protection, and he would never again admit such if he was in pursuit of it. He promised also twelve horse-trappings³ to O'Donnell if he would secure and protect all who had come for protection to him then.

O'Donnell withdrew, but yet he remained in the country which owned the cattle to which he gave protection for the space of three days and three nights, plundering and wasting it, and then at last he came to his own territory. When he came to his castle at Donegal he remained there, and his physicians were brought to him to examine his feet; the illness remained with him for the space of two months, and he allowed his troops to rest during that time. It seemed to him long that O'Neill and his English should not have been attacked during that time. He assembled his troops after two months' preparation of which we have spoken, and they went off through Bearnas More across the Finn,⁴ across the Mourne to Strabane, the place where the English and O'Neill were, to see if he could do them harm. Since the English did not leave the strong part of the castle in order to attack them, as they were anxious they should do, what they did was to kindle and light up fires and conflagrations in the four quarters of the town, and they did not go away until they had burned and

in the barony of Boylagh in west Donegal, Lifford, where the united rivers take the name of the Foyle.

λοιγνίε 7 ζυρ πο μοιρπτε ambu vo τοιγίβ ημ μύμαβ ρεάταρ, & ζυρ πορ ευιρτε οαρ ελιν το ράιε comba λόρ το τοχαρ νειχ φορ ιομπόλλ 7 ανέολ αν ολυνιέοο οιαό το θεαχαό βό melhan on mbaile, & ba ημ ochemaó vecc lulu vo μοναό μορμ. Ο ναταγζαταρ τρα να ζαλλ οανακαλ ναέ ομμόλζηαι αν βαίε φορμα, ραζβατρμνι έ ίαρ να ορεcum ραίλαυ & τιλζαιτε οία τριγίβ cen nac ημεέβαριε ημυ.

fol. 14. a. Ιομέυρα Δόθη αι Νέιλλ (αν ιαυλα) ατ ριαοαρ ρυνη ρίεταλ ναίε, ό πο αιμζήμοι ιομένωό 7 αιμμινε αοβίβημε βυό οειν ημ ηύα η'Οοιμναίλλ 7 έλνιλοίλ Conaίλλ ιιτε acht μαό βλζ, 7 αμβλίε αζ ρυβαριε ζαλλ Ουίβλινμ ραιρ, αρβό το πομε ραζιό αν αιμοζ πο βυι ημ λαμν Ριζ Saxon in μηρ Ερεανν, ι. ιιλλίαιμ Ριζιιλλίαιμ, αρε πο βα ιυρτιρ αν ταν ριν, & ό το θεαχαό in α οόοομ ατβεριε ημυ conouρ ριοεραό ο'Οοιμναίλλ φο choρμ & έαonchoiηiac chucca οια ταρποαό ανακαλ 7 ιομρναόαό οό αρ αβα αν έλύα ατ ηυλα. Τιμζεαλλαιρ αν ιυρτιρ οο βρηνγηβίτε αιηαι πο ηιορμαόμτα υαόρμ. Σεμιοβθαρ ρροτεατιον ίλμοιη ρεβ το μονόοιρζ Δόθη ό Νέιλλ τον ρεμβμνύ, & το ματ αν ιυρτιρ α λαμν ραιρ, & το μαέρατ αν ρίναό αρ χίηνα. Ρο οάλ αν ιυρτιρ chuga ζυρ αν οαάραζ ριλ φορ βηύ τμαζha βαίε mic búain ειτιρ όυν θεαλζαν 7 μμη. Αν Σεραιέ βαίε ατα κοιμναίε, & ατ βεριε nach αρ βέμαό ό'Οοιμναίλλ ρεαχα βυό υβηρ ζο haέ ελαέ. Ceileabηαιρ Δόθη ό Νέιλλ τον αιμζ & τον τρίναό ίλρ ταιη, & ιμρío οία έιζ, & μη υό είαν αν ιούναυόε το ποιμε αν ταν πο αρεινά ι τριαιτε ημ ρίετ & ημ ρίλζεό ό όύν ζήναμμ mic εαέβαυό ριαρτυαύό ζαέ ηοίρεαχ ζο ραιμκε Ούν να ηζαλλ αιμμ αμβαιο ό'Οοιμναίλλ. Η πο ραταγζιτε ζο πο θαρμβλμμηζιτε αν οιορμα φορ ραν ρραηέε. Ροβταρ ροιτιζ ηλμυβ αν εάε βαοι φορ accino ίαρ να ρριορ ρεέλ. Οάοι ό'Οοιμναίλλ in α λιζε φορ α ιομνάό οέμαρ, & in πο chumainz λιρζε in eallia vo ριαόυζαό na ναοιόεό το μααχαταρ αόοοομ, 7 ό na εαοιμναεαρι ιτιρ το τάιτε Δφο ό Νέιλλ οια αιέρεορ ζό α ιομνάό, & ατ ρέθ όο αν τοιρκε in α τυόοχαό. Ατβεριε ρομ ναρ βο λαμν λαρ, 7 ναρ βό ρλάν α μίημα οία υύλ ηρεααηαρεαρ na

¹ *Fitzwilliam*.—His grandfather was in the train of Cardinal Wolsey, and earned the notice of Henry VIII., who knighted his son. Sir W. was Lord Deputy five times between 1560 and 1594. His descendant, Earl Fitzwilliam, is the owner of extensive estates in Ireland.

² *B., son of Buan*.—He was fifth in descent from Rudhraighe, who was ardrigh

from 292 to 212 B.C.; he lived about the beginning of our era. An account of his romantic death caused by grief for the loss of Aillinn, grand-daughter of Fergus, king of Leinster, will be found in O'Curry's *M.S. Materials*, p. 465. He was buried on the sea shore, whence the name the Strand of Baile.

³ *Stradbally*.—This name is now obsolete.

plundered all the houses close to the walls outside, and until they drove off immediately many of a large number of horses they met wandering about confused by the thick cloud of smoke which came a long distance from the town. It was on the 18th of July this took place. As the English did not come meanwhile to guard or protect the town from them, they left it after wasting it in this way and went to their homes without any opposition.

With respect to the Earl Hugh O'Neill who has been mentioned already, when he perceived the envy and anger of his own tribe, all but a few, against Hugh O'Donnell and all the Cinel Conaill, and that they were urging on the English of Dublin against him, what he did was to go to the nobleman who was Deputy of the English King in the island of Erin, viz., William Fitzwilliam,¹ for he was Lord Justice then; and when he went in to him he told him that O'Donnell would come to make peace and friendship if he gave him protection and complete security in reference to the escape which he had effected. The Lord Justice promised that it should be given as it was agreed on by him. A protection was written then as Hugh O'Neill directed the Secretary, and the Lord Justice put his signature to it, and the Council put theirs also. The Lord Justice invited him to meet him at the town which is on the edge of the strand of Baile mic Buan,² between Dundalk and the sea, that is Stradbally,³ and he said he would not bring O'Donnell further southwards to Dublin. Hugh O'Neill took leave of the Viceroy and Council then and went home, and the stay he made then was not long, for he went immediately by the way and the road from the Dun of Genann, son of Cathbadh, north-west exactly, until he came to Donegal, where O'Donnell was. The troop was not noticed till they dismounted on the green.⁴ Every one who met them was rejoiced hearing the news. O'Donnell was lying on his sick-bed, and he could not rise readily to entertain the guests who had come to him; and as he could not, Hugh O'Neill went to his bedside to confer with him, and told him the business on which he had come. He said it was not agreeable to him, nor was his mind satisfied to go into the presence of the English, since the

⁴ *Green*.—The Irish word *faithche* means a green or enclosed space attached to a fort. See Reeves' *Admannan*, p. 360, n. A part of the present town of Wexford, which in former times lay outside the walls, still goes by this name.

one God allowed him to escape from them, on account of their vindictiveness and the extent of the cruelty which they had inflicted on him without reason, though before this it was hard to give him a refusal; but yet he would go with him if it was his wish.

It was painful to him to go on this journey for his feet were wounded, and they were not healed immediately after his two great toes were cut off, as we have said. They were together that night taking counsel, and when they had taken it they set off the next day with a troop of horse, and they did not stop on their road except at night, till they came to Stradbally of Dun Delgan. The Lord Justice came to meet them there, as he had promised. The troop dismounted at the rear of the castle, and rested there that night. Since O'Donnell was not able to move about on his feet but only rode on horseback, the Lord Justice himself came to the place where he was and bade him welcome, and forgave him the escape he effected, and every fault beside. After he had entered into peace¹ and friendship with the Lord Justice, he then took leave of him and left him his blessing, and prepared then to depart. O'Neill did the like after he had completed his business to his satisfaction. They both returned by the same road they had come from their homes till they reached Dungannon. They were feasting and enjoying themselves there for a while, until Hugh O'Donnell thought it time to go away, and as he proceeded to part then from the other Hugh it was painful to both to be separated from each other. After that O'Donnell went his way until he came to Donegal, and he remained again in his sick-bed, as he had no fear, having entered into peace and friendship with the Lord Justice. When it was told to the party which was in opposition to him among the Cinel Conaill, that amity and friendship had been entered into between him and the English, they came immediately very submissively to him for peace, and they made full submission to him, because they were not able to contend with or hold out against him, as his warriors were many; for the strength of a prince are his men.

These were the principal persons of those who came for peace to him. First came Hugh,² son of Hugh Dubh O'Donnell, the senior of the race whereof, as also of his said submission, your Lordship shall herewith receive the copies.' *C.S.P.I.*, v. 569.

² *Hugh*.—He was descended from a younger son of the great-grandfather of Hugh Roe. See p. xii. antea.

of Dalagh,¹ son of Murchertach, except Hugh, son of Manus, and he thought he was likely to be at the head of the territory after him. He was a comely, well-mannered man, kind, friendly, generous, and hospitable, dexterous in the use of arms, a soldier in martial exploits, a poet as regards poetic skill, and of him it was said throughout Erin commonly that he was the last generation of the Gadelic heroes, for he was likened to Lughaidh,² son of Cian, or to Troilus,³ son of Priam, in horsemanship. He was equal to the hound⁴ of the artificer, for he never made an erring cast, and hardly ever did any one escape from him in deadly slaughter or red carnage, as was the custom with the Grecian warrior Achilles, son of Peleus. Moreover, he did not go into a fight or skirmish, into a dispute or a struggle, that he did not wound some one certainly somehow. He was a vindictive man and keen to avenge his wrongs, like Conall Cearnach,⁵ son of Amergin,⁶ so that he was never worsted so long as he lived. But yet it was not a shame or a disgrace to him that, in preference to him, the royal prophecied Hugh Roe, son of Hugh, son of Manus, should be proclaimed the royal ruler, since his vigour and courage, his bravery and fortitude, had grown and increased, for he was a man hard to oppose, intrepid, eloquent, with a pleasant, cheerful countenance, with subtlety and superiority of knowledge, of generosity and inventiveness of mind, with the firmness and ruling power of a prince, of severity and sternness in his commands, so that it was not allowed to dispute his order or his words, just as if he was the noble Cæsar, to whom the poets ascribe such qualities as these. For that reason it was not a cause of shame nor was it a matter of dishonour for Hugh, son of Hugh Dubh O'Donnell, nor for any of his family in his time, that the prophecied child of great deeds of whom we have spoken should be placed over him, for he surpassed all the people of the island in which he was born for a long time past; and he was his foster-child when he was in his infancy, yet he was envious of him at this time on account of his supremacy.

western world. He was ancestor of the O'Mores and the other tribes of Leix. See Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 210, *The Book of Rights*, p. 214, n., and *Ogygia*, p. 278.

⁶ *Amergin*. — His pedigree is given by

MacFirbis thus: Amergin, son of Cas, son of Fiacha, son of Caipe, son of Ginge, son of Rudhraighe, from whom the clan Rudhraighe descends. See *The Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 28.

Duf faince chuzarom fon ceput ceftna Niall Garbh mac Cumh mic an
 Chalbhais mic Magnura mic Adóda óis, uanagarom Adó sub. Ba fli uán
 deimmneodac díonnairéel epúe o pé aingú eecmatáe zo neim naémac h
 lunne leoniam. Ba zepaite zaire 7 zarcecaó, ba éinn floiz & rocharúe
 fpu caé 7 fpu coccaó, acht na ma ba foimteaé fpurom aínail each zombo hi
 deapbfuip an Adóda mo ba banchete óó. Do maia caiaiaiaó oile ftoimma, ap
 mo halta an talóó in a maéoahte occa tuipitúibrom, ap a doí ni tma
 fainflie duf fainiz acht ba ap omian itti. Do thaoe ann beóí o Dochari-
 tairé .i. Seaan ócc mac Seaan mic Felim mic Conéobairi Charraizé taoipioch
 fol.15 b. tmocharit ééó nri hEoéain mic Néill. Ba tuipú catha 7 ba éccloim
 ioipghaire, & ba corparú floiz íar pmaomeaó foimma an fli do éaoe hifurúu.
 Acht ap a doí ba tma iunn 7 foebairi duf fuce óDoimnail ma múntearúar
 zepi no hanglonn. Bai mne om. Doipum an tí ó Docharitairé óz
 tochumieó uí Ohoimnail chucea aipifí uála óó do deilb píooha fpu, 7 mo
 chumimé chucea zan tochte ipm uáil aét maó uá maiaé decc, & ba fainlaio
 tpeaórom ma óochum von éaoó aipail. Ni ionairé luza na uamzín fairi
 & ni mo fupfeari máta maio aittie acht maó im. Duf fuce óDoimnail
 ipm uáil, 7 ni éapio laip acht an lion apubiaé fpu. Tanaice tma ó
 Docharitairé von táob naile an lion céftna combataitil hi ttil. ba imíom
 aóbal la húa nDoimnail, & nri uó maó no maip laip aón toipeach uá
 múntipí úlip buóóein do bié occ fpuhbeap & occ foimian fpu, conaó é ní
 do moine ionipiozúó foitib co fpeap & co bfuapnao zo máomeaó foim úa
 nDocharitairé con a múntipí, 7 zeibteip é buóóein, 7 do blit laip, & donuc
 zemel zlaipapioim foa, 7 nri melice ap conup tapo a óizipéi noó 7 géill
 7 aittie fpu comail do zup. O moba fomamaizhte ó Docharitairé 7 cenél
 Conail ap éfna zup na húb mo batari hi fpuéblit fpu uórom, mo zab occ
 pollamnuzáó a fláca feb moba téchta, óz corce mlipie 7 mizomí, óz
 tofann éuan & caibófn, 7 occ mazáó zab aom nó bioó fpu flait &

¹ *Niall Garbh*.—‘This man might well be called Garuff, *i.e.*, rough or rude, for he was, as Sir Henry Dowcra writes of him, proud, valiant, miserable, tyrannous, unnecessarily covetous, without any knowledge of God, or almost any civility.’ Cox, *Hib. Angl.*, 1426. It is remarkable that friends and foes agreed in their estimate of Niall Garbh’s character.

² *Sister*.—*i.e.*, Nuala. She left Ireland with the Earls in 1606. See p. cxxiv., antea.

³ *O’Doherty*.—See p. xii., antea. Later he took an active part on O’Donnell’s side against the English garrison of Derry. He died in 1600. Our author speaks of his death as a great disaster to the cause of O’Donnell.

There came to him to the same meeting Niall Garbh,¹ son of Conn, son of Calbach, son of Manus, son of Hugh Oge, who was called Hugh Dubh. He was a violent man, hasty, austere, since he was spiteful, vindictive, with the venom of a serpent, with the impetuosity of a lion. He was a hero in valour, and brave. He was the head of an army and of troops in battle and war. But yet he was envious towards him like the rest, though the sister² of Hugh was his wife. There was another bond of friendship between them. Hugh had been fostered in his boyhood by his parents. But yet it was not for real love for him he came, but it was wholly through fear. There came also, O'Doherty,³ *i.e.*, Shane Oge, son of Shane, son of Phelim, son of Conor Carrach,⁴ chief of the cantred of Inishowen Mic Neill. The man who came then was a prop in war and a pillar in the contest, and the shelter of an army after defeat. But, however, it was by the point and edge of the sword that O'Donnell brought him to his friendship, though he was a mighty champion. It happened in this way: O'Doherty invited O'Donnell to a conference with him under a show of peace, and he told him that only twelve horsemen should come to the meeting, and would come in the same way on the other side. He did not take promises or bonds from him, and he did not give sureties and securities but in this way. O'Donnell came to the meeting, and brought with him only the number mentioned. Meanwhile O'Doherty came on the other side with the same number, so that they were face to face. It was a great trouble to O'Donnell, and it was not an honour or an ornament to him that one chief of his own people should be in opposition and enmity to him; so what he did was to make an onset on them angrily, vigorously, so that O'Doherty and his people were overcome, and he was himself seized. He took him with him and put iron fetters on him, and he did not let him go⁵ until he made his submission to him, and gave him pledges and hostages for its observance always. As O'Doherty and the Cinel Conaill, even to the portion that had been in opposition to him, were subjected to him, he proceeded to govern his principality as was right, preventing theft and evil deeds, banishing rogues and robbers, executing every one who was

⁴ *Conor Carrach*.—So called, probably, from Carraig Braoidsidhe, a district in the N.W. of Inishowen.

⁵ *Let him go*.—He was kept in confinement for nearly three years. *C.S.P.I.*, v. 308.

αιρέαλλ, conar bo heiccl'n do chác ólíctit'n im com'óa anail'ma na aninnile acht don'f'raiteir fori éona 7 éeachair namá, zombuí an epoch zan connaib zan comoirib zan nac f'pithozgan ó chách f'p' a éeile, & no éurleir an ói námaic fori doim'f'zad' ar n'p' peilz'ed' an omian óoib foriait'm'f'c' appalad' oiaioile. Bá oaoinead' óalac caite'm'ad' conz'aireach' airtre'ad' epp'ad'ad' airtre'each' n'p'raiz'te'ad' mo éochai'e' déú R'úao' úa' Doim'naill' an éeit' bliad'ain' f'in' do f'ioirt'of'ach' a' f'la'ed'a, 7 ar forib'air'ic' báoi' f'air'p'p'róe' occa' z'ad' bliad'ain' oia'ó' m' oia'ó' co' t'p'anz'at'ap' a'ei'uz' laite.

1593, an 2. bliad'ain'.

fol. 16. a. O mo óeip'róp'm' ma f'ur'óe' f'la'cha (.i. 24 Jan. 1593) & ma ior'ed' airtre'ach'air' i' Le'z'ber' fori ion'ch'air'b' a' nam'at' úa' Néill' Toim'p'óe'ad'ad' Luine'ad', mo z'ad' occ' im'bl'ic' a' airtre'óe' & aert'air'ic' f'air'p' oia' é'of'ann' ar' a' f'la'it'air' 7 oia' em'p'uz'ad' h' p'oin'tim' dé'ú'á' uí Néill' do oim'p'ne'ad' ma ion'at'. Do óe'ach'ad' fori ba'it' ó'f'oi'm' an peim'óe'ce'p'i' do móim'ni' úair' do mo'ch'air' an f'la'it'air' fo' óe'oi'ó' do f'air'z'io' dé'ú'á' uí Néill', 7 do mat't' Toim'p'óe'ad'ad' Luine'ad' ó'f'ne't'a 7 airt'it'it'ic' do imon' ainn' ar' úa' Néill' do z'air'p'm' óe'. Do z'air'p'm' íair'oi'm', & leiz'ead' an tí Toim'p'óe'ad'ad' uair'ó' na z'air'ill' mo' bat'air' lair' ó' do óe'ach'ad' ic'co't'ad' 7 h'ic'ca'p'p'ol'f' uí' Doim'naill'. H' m'p' Ma'ni' do' f'unn'p'ad' do móim'ep'm' m'p'p'm' A.D. 1593.

O mo ba' p'io'ad' ó' Doim'naill' p'p'p'oi'm', do mat'rat' an' ó'a' dé'ú' é'oi'ce'ad' Con'é'ob'air'ic' mic' Néill' f'ó' a' f'm'acht' eain' p'io'ad'air'ic' co' leice, & mo' bl'ic'p'at' airt'g'e'ill' 7 airt'air'ic' o'í'ob' oia' nac'om'al' 7 oia' ec'um'p'ire'ach' f'p'm' t'air'p'm' do z'p'ep'. O do' bl'ic' ó' Doim'naill' dé'ú' oia' uí'ó' z'p'm' bo' t'air'p'm' & z'p'm' u'ó' h'inn'ill' lair' an é'oi'ce'ad' uile' an' tan' f'in', mo' é'um'm'iz' airt'p'ol't'a' f'ó'óem' f'p'm' z'all'air'b', & ba'oi' occa' f'oi'air'it'm'f'c' on' mo'ó' ec'f'ena' do' z'air'oi'el'air'b' ar' é'f'na' airt'ble' airt'p'p'al'ad' f'p'm' 7 an' ó'f'p'z'ep'rat' o'ile, 7 ó'air'oi'z'ead' ó' é'ém' má'p'm' f'p'm' p'iol' z'air'ó'ail' z'la'ir' mic' Ma'ill', a'z' z'oi'ro' airt'och'air' f'c'p'air'p'air'ia' 7 neim'f'c'air'p'air'ia' f'oi'p'm'a, ó'z' a' t'ab'air'ic' h'ic'ca'p'p'air'b' 7 h'ic'ca'p'p'air'ic' a'z' a' p'í'ad'ad' t'p'm'a' airt'ep'óe' 7

¹ *In one bed.*—The Four Masters say that Hugh O'Connor, son of Cathal Crobhderg, and the Mac William Burke, after concluding peace, slept together in the one bed cheerfully and happily. See *Annals F. M.*, iii. 387.

² *Chiefaincy.*—Turlough Luineach renounced the title of O'Neill, and yielded at the Queen's intercession the government of those parts to the Earl. In 1595 Sir Turlough died, and the Earl took the title of O'Neill to himself, which was treason by

plundering and robbing, so that it was not necessary for each one to take care of his herds or cattle but they differed only in prosperity and want, and the country was without guard or protector, without plundering one by the other, and two enemies slept in the one bed,¹ for fear did not allow them to remember their wrongs against each other. Hugh passed the first year in the very beginning of his sovereignty in a manner that was kindly, generous, joyous, progressive active, hospitable, aggressive, and he was advancing every year in succession till the end of his life came.

1592.

1593, the 2nd year.

Whilst he was staying in his princely seat and his chief residence in Lifford (24th January, 1593). confronting his enemy Turlough Luineach O'Neill, he proceeded to wreak his vengeance and his enmity on him by driving him from his principality and weakening him, in the hope that Hugh O'Neill might be inaugurated in his place. The foresight which he used proved of advantage to him, for the chieftaincy fell in the end to Hugh O'Neill, and Turlough Luineach gave his consent and yielded to him as to the title that he should be styled The O'Neill. He was proclaimed after that and Turlough sent away the English who were with him, since he entered into peace and friendship with O'Donnell. In the month of May exactly, in the year of our Lord 1593, he did this.

Since O'Donnell was at peace with him the two Hughs brought the province of Conor Mac Nessa under their friendly peaceful sway immediately, and they held hostages and pledges for its observance and maintainance faithfully at all times. When Hugh O'Donnell saw that the whole province was obedient and secured to him, then he called to mind his own wrongs done by the English, and he reminded the Irish in the same way also of the extent of the wrongs done to them, and of the evils and injustices which they had wrought for a long time to the descendants of Gaedhal Glas, son of Nial, robbing them of their inheritance singly and collectively, putting them in prison and in chains, executing

Act of Parliament. still excusing himself subtly that he took it upon him lest some other should usurp it, promising to renounce it, yet asking that he might not be

urged to promise it upon oath. Moryson, *Rebellion, &c.*, p. 9. Leland, *II. of Ireland* ii. 330; London, 1873. This was one of the chief charges brought against him later.

aininne, & baó imne do meltaír ar é co tuíro mbítha in zác tan no
 zebtaír eill nó baógal foíyna zaoívealu, & dan at fíct dóib zup no fáoíó
 feirín ateachta 7 a feiribhno do fáizíó na Spáinne do éóunneáó conzanta
 floiz in aóaró na nGal, 7 zup bo lanfaoileáctam lair a tcurúecht in zup
 úair. Ba fíorí óróim inoim ar no lá eppcob éille hAlaíó attechtaíecht
 co Ríó na Spáinne deccaome a immó fup 7 ólmaróm a chaitrípa 7
 chaitrípa élonne Míleaó ar chfna. An tpepoc inoim in foíymaícc
 lair foaó foí ceúlaó la feélaib an tan no fáoíó an taom Día teachta na
 caomnaccam lícoitníó fup foí a élnn, & do bhíe lair ófíor an Altaír, 7
 ní éaimc beóí. Ro záb zueim óróim an zuepocht in úair no aóain 7 no
 aóaíó eccraíat 7 éttaípecht íar inmílóón íraoíclamóaib flechta Míleaó
 fol. 16. b. Spáinne fup zallab Durbhnoe zup bo hé aomimíctem & aonóútracht
 baomí mánmáoaib uile inmpuo foí zhallab, zup no fáraup veabtha
 7 deétraíóe ítoim ífup tpuoll la harlac & la hítarzúíóe uí Dhomnail
 foí zaoívealaib, lá meláó 7 lá foíraíemíct in ólízínat na zoill foíyma
 íraim & foí arinrípaib zó in. O no fíctupíom cách do éomíeíge taom
 mánman ím coccaó tuépaíccam, no fáoíóí teachta 7 feiribhna co halban
 do tocuíveáó fúllíó flóiz óaípaib, óflmóéuóib 7 óaor tuarípaib. An
 tan at clop la hAóó mázupíu tígema na ttaíó in loch neime an tfeirual
 do innpéam ó Domnail, ba fó lair zomaó é boóepín cftna inoimóazíge ím
 combaíó coccaíó hírín. Ba flí óúmpáé íoméolanaé eíróe co mlt mánman,
 co náípe aízínó, míló ar mílnecht, zueit ar zúomáib zoile 7 zupceíó,
 tígema ar éioúnaeal, zo mólarí nócc 7 noaome lair. Fo chaítríom ar aill
 oía íamíunntep ím coiceípech báile ípaíbe ócclac aímia do zallab, zoim
 oípa 7 zup no oípeíct an baile. Feacht naile oia noeachaó Maguíóí
 Aóó (tíma coímaípeccaó 7 tíonóíz uí Dhomnail), & baí conaí do luíó
 zo líon afoípaíte tíma óepceíe bhíne connacht laim clé fup loé
 náillnoe, tíma uachtup na náillealla, tímapan coíam, tarí oíóíct

¹ *Bishop*.—John O'Cashy occupied the see of Killala at this time; he was appointed in 1580. See Brady's *Episcopal Succession*, i. 175. But the person alluded to is no doubt Cornelius O'Mulrian, bishop of Killaloe from 1576 to 1616. See *Introd.*, p. lii., *antea*.

² *Killala*.—A town in the N.W. of Co. Mayo. It gives its name to a bishopric.

³ *D. of Milesius*.—*i.e.*, those of the Spa-

nish people descended from Milesius, who was the ancestor of the Irish also.

⁴ *Warrior*.—His name is not mentioned by the Four Masters.

⁵ *B. of Connaught*.—*i.e.*, Brefny O'Rourke.

⁶ *Lough Allen*.—In the middle of Co. Leitrim. The river Shannon flows through it.

⁷ *Tirerill*.—A barony in the S. E. of Co. Sligo. It has its name from Olioll, son of

them through cruelty and anger, and it was thus they would defraud, said he, to the end of time, whenever they could get an opportunity or advantage of the Irish. And also he told them he had himself had sent his messengers to Spain to ask the aid of an army to oppose the English, and that he had great hopes of their arrival in a short time. This was the fact, for he had sent the Bishop¹ of Killala² as a deputation to the King of Spain to complain of his sufferings to him, and to obtain his friendship and the friendship of the descendants of Milesius³ also. The Bishop, however, did not succeed in coming back with the news when the one God sent to him a messenger whom he could not avoid, and took him with him to another world, and he did not come afterwards. That mission was of use to him, for it enkindled and inflamed enmity and distrust among the freeborn descendants of the race of Milesius of Spain against the English of Dublin, so that the one thought and anxiety in the minds of all was to turn on the English, for dissensions and quarrels had grown up between them after a while, owing to the instigation and entreaty of O'Donnell to the Irish, telling and reminding them of what the English had done always to them and to their ancestors up to that time. When he saw all his associates of one mind about the war which he desired, he sent messengers and letters to Scotland to invite an additional force of soldiers, warriors, and mercenaries. As soon as Hugh Maguire, lord of the territory about Lough Erne, heard of the great attempt which O'Donnell intended, he wished to be the first to enter into partnership in the war. He was a proud, self-willed man, with elevation of soul and magnanimity, a hero in warfare, a champion in deeds of prowess and bravery, a lord in generosity, having many warriors and people. He sent some of his own people to the neighbourhood of the town, where there was a famous warrior⁴ of the English, and they wasted and plundered the town. On another occasion Maguire set off by the advice and recommendation of O'Donnell, and the road he went by with the whole of his forces was through the southern part of Brefny of Connaught,⁵ having Lough Allen⁶ on his left, through the upper part of Tirerill⁷ and Corran,⁸ over

Eochaidh Muighmeadhoin, and Mongfinn, queen of Connaught. *Ogygia*, p. 374.

⁸ *Corran*. — The account of the origin of this name will be found *Ibid.*, p. 334.

maidirteach na Duille airde co machaire maige haol oia ngaroi Machaire
 connacht.

Ro leice rcaoilcao da rgeimelcib in dobarhoillri na maite ne miche
 in on tiri ma thimceall. Da hann do mala do zoibernoiri choiccro
 Connacht (Siri Riuoero Diongoim) ablic an adairgin ai an cenue hi coimhoc-
 maib tuillce occ coirteacht me rzelais an tiri ma timceall. Do peccaim
 oiraim oia maicploz occ rimead na noimri ccoimhoccur don telach fori
 ambaol an zoibernoiri, & in maairget nac ni la dal eiac na camaire,
 conour malacur & Mazaroiri cona maicfluaaz tul hi tul zan clouzao da
 nach noimng oioib. Ro tuallrat maicploz an zoibernoira roao ma
 fol. 17.a. rrrueling, 7 no bar ma lnmoin aza leoo 7 lroiaa la Mazaroiri 7 la a
 nuimiri, zo manzataru zur an maigin umbai an zoibernoiri rooin. Ro
 muouzao lair don chui rin neach uyal airdeie do zalais uilliam
 Cluioic a comaim co rieri maicach cenmoaroin. Soitei fori Mazaroiri
 do moiri rin conai elctna, 7 no bar occa toziam zo macht ma eie caza
 7 ma coimgeib comnara. O no ritiri an zoibernoiri nar bo tomba oo
 raizir roim, no ra fori ceila 7 no baoo lanburde lair telmuo amail do
 eimaa. Do moicari eeta moia o mazaroiri don iuaari rin .i. Emani mac
 Saimeadain Bmoiaio Arua Macha do mala tma amfen ma farmao & an
 tab Mazaroiri .i. Catal mac zarmao, & mac adhibmaari. Acht elna zeri
 bo laa lair na maite rin oia elibaroo, iuz lair in no tionolao 7 in no tiom-
 aiccloo do eiuo 7 do eieachais na ceuche chucca, 7 do luoo on longroic
 zo ai oile co cobrao ceimuzin zo maice zo rlaib manach. At eiar tma
 do zalais Duibinne moiri, no lionat do lonnur & oimie. Ro hiri-
 fozmao ihitain lar an iurir fori moimloizib imoo, laizln, 7 leice Mozha
 tul hi coiceao Conoobairi rin rozmai do ionnraoh daite foria in deir-

¹ *Monastery*.— It was erected in 1161, according to the *Annals of Connaught*. In 1235 the English, under the Lord Justice Maurice Fitzgerald, plundered it of all its valuables, vestments, chalices, &c. In 1603 it was granted to Sir John King, ancestor of the Earls of Kingston. *Archdall's Monasticon*, p. 601.

² *Governor*.— Properly the President. What his powers were may be inferred from the instructions given to Sir George Carew, president of Munster in 1600. See *Pac.*

Hib., p. 10. The usual system of government was martial law. Hence Davis speaking of the then President of Connaught, Fitton, says he governed 'in a course of discretion,' in other words, very much as he liked.

³ *Tulsk*.—A village ten miles north of the town of Roscommon. O'Connor Roe erected a castle there in 1406. About the same time a monastery was erected there for Dominicans by the MacDowell family. See *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 314.

the bridge of the monastery¹ of Boyle, thence to the plain of Magh Aoi, which is called the Plain of Connaught. 1593.

He let his scouts scatter in the twilight of the early morning through the country around. It happened that while the Governor² of the province of Connaught, Sir Richard Bingham, was that night on the hill in the neighbourhood of Tulsk³ listening to the news of the country all round, a troop of his cavalry happened to be reconnoitring the plain near the hill where the Governor was, and they saw nothing owing to the blinding fog of the early morning until they and Maguire met with their horse face to face without the knowledge of either party. The cavalry of the Governor retreated, and during the pursuit they were mangled and cut down by Maguire and his people till they came to the place⁴ where the Governor himself was. A well known nobleman of the English, William Clifford by name, was slain and seven horsemen besides. They turned again on Maguire on the same road and pursued him till they came to the battle front and to the strong lines. When the Governor saw that it would not be advantageous to attack them he retreated, and he was very thankful to escape as he did. Important persons were slain on Maguire's side in that skirmish, *i.e.*, Edmund MacGauran,⁵ primate of Armagh, who happened unluckily to be with him, and the Abbot Maguire, *i.e.*, Cathal, son of Geoffrey, and his brother's son. But though he was much grieved at the loss of these noblemen, he took with him what had been collected and brought together of the cattle and plunder of the country, and he went from one encampment to another steadily and slowly till he came to Fermanagh. This was told to the English of Dublin, and they were filled with anger and wrath. An order was issued then by the Lord Justice that a large force from Meath, Leinster, and Mogh's half,⁶ should go to the province of Conor in harvest precisely to revenge on them what they had

⁴ *Place*. — O'Sullivan says the skirmish took place at Scieth na bieart, which he translates Scutum Miraculorum. *Hist., Cath.* p. 151. The date was July 3rd.

⁵ *MacGauran*. — See pp. liv. and lxi., antea.

⁶ *Mogh's half*. — This refers to the division of Ireland into two parts that took place between Con Cedchathach and Mogh

Nuadhat, called also Eoghan Mor, in the middle of the 2nd century of our era. See *The Circuit of Ireland*, p. 44, n.; Dublin, 1841. The account of the contest between Conn and Eoghan will be found in *The Battle of Magh Leana*, p. 19, and *The Annals of Clonmacnoise*, a MS. in the R. I. Academy.

fol. 17. b.

ǵníraṯ 7 so maṯ accfínnur uile don íarla úa Néill ce nri bo laimn lair
 uol irin coídeírtaírin, 7 beór so máirureal an íobairi. Ro fórcongzáiri om
 an íurṯir fori ǵoibeiríomí coiceiró donnachṯ con ambaoi so íloǵ ó Shionann
 ǵo Oíobaoir uol ma máiruríde co héime. Íarí tclǵlamadó an cṯena íloíǵ
 rin aṯuáíamoi, so comílat reimib ǵo loé Eirne inǵine buirǵ buiréadóíǵ
 allanairi. Síri Henri Bíngeí mṯeie aíríia so ǵallairb aré ba coiréach
 mómǵona don tṯloǵeadó. Uala Oíroha mṯeíuríomí íarí cclóirṯecheṯ íeél an
 tṯloíǵ eachṯriano íoélíro a bú 7 a mṯile fori amómǵabair ǵo tíri Conairl
 mṯe Néill ío éúaró, 7 so mṯonóil íloǵ móri oia tíri buóem uamíarib 7 uoar
 tuáíarṯair aile cṯuoé 7 so cloimn tṯuibne tírie Conairl 7 mo baoi con aíloǵ
 buirómib don taob arí ail don loé, 7 coníuríṯe íurí an íluarǵh nechṯriano
 cona íelceíreṯ íeacha ííarí. So comílat ar an íluarǵ ǵall laimn cṯí íurí an
 loch ǵo íanǵatarí ǵur an abaimn so éóíṯe ar an loch. Baóí áṯh íamíeoaṯh
 íuríuríde íurí hioamáoíǵeadó don chác ba coiréde. Aṯchuire uain a
 comíannm, 7 ba hé uamían an íonbaró rin é. Íobíarṯe na ǵairl an táé an
 íeírṯeadó la so octoberí so íonhíaró. Ro bui Máíuríomí con a íloíǵ don uala
 leir don aṯ íromíṯin na nǵall coníuríṯe íurí co ílíuríroha aṯharó íoṯa.
 Níri uó íoṯamce oóǵbaró ílí íéne amíurṯeairíde, úarí mṯoṯarí oiaíurí uarṯe
 an tan rin in aírṯeǵaró na nǵall la hioíarí a néiríó nallíamíroa 7 an
 ǵablaró nǵlaíríamíom & anǵunnadó nǵíamíaoirbleadó occ uoibíurǵadó & occ
 mṯealǵaró an ubairlímeall luaríde & accáorí ṯaríóleadó tclíuríde ǵo ííuríuríṯe
 na íoíra don taob aríail don abaimn ǵan neadó íuoṯoírǵam íurí íarṯeíurí.
 Baóí so líomíamíe a laeé & uamíṯaríurígaríde anamí ǵo mo íoíurṯe an
 uírbíaríurṯe ío uéóro .i. luíuríó íoíarí forí úaríadó, úarí in forí aelánǵarí
 an ócṯeadó eírṯeoaṯe íurí oṯaíríuríomí íurí in ba íuríú. Síramíṯeairí íoíurí
 íaríomí ón áṯ, ǵonṯarí amíuríǵlí uríomíǵa uíob, 7 aṯíurílatṯarí arí íon
 ííuríóbaó an límíomí arí moṯa ǵarííoccur uóib í. ǵonṯarí áóú úa Néill
 híuríuríu 7 ba íó lair uáíǵ na ǵabṯoarí ǵairl amíuríí íe.

¹ *Marshal.*—i.e., Sir Henry Bagnal. See p. lv., antea.

² *Newry.*—*An íubhair*, i.e., of the yew-tree, said to have been planted here by St. Patrick. See *Annals F. M.*, ad ann. 1162. A Cistercian monastery was erected here by St. Malachy O'Morgair in 1144. This was granted to Sir Nicholas Bagnal by Edward

vi. It still belongs to his descendant, the Earl of Kilmorey. See Reeves' *Eccles. Antiquities of Down and Connor*, p. 116, n.; Dublin, 1347.

³ *Athculvain.*—A ford on the river Erne, half a mile to the west of Belleek. O'Sullivan translates it os vadi prati, the mouth of the ford of the meadow, p. 159.

done, and he gave the chief command of them to the Earl O'Neill, though it was not pleasing to him to go in that army, and also to the Marshal¹ of Newry.² The Lord Justice also ordered the Governor of the province of Connaught with all the forces from the Shannon to the Drowes to go and wait for him at Lough Erne. When the first body of which we have spoken was assembled, they went on eastwards to the Lough of Erne the daughter of Burg Buircadhach. Sir Henry Bingham, a famous knight of the English, was the leader in battle of that host. As regards Hugh Maguire, after hearing news of the foreign army, he sent his herds and flocks, lest they might be captured, northwards to the territory of Conall, son of Niall, and he gathered a great host throughout his own territory of soldiers and mercenaries of other districts and of the MacSwynys of Tyrconnell, and he was with his troops on the other side of the Lough, and they opposed the foreign army so that they did not allow them further westwards. The English army then marched on, having the Lough on the left, till they came to the river which flows out of the Lough. There was a special ford over it for every one to pass who needed. Its name was Athculuain,³ and it was deep at that time. The English attempted the ford, on the sixth of October exactly. Maguire, with his troops, was on the other side of the ford, waiting for the English, and they resisted them manfully for a long time. It was not easy for the Irish to defend it, for they were at that time unarmed in comparison with the English, with their abundance of strange armour and of their grey steel lances and their powder-guns producing sparks of fire for shooting and sending forth circular balls of lead and brilliant sparks of fire, so that they reached the men on the other side of the river without any one of themselves being injured. Owing to the number of their forces and the difference of their arms they verified the proverb in the end: 'The many shall overcome the few,' for the youth of the Irish could not hold out against them any longer. They were driven after that from the ford. Crowds of them were wounded and taken prisoners. Most of them fled to a wood, for it was very near them. Hugh O'Neill was wounded⁴ there, and he was pleased thereat, so that the English should not have any suspicion of him.

⁴ *Wounded.* See *Annals F. M.*, vi. 1941.

The English army crossed over immediately, and went westwards, keeping the lake on the left, that they might seize on the spoil of cattle or flocks, and as they did not find them they went to their homes and allowed their army to scatter. After the Governor of the province of Connaught and the Earl of Thomond, Donough O'Brien, son of Conor, son of Donough, came to the banks of the Erne with the forces of the province, they returned to the monastery of Boyle, and they went after that to their homes as the other army did. However, Hugh O'Neill and the Marshal left strong bodies of English youths and soldiers with Conor, the son of Conor Roe Maguire, who was discontented and at variance with Maguire always on account of the sovereignty of the country. As for O'Donnell, it was a great affliction of mind and soul to him that the English should go back as they had done. But yet as they did not attack him, he did not attack them, on account of the unprepared state in which he was, and he left a large body of his people at the aforesaid ford, which he gave for Maguire's protection, though he withdrew himself by command of O'Neill, for there were messages between them secretly without the knowledge of the English.

1594, the 3rd year.

Now the English and the Irish after that were listening to each other, without either attacking the other, for three months of winter up to the beginning of the spring of the next year, 1594. At that period and time the Lord Justice collected a great army without the knowledge of any one, through hatred. They marched into the neighbouring territories without any delay until they came very soon to Enniskillen,¹ on Lough Erne, in the middle of the territory of Fermanagh. This was the dwelling² and principal stronghold³ of Hugh Maguire and of every one who was appointed to the chieftaincy of the territory. The fort was strong, and the wall impregnable by a strange force, but they were not prepared then. The Lord Justice sat down to besiege the fortress, and the forces proceeded to break in the wall as well as they could; this was of no avail to them till some of warders gave up the place at last for a bribe. As soon as the castle was

strong, being surrounded on all sides by Lough Erne. See p. lvii., antea.

³ *Stronghold*.—Any kind of fortified resi-

dence is expressed in Irish by the word *port*. It is used in the composition of many Irish words.

φοι commaῖ an iurῑῑ Sep uuilliam Fizuuilliam paccbarṑ tṑoca laoḗ oia
 ḗomṑa fṑur an ceacḗ fṑur no hḗccarṑcarṑca cona conṑaib teḗca oṑ bṑúṑ 7 oarim,
 7 roarṑ ar fḗirṑn φοι eṑlaṑ oṑrṑrṑrṑ. φοραṑṑṑe iarṑomṑ φοι ṑac leicḗ ṑan eṑieḗ
 ṑan oṑṑam φοι arṑile fṑu eḗiteoṑia mṑoṑaib o Febṑuarṑ co hṑun. Ba haṑṑarṑ
 lá hṑa nṑoṑmṑaill dṑó Ruacḗ aṑoṑ no bṑi ṑan tocht ipṑurcaḗt Mḗṑṑurṑrṑ ar
 ar é no arḗaṑṑ an coccaṑ, 7 ba φοι arṑicṑṑṑia no haṑṑaṑ ar tíṑ. Ba fḗṑ
 φοṑurṑarṑ oṑroṑmṑ ṑan oul m eḗlṑia ma φοṑurṑem aṑaṑl noṑa mḗmṑarṑe laṑ, a
 beicḗ occ iṑṑṑarṑe 7 occ iomṑurṑarṑeḗ fṑur na haḗpanchaṑb ṑo ṑunṑeall chṑṑa
 φοι aṑṑarṑe. O no ba φοṑa laṑroṑmṑ no baṑarṑurṑe ṑan turṑeḗt, tarṑeclomḗa
 cenél cconailḗ laṑ co leicc, 7 oṑ ḗoḗt ṑeimib con a ṑloṑ ṑo hṑurṑ eḗḗeann.
 Oeṑurṑ urṑurṑe ipṑoṑbarṑi φοṑṑan úṑnaṑ o ḗoṑac hṑn co mḗṑón Auṑurṑ ṑo no
 fol. 118 b. eṑoṑḗreḗt ṑo no aṑceṑrḗt 7 ṑo no moṑurḗt ambui fṑṑ mṑamarṑ na ṑṑaḗl hṑ
 eṑicḗ aṑṑiaḗl 7 mṑ ḑṑeṑṑe uí Raṑaḗlḗṑ co tarṑeṑrat ambú 7 ambeoḗe-
 aṑia i lón fṑoṑṑe oia naṑṑaṑb 7 oia naoṑ tuarṑarṑaṑ. Baṑarṑ na ṑaḗl ipṑoṑ
 an tan fṑn ipṑ na φοṑṑaṑb ṑabala m no ṑabṑarṑe φοṑeḗt ṑaṑṑ i. maṑṑṑeṑrṑ
 mṑmeachaṑ, eḗuan eṑarṑ hṑ eṑicḗ aṑṑiaḗl, ḗ maṑṑṑeṑrṑ an chaṑam ipṑn
 mḑṑeṑṑe, úarṑ ba m eacclaiṑaṑb na náomṑ ḗ na mac mbeaḗaṑ ba memce an
 aṑṑurṑm oṑ eṑeachaṑ 7 occ moṑeacḗ na ceṑnoch ḗ oṑ ṑabail mṑiaḗl 7
 anaṑṑṑe.

Iomḗṑṑa uí ṑhoṑmṑaill buṑurṑe cona fṑoṑarṑe ipṑoṑbarṑi ḗ mo iomṑurṑoṑ
 φοṑi moṑ ceḗlenn co huṑeṑoṑac fochnṑunne fṑeṑ aṑṑṑṑamṑarṑ co no fṑeacḗ
 ambiaṑ oṑn fṑianḗac baṑarṑ ipṑn cearṑṑiaḗl acḗ maṑ bḗṑ. O no fḗṑoṑarṑ ṑaḗl
 Ouibḗinne combatoṑroṑmṑ fṑaṑilaṑe fṑaṑoṑe teḗca ṑur na ṑallaṑb baṑarṑ hṑ
 ḗoṑṑeacḗ olneccmaḗt oia φοṑicṑṑṑia φοṑṑo turṑeḗt ṑo loṑṑaṑb bṑṑ 7 oṑṑe
 leṑ ṑur an cearṑṑiaḗl. Tarṑeclamaṑḗ na ṑaḗl fṑuaṑṑe mṑmṑ m aom iṑnaṑ
 aṑaṑl no φοṑicṑṑṑiaṑ φοṑṑo combatoṑarṑe cóṑṑ ceṑ oḗcc loch oḗccbarṑe aṑṑṑa
 con oṑṑunṑ oṑṑṑaṑb mṑṑe oṑ ḑṑeṑṑe uí Raṑaḗlḗṑ 7 oṑ ḑṑionṑamaḗaṑb
 coṑṑeṑ connaḗt. Iarṑ telṑloṑmaṑ oṑibṑurṑe, ṑabaro occ baṑṑ 7 occ buḗḗaṑ

¹ *Brefny O'Reilly*.—It included originally the whole of the present county of Cavan except the baronies of Tullyhaw and Tullyhunco, which belonged to Brefny O'Rourke. In the reign of Elizabeth these baronies were united to Brefny O'Reilly to reward Sir John O'Reilly for his services. He was called the Queen's O'Reilly. See D'Alton's *Army List*, ii. 747.

² *Clones*.—i.e., the retired place of knowledge, a town on the eastern boundary of Co. Monaghan. St. Tigernach founded a monastery here about the beginning of the sixth century. It was destroyed by Hugh De Lacy in 1207; five years afterwards it was rebuilt. It belonged to the Canons Regular of St. Augustine.

³ *M. of Cavan*.—It was founded by Gilla

in the possession of the Lord Justice Sir William Fitzwilliam, he left thirty soldiers to keep it against any one by whom it would be attacked, with proper supplies of food and arms, and he went back himself again. They ceased after that on each side plundering or slaughtering each other for four months, from February to June. Hugh Roe O'Donnell felt ashamed at being so long without going to the aid of Maguire, for it was he who urged on the war, and by his advice it was enkindled in the beginning. What he did for him was not to go with all his forces to his aid, as he intended, but to delay and wait for the Scotch, who had promised to come to him for pay. As he thought they were long in coming, he mustered the Cinel Conaill then, and he marched forward with his forces to Enniskillen. He sat down there besieging the fortress from the beginning of June to the middle of August, till they wasted and plundered whatever was under the power of the English in the territory of Oriel and Brefny O'Reilly,¹ and they gave the cows and herds as provisions to their auxiliaries and mercenaries. The English were dwelling at that time in the fortresses in which they had been dwelling some time before, in the monastery of Monaghan, Clones² in Oriel, and the monastery of Cavan³ in Brefny, for it was in the churches of the saints and religious they dwelt most commonly, plundering and wasting the country and taking pledges and hostages.

As for O'Donnell, he was with his forces besieging and attacking the castle of Enniskillen up to the beginning of harvest as we have said, till all but a small part of the provisions which the party that was in the castle had was consumed. When the English of Dublin learned they were in this state, they sent messengers to the English who were in the province of Ulneccmacht, ordering them to go with supplies of food and drink to them to the castle. The English assembled a great host in one place as they were ordered, so that there were fifteen hundred armed soldiers, with a multitude of the men of Meath, of Brefny O'Reilly, and of the Binghamms of the province of Connaught. After assembling

Iosa Ruadh O'Reilly for Dominicans in 1300, and transferred to the Franciscans by The O'Reilly in 1393. See *Hib. Domiu.*,

p. 285. Not a vestige of the monastery remains, the materials having been used in the erection of the barracks close by.

foi na zaoiúealaib & occa éinzeallaó zo ttaotpaosaib hi toirnein an baile
 oia naimúeoim, aét cña nif melic an oíman dóib tuiréeti tpairaeti. Baatari
 zaoiúeal ina pponúein ceoib tan ouy pioepaosaib.

Tuiréechta na nAlpanacó vo junzeall foi an aínraine vo íaizíó uí
 Ohoimnaill, ouy piccsterrúe muicéoblaé mói zo loé feabaili mic loctain
 eitepi éenél eonaili 7 Eoghain, co mo zábpaat foi irin ecclaiy naimúeie
 oianaó ainm Doire bail in mo blúacó Ciuoméann mac feólimú mic
 feiúpa oia nzaioi an Columb cennaiy. At paoópi úóibpíom combuí ó
 Doimnaill foi plóizeaó irin ceoiccuich feb aepubpaioi. Foróitpíom teéta
 oia toéupaeá chuca 7 ceubenna. O maizatai na techta co haipum ambuí
 ó Doimnaill, vo blíat a litie do. Aiy lízaiy iat baepé a ttoétaét .i.
 Doimnaill zoim mac Doimnoill 7 mac leóio na haia vo éocht fo éozaiy uí
 doimnaill foi an muicéoblaé aepubpaioi zo maéatatai an Doire memíátiu,
 7 muna tpeaópiom itpaeti oia ppoptaó aínail mo zeall, zo foifoiy ina
 fol. 19.a. ppiéúis oia naéapóa zan lípnaéaó zan iomfupaeá. Iai naimlezeáó na
 ceubenna oia Ohoimnoill mo lúiz pocht mói faiy combuí zan labpa ahaio
 foia occa ceupáó 7 meiméecpi eú vo zínáó. Pecht ain ba haónai lai
 a zeallaó vo níméomoll ppi na hAlbanacáib íai na ttoéupaeá chuca hi
 éiana. An oala pecht ba hioimóan lai na zail memepetpaey vo éichtain
 i ppaichte an oúnaró oia ppaizbaópiom an lonziopit. Conaó faiy oepiró
 occa fo oéoró a flóiz vo fázbail irin lonzpioit 7 irin iomfupúe ambápai, 7
 é buó úlin con úaéaó oaoíne immaile ppi vo úul foi ainmuy na nAlbanacó
 oia ppoptaó ai na hepetpaiy zcach ppi. Lúó íapíom oíyim maieacó co
 haipum imbatari. Peparó páilte ppiú. Ro ppaetpai 7 mo ppióaiie ílíom
 ppi teoia hoúclúib cona lúib vo lúoab imlípeaib & oia zác línoail
 tuapa ba oaeó irin epié.

Ceileabpaiy Doimnaill zoim oia Ohoimnoill 7 foipazáib abpaépai ba
 jo ain occa zo ceóiz céoab láoc oécebaó aipmtha, 7 vo laocpaó leioimz,

¹ *Derry*.— In ancient times Doire Calgaich, *i.e.*, the wood of Calgach. A site for a monastery was given to St. Columkille here by King Aedh. The church built by him in 545 was called Dubh Regles, perhaps to distinguish it from the Teampul Mor, built in 1164 by Flathbheartach O'Brollaghan. The site is now occupied by the Catholic church of St. Columkille.

See *Trias Thaum.*, p. 398, and *The Ordinance Survey of Templemore*, p. 17.

² *Criomthann*.— This was the name given to Columba in baptism by the priest Cruithneacan; but the word being synonymous with crafty or cunning, his playmates designated him Columba, *i.e.*, the dove, on account of his gentleness, and added to it *cille* because of the frequency of his coming

they proceeded to bluster and threaten the Irish and to assert that they would go to the relief of the place in spite of them ; but yet fear did not allow them to go immediately. The Irish were ready for them whenever they should come.

As for the Scotch who promised to enter O'Donnell's service, they came with a large fleet to the Lough of Feabhall, son of Lodan, between the Cinel Conaill and the Cinel Eoghain, and they occupied the famous church which is called Derry,¹ the place which Criomhthann,² son of Fedhlimidh, son of Fergus, who was called Columba the Mild, blessed. They were told that O'Donnell was on a hosting in the neighbouring territory, as we have said. They sent messengers and letters too to invite him to them. When the messengers came to the place where O'Donnell was they gave their letters to him. He read them, and these were their contents : Donnell Gorm³ and MacLeod of Aran⁴ had come at the invitation of O'Donnell with the fleet we have mentioned until they reached Derry aforesaid, and if he did not come immediately to retain them as he had promised, they would go back to their country without dallying or delay. When O'Donnell read the letters, a great silence came on him, so that for a long time he did not speak, thinking and forecasting what he should do. At one time he was ashamed not to fulfil his promises to the Scotch after inviting them to him from a distance. Again, he was greatly afraid that the English of whom we have spoken would come to the relief of the fortress if he left the encampment. Wherefore in the end he resolved to leave his army at the encampment and siege where they were, and to go himself with a small body of men to meet the Scotch to retain them, as every one advised him. He went after that with a troop of horse to the place where they were. He bade them welcome. They were attended and entertained for three days and three nights with strong drink and every sort of food that was best in the country.

Donnell Gorm took leave of O'Donnell and left with him his youngest brother with five hundred armed soldiers and robust troops. MacLeod

from the cell in which he read his psalms. See Reeves' *Adamnan*, lxx. and p. 6, n.

³ *Donnell Gorm*.—He is called in *The*

State Papers Lord of the Out Isles. See Hill's *Macdonnells of Antrim*, p. 148.

⁴ *Aran*.—An island in the Firth of Clyde.

Αμυρό macleoro an comhíon cletna 7 φορταιρ **Ua** doimnaill iao uiblinib. **Bá** ruaidmó on ístomh hi trécumurce ríhí féne la raine an aym 7 an lymaio á nalaó 7 an eplabha, ari ayeó ba héozuo úoib oia neótauí bpeachpait iolaoácha ipocupial zó nírceatay 7 oimoiub. Accupíra tap anaytomib allamuiž oia mbpataib. **O**monz úioó co cclorómib blinnsoymehup ícíte móia mlísta ór a ppoimnaib. **Ba** héiccln von laech a úi laim vo éabapit maonfaball mo upooyu a élorómh an tan no blnaó a béim ve. **A**paill úioó zó bpióóbaóuib fécpnoižtib ferómnlipcaíapa zó ppeanžpnaíeíb pcepuz- nipoó enaípe, 7 zó íaížúib ppaibžepa ppaimepeacha.

Oála na nžall oc euar uoióipoe ueipže an longpoyt oia doimnaill 7 zó bpaipzao áfluaž oia éipí ipu bpoibap ímbátau 7 anlymoy ueluo oia tcižhib ari éepce lóm, uup pccitpúe m oibne la cloipceéé an pceoil zó mbátau mo imeal epuche monach ppu loch nlypne aníapí. **O**c chúalaó **Má**ž- uioípi a tcoéé tau opí a epuche, vo ueip a pcpaioe laip poy ammuip na nžall .i. ammuipíi noilip buóóem, & ueipbpaachaip uí Néill Coipmac mac Ppuropca mic Cumu baóaíž zó uymuiz oia múmipí 7 vo éenél Eožham mic Néill, 7 póaioe uamípaib uí Doimnaill, ari nup méic an omhan uóibipúe techt tau bpeítipí na tau epípažpa afluáéa, uapí no poyéonžapí poypa aymipomh ipu longpoyt co tcipeáóipom vo múipí oia poyžúe, & m no pcaich alómte péb no pcaich von cách ac muataip aym longpoyt. **O** pamicc **Má**žuoípi & an luche píémepeipcaip m žapíóccup von tylóž eétpano ueipúótpoy poy accmo poy áé uooyaoó uooubeoil m pob lípáta leó a tcochaip chuca ipu conapí tuócaatay, & nípi bo éian an iouoaiúe an uóipm an tan vo muachtaatay an plog žall m a celno. **Ba** hílppmuimtepóa an píaoúžao píapipíte óh píánpíac bátau ipuúe, ppaipcaip žleo ammuip amoyean- oa ltoppa zó pameaoó po úeóúo poypna žallapib 7 poypažabpíte iolapí clno vo poyénelachapib 7 uoiénelachapib 7 éoála aróble ueachapib 7 žpoyúóib baatay leó po lómitib bíó & tpe žup an uúnaó zó apcpaillpae, conao óna baipžlpaib & ó na bmuožapib iolapúo no pácebaó occ an áé von cup ppu no žab an táé 7 an maúom an tammmužao aypóepc .i. maúom áéa na mbmuožao. **S**oaite **M**úoíž 7 **R**ažallaíž (ma tpepná apan maúom ppu

¹ *Cormac*. — See p. xlv., antea. He is usually called Cormac mac Baron. He took an active part in the war on O'Donnell's side to the end. There is in the

Archives at Simancas a letter written by him to the King of Spain when the other chiefs wrote asking for aid. See p. li., antea.

remained with the same number, and O'Donnell retained both of them. These were recognised among the Irish soldiers by the difference of their arms and clothing, their habits and language, for their exterior dress was mottled cloaks to the calf of the leg with ties and fastenings. Their girdles were over the loins outside the cloaks. Many of them had swords with hafts of horn, large, fit for war, from their shoulders. It was necessary for the soldier to put his two hands together at the very haft of his sword when he would strike a blow with it. Others of them had bows of carved wood strong for use, with well seasoned strings of hemp, and arrows sharp-pointed, whizzing in flight.

As for the English, when they were told that O'Donnell had gone away from the camp and left his army behind at the siege in which they were engaged, and that great numbers of them had gone to their homes for want of provisions, they marched in haste on hearing the news till they were on the borders of Fermanagh, west of Lough Erne. When Maguire heard they had crossed the bounds of his territory he took his troops with him to meet the English, viz., his own faithful people and O'Neill's brother Cormac,¹ son of Ferdoragh, son of Conn Bacach, with a number of his people and of the tribe of Eoghan, son of Niall, and some of O'Donnell's troops, for fear did not allow these to transgress the word or the warning of their prince, for he ordered them to remain in the encampment until he returned to them, and their provisions were not consumed, as were those of such as had gone away from the encampment. When Maguire and the people of whom we have spoken came near the strange army they halted opposite them at a rough, difficult ford, where they were sure the enemy would come to them marching by the road they did, and their stay in that place was not long when the army of the English came up. The entertainment which they received from the party there was unfriendly. A battle, sharp and fierce, took place between them until in the end the English were defeated, and they left a multitude of heads of high and low born and a large prey of horses and mares which they had bringing the supplies of food and drink for the castle to which they were going, so that from the many cakes and biscuits left at the ford then the ford and the battle got the well known name of the battle of the Ford of the Biscuits. The men of Meath and the O'Reillys

οίοβ) in a rzeolanzaib rzaioilte rzaioiute co brieirne uí Raḡallaig. Bári conair in mo luó Seoiri óg Diongom sur an lucht mo lín é ar an iomaigóilrim tpe lliḡam cloinne cobtaig Ruairé meḡ Saḡiḡáam, tpe brieirne uí Ruairic & airíoe co Sligeó. In mí Augurc do mónaó inoim. Oe chuálatári óli comíla chaireóil inri ceitlenn rraimeasó fori an rloḡ mo tmaill toétt oía ttoíuém mo bñirac céill oía ceabairi & do bñiracat an baile úairóib do máḡuóim, & do maicóim folraim oóib con doimoónacht tpeir an tíri ḡo maichtatari baill in moib muill leó. Dála in úoimnaill íli ppoḡtáó na nálbanaó tóiraoe do comla ḡo cñich monach do éiuóecht írim iomfuiróe éitena i maibe fo moir ceitlenn. An tan baóhrom íari na fétte, ac chi chugú arail oía aihóib mo batarí occ rraimeasó an máóma forriḡna ḡallaib cona néoalaib leó. Ac fíḡóot a rceála aihail forieaóimnaḡairi. Ba raoliróimú úibíroe, acht na ma ba tocommaicht lair na báoi feirim írim tachair, arí nac élaíoló ar do na ḡallaib in ariua oíob. Soair úa Doimnaill con a Albanachairí fori ceúlaó, & mo airí in a tíri ḡo muḡrac techta Mhégúóimí rairi in rruéiri oía airíerí óó combui an lurtir Seir uilliam Rurpel aḡ tómaíllín & aḡ tinḡeallaó techt ḡo huirí ceitlenn oía ḡabáil an oairia fecht. Arí cloirteétt na rcel riu oía Doimnaill mo teccmalta a rloḡ lair eitiri ughairó 7 oéoiaró, & do comla ḡo cñich monach. Foraiḡir íaróim in tíri élinnata rru loch nEirne anairi. Do ḡniac an rloḡ boéa & belrcaéa aihóiróe 7 anairé rairíaró ó úeireasó Augurc ḡo 5. oOctoberi.

Oe chuálaó an lurtir ó Doimnaill do beiré ma uiríoióill, 7 Máḡuóimí con a roéiraoe oiblinib, ó mo riréiri co ttoicraó ó Néill ma ttoimém mo áḡairairi íao cona mo fáḡaib áécliaé an tan riu. O moia oemim la húa nDoimnaill nac ttoicraó an lurtir co huirí ceitlenn don euirim, iompair ma rruélinḡ oía tíri 7 mo leicc a Albanaiḡ úaóa íli neirimóó ariuaairairí oóib 7 mo ḡeallrac chucca do muóiri in uiréoiac rairíaró arí ceimó.

¹ *Largan*.—This territory was held by the Magaurans, subject to O'Rourke. See O'Flaherty's *Iar Connaught*, p. 347.

² *Clan Cobhthach Ruadh*.—The tribe-name of the Magaurans. They were chiefs of Teallach Eochdach, which now forms the barony of Tullyhaw, in the north-west of Co. Cavan.

³ *Russell*.—He was the youngest son of the Earl of Bedford. See p. lxxxv., antea., In 'The Account of his Journey to Ballenacor' there is a description of the cruelties which he practised towards the O'Byrnes and other Wicklow tribes. See *C.C. MSS.*, iii. 226, and *Annals F. M.*, vi. 1955. He was recalled in May, 1597.

escaping from that battle went in confusion, scattered and disordered, to Brefny O'Reilly. The road by which George Oge Bingham went with the people who followed him out of that fight was through Largan¹ of Clan Cobthach Ruadh² Magauran, through Brefny O'Rourke, and thence to Sligo. This took place in the month of August. When the warders of the castle of Enniskillen heard of the defeat of the army which intended to come to their aid they gave up all hope of relief and surrendered the castle to Maguire, and he gave them a protection during their journey through the district till they came to a place where they were safe. As to O'Donnell, after engaging the Scotch, he went to the territory of Fermanagh to continue the same siege in which he was engaged before at Enniskillen. After the journey he saw some of his soldiers who were at the defeat in the fight against the English with the plunder in their possession. They gave him the account of how it happened. He was pleased with them, but yet it was anguish to him that he was not himself in that battle, for so many of the English would not escape as there did. O'Donnell went back with the Scotch, and he remained in his territory until Maguire's messengers came to him to tell him that the Lord Justice, Sir William Russell,³ was threatening⁴ and asserting that he would go to Enniskillen to take it a second time. When O'Donnell heard this news he assembled his forces, both high and low-born, and he went to Fermanagh. He went afterwards into Tir Kennedy,⁵ to the east of Lough Erne. The army made huts and tents there, and remained so from the end of August to the 5th of October.

When the Lord Justice heard that O'Donnell was well prepared, and Maguire with his auxiliaries also, and as he knew that O'Neill would come to their aid, he prevented them from leaving Dublin then. When O'Donnell was certain that the Lord Justice would not come to Enniskillen then, he returned to his own country and sent away his Scots after giving them their pay, and they made a promise to him again for the very beginning of the following summer.

⁴ *Threatening*.—'He formed a resolution that provisions and stores should be put into every town in the Queen's possession in Ireland, in despite of all those who were opposed to him. . . . He went to Athlone

at that time and from thence to Roscommon.' *Ibid.*

⁵ *Tir Kennedy*.—Now a barony in the east of Co. Fermanagh; it lies between Enniskillen and Fivemiletown.

The year 1595, the fourth year.

He was then at rest, after the departure of his mercenaries, until the middle month¹ of spring. Many of the nobles of the province of Meadhbh came to O'Donnell at that time and were in his service, having been banished from their territory by the oppression of the English, and they never ceased beseeching and begging him to go to punish the English for their misdeeds, and to plunder and prey the people who bore with them and the territories subject to them. It happened, moreover, that owing to his resentment and anger against the English it was easy to tempt him to prey and plunder them whenever he could. The precise place fixed on to be plundered first was Rathcroghan of Crobdearg, in the plain of Aoi, son of Allgubha, in the middle of the English, where their flocks and herds were. That was not easy for him, for the English had brought the whole province of Connaught under their power, so that they were in possession of the impregnable castles and strongholds of the country and in the gaps of danger, viz., some of them in the castle on the bank of the ancient river which the flood left behind, called the Sligeach,² and others of them in Ballymote,³ a strong fortress in the neighbourhood of the celebrated hill of Kesh⁴ of Corann the harper. Some of them at Newport,⁵ a strong fortress which the English had erected between Lough Ce and Lough Arrow.⁶ Others of them in the monastery of the monks on the bank of the Seghais, a river which comes from Lough Techet,⁷ now called the Boyle. Another body in Tulisk, in the middle of Magh Aoi, north-east of Rathcroghan. The Governor of the province of Connaught, Sir Richard Bingham, was in Roscommon,⁸ a valiant knight, and he was Governor, under the direction of the Council, over the whole province, as we have said. It was a hard, difficult, bold, brave thing to make an attack on the party of whom we have spoken already, in order to plunder or prey them, owing to the great dread and abhorrence of their arms and accoutrements, and to

¹ *Newport*.—This is no doubt the great fort between Loughs Ce and Arrow erected by the Governor of Connaught, spoken of by the Four Masters under the date 1590.

² *Lough Arrow*.—Five miles N. of Boyle.

³ *Lough Techet*.—Now Lough Gara, six

miles W. of Boyle. Coolavin, the territory of the O'Garas, lay on the west side of it.

⁸ *Roscommon*.—This castle was built by William De Ufford, Lord Justice, in 1268. See an account of it in *The J. of the R. Soc. of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Oct., 1891.

the contempt and insults they offered to the Irish for a long time. However, O'Donnell resolved to go on a hosting at the request and petition of the nobles and gentlemen who complained of their sufferings to him. He assembled and gathered together the Cinel Conaill, and they came to Ballyshannon. Then he went, the third day of March, with his host across the old stream of Saimer, having the Lough of Melge,¹ son of Cobthach, on the right, over the border of Brefny, to Braulieve,² and from that to Tir Tuathail.³ He encamped there till morning. The next day they set off through the wastes and deserts of the country, without being noticed or heard, to the river at Boyle, east of Lough Ce. The army crossed the river in the beginning of the night at the place called Knockvicar⁴ bridge. From that silently through Moylurg of the Daghda⁵ and through Magh Aoi Finnbendaig, till they came at the twilight of the morning to Croghan, the royal fort of Aoi. However, though houses and dwellings were close in the neighbourhood of the royal fortress, and though the cows and herds of cattle, the swift foreign horses, the oxen and preys of cattle were numerous, and though they might with profit forbid their marauders to scatter or their soldiers to separate from each other in order to collect herds or flocks (for they would find plenty of them, and of every treasure they wished except gold or silver), it was not this they did at all, but far and wide they separated one from the other from the hill of the royal fort, for some of them went into the territory of O'Connor Roe and Annaly, and others to the bridge of Ballymoe,⁶ and another body beyond Castlereas,⁷ westwards. All these active marauding parties, with their spoils and booty, returned with what each one could, moving together and driving before them herds and cattle, after mid-day on the same day to Elphin,⁸ where O'Donnell was. It was a long time before that since the same quantity or the like was gathered and collected as was brought together of spoils in one place, the plunder of one day, by any one of the race of Gaedhel Glas,⁹ son of Nial. O'Donnell went forward with his army by slow marches over the border of Magh Aoi

⁶ *Ballymoe*.—Six miles S. of Castlereas.

⁷ *Castlereas*.—Fifteen miles N.W. of Roscommon. No trace of the castle remains.

⁸ *Elphin*.—See *Trias Thaum.*, pp. 89, 139. It is fifteen miles north of Roscommon. It

gives its name to an ancient bishopric founded by St. Patrick.

⁹ *Gaedhel Glas*.—Or Gadelas. Milesius was 19th in descent from him. See Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 107.

having on the right the old ford of Slishen¹ and Hy Briuin,² until they came to the bank of the Shannon, for it flows straight from the north-west between Hy Briuin and Conmaicne Rein.³ They encamped there that night.

1595.

As for the Governor Richard Bingham, when he was told that O'Donnell was marching before he came into the country, and he was as well prepared as he could be, he thought it well that he had come anyhow, for he supposed he could not escape back without a great disaster, he assembled all the English in the country in general, from whatever garrisons they were in, and he summoned them to meet him at the Seghais called the Boyle, for he thought O'Donnell would pass there when going to his own country. There came to that gathering the English who were in the garrisons of Sligo, Ballymote, and Newport, and they were in the monastery of Boyle. The English who were in Cluan na gCaishel⁴ came to the same gathering. The Governor himself came with the English of Roscommon and with a great body of Irish, and they were at Rath Croghan. They went on the track of the army and of the prey, and though it was easy to find the track, for not like the track of a fox on the ice were the track and footsteps of the plundering host before them, they took a different road at the end of the day and beginning of the night, after wandering and straying through a longing desire and haste to take vengeance on them and pursue them, for the English were fully persuaded that O'Donnell would march again, when returning back, by the same road by which he had come to the territory. Meantime (as soon as the day shone out with all its light on the morrow), O'Donnell ordered his attendants and every one of his army who did not know how to use or wield arms against their enemies to march without delay with their booty and spoils to a certain deep ford of the river Shannon, which is called the ford of Killtrenan. This they did immediately, and they crossed the river without any hurt to the opposite bank in Conmaicne Magh Reim, which is now called Muintir Eolais.

As for the Governor Richard Bingham, when he perceived that O'Donnell with his army had escaped and had taken a different road from that by which they had come into the country, he sent messengers to the

fol. 22. a. 1
 οια πτοόυμιαό chucca το ούλ τόοίβ ιλε ι λίνιάν αν τρλοίξ τοον αιιγ τινη-
 μιαό να εμuche, 7 ο να μυεερατ φαμ ι εματετι nocham bo hail τό φαίξτό φομ
 αν ρλόξ ναίλε ζο hanfuiute, conóchataipomí θεριόε ταμ Sionann
 φαμ εΐαιό με ριύ ταιμέτταμ να ζαίλ acht μαό ύαχαό οια ναήφαίβ
 μο ράζαίβρτε οία νέιρ το εαέυζαό ταμ accfno 7 οία νιμóλζηαίλ ινα
 νουιό. Ουρ φαμέστομ ομιοηζ μόμ το ζλαρλαίε αν τρλουιζ ζαίλ 7 οία
 νόλρ τοιοβμιαίε ιωοριόε & το βλματτ θεαβαό τόοίβ ζυμ μο chéchetnaizit 7
 ζυμ μο ζοναιτ ιλε Ιτομμια. Ειό ριλ ανη τρια acht το όέαχαταμ cenél
 cconaiíl θαρραν αβαιη ρο θεοιόί ίλι mbuaió corceam. Soam an ζοιθεμιομ
 cona ζαίλαιβ φομ εκύλαιβ 7 ημ βό ρλαν λαμ a mlnma am ba mela lam
 ινομιαό αν τίμε ταμμ.

Το έοττ ό όοιηναίλ con a ρλόξ ίνα νυίθεοαίβ ιμτέετα οια ττιζίβ con
 έοαλαίβ αιόβλε 7 co bpoilte μόμ. Αηαιε ραμίλαό occ léizfn apcím ζο θεμιαό
 νεαμμιαζ. Ο μο comfoicepiz ceotopaó na ρίηε ραήμιατα τόοίβ μο ζαβ αιζζίρ &
 ιομέολταν ύα Όοιηναίλ το έιυόεετ ημ ccoicepuch το μύμμ το φυαβαμτ
 να ττωαό μο βαταμ ιη ζέίλλρνε ζαίλ, 7 μoba μαμιαζ τόοίβ οια τταβαμτ φομ
 εκύλαό ινα μμυητμιαμ 7 ινα έαματμιαό το cornam αναταμύα ρμ ζαίλαιβ νό
 οια ιινομιαό μμνα τιορταμ ιττιμ. Ιαροόαν το μεceloméa a ρλουαζ λαμ
 αν .18. το Arpuí. Βαρλό accfctna huíde ταμ ρλνρμυε Samaoipe lam ólr
 ρμ Loch Melze mic Cobéaiz co μανζαταμ ζο Κορυνβρ αν αόαιζρμ. Αηήμτ
 co μαοam ημ μαίζμ ρμ. Τιαζχατ am a βαμιαch co eille έλμζο. Το ζματ
 ιομμμιαe ch ημυιόε co μυεερατ θεμιαό a ρλοίξ φομμια. Το ίλζατ ίλιμ
 τμepan μβρμρνε co βμιαττρλίαβ. Βαταμ αοχαίζ lonζμιοτ ανη, 7 το ζνίαιτ
 αναμλε ίαμιοι. Βαρλό μο έοζαμμρτε ceip epuch ρο ζαβταμ eill φομμια
 ζαίλαιβ βατομ ιμαμμτμ να Sfzhpα μο βαό ρό leó. Αρ ιμνε βαταμρθε
 co νοίβ εέοαίβ λαόε ιπορβαμ ημ μεcelér ημ, 7 μο ράραζρτε να εμιοέα
 βάτομ comfoicepí τόοίβ φομ ζαε leé ζombταμ οτμιαβα ζαν ιονατοche ζαν
 αιτμιαό.

Αρλό αιμιαεε αμμuche λα húa ηΌοιηναίλ ρο θεοιόί. Ρο όελίζηταμ

¹ *Ross Inver.*—A parish in north Leitrim, near the south-eastern extremity of Lough Melvin.

² *Killargy.*—*i.e.*, the church of St. Ferga. The village is six miles south of Manor Hamilton.

³ *Monastery of the Scghais.*—The Cistercian abbey of Boyle, which is called here by the name of the river close to which it is built. The church and a considerable part of the monastery are still standing, but they are in very neglected state.

English whom he had summoned to the monastery of Boyle to ask all of them to go in pursuit of the host which had come to plunder the territory, and as they did not come instantly, for they did not wish to go meet the other army unprepared, they went from thence across the Shannon north-eastwards before the English came up, all but a small number of their soldiers whom they left behind to fight in their defence and to protect them on their rear. A great body of the infantry of the English army and of the shooters came up and a skirmish took place between them, so that many were hurt and wounded on both sides. However, at last the Cinel Conaill went across the river after a victory in the fight. The Governor with his English retreated, and his mind was not at ease, for he was sorry that the country was plundered in spite of him.

O'Donnell and his army went on their way to their homes with vast treasures and great joy. They remained there to get rid of their fatigue to the end of spring. When the beginning of the summer weather was approaching a longing and a great desire seized O'Donnell to go again into the neighbouring districts to attack the people that were in subjection to the English and obedient to them, to bring them back to an alliance and friendship with him, and to protect their patrimony from the English, or to prey them if they did not return. Wherefore he got together his troops on the 18th of April. His first march was across the old stream of the Saimer, having the Lough of Melge, son of Cobthach, on his right, and they came to Ross Inver¹ that night. They remained there till morning. They went the next day to Killargy.² They made a halt there until the rear of his army came up with them. After that they went through Brefny to Braulieve. They encamped for a night there, and held a council afterwards. What they agreed on was whatever hurt they found an opportunity of doing to the English who were in the monastery of the Seghais,³ they thought it right to do, for these were with two hundred soldiers in possession of the church,⁴ and they wasted the neighbouring territories on every side so that they were wildernesses without residence or dwelling.

This was the plan adopted by O'Donnell in the end. He detached a

¹ *Church*. — *Regles*, an abbey church, of the secular or of the regular clergy. See Petrie's *Ecccl. Arch.*, p. 153. whereas *teanful* may mean a church either

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troop of horse from the army of his own people and sent them away by another road across the Boyle to the monastery, and told them to go reconnoitre for the purpose of driving off the cattle belonging to the English, to delude them, and draw them beyond the fences and walls of the monastery as far as the level plain after their cattle, to see whether the force could go between them and the fortified place, for O'Donnell was told that they had one hundred milch cows for food. O'Donnell went away with his army by a private road to conceal himself by the bank of Lough Arrow to the east, and to Corrsliabh of the Seghais. The English who were in garrison in Newport, between Lough Key and Lough Arrow, heard the talking of the army when passing by. They set to shoot their leaden balls and to burn their powder in order to give information and warning to the soldiers in the monastery, so that the force should not deceive them and come on them without notice. When O'Donnell had passed over the Corrsliabh southwards, he rested in a retired wood near the river in ambush for the English until the morning of the next day. As for the troop that was sent to reconnoitre about the prey, as we have said, they came in the early dawn to the monastery and drove off the cattle from them immediately. The English saw that a stratagem was attempted against them, and did not leave the fortress but remained therein. When O'Donnell had given up all hope of their coming out of the monastery into the level plain in pursuit of their small herd of cattle, the loss of which was an injury to them then, he rose from his ambush and passed on across through Magh Aoi with his soldiers, so that it was completely gleaned by him and what remained to them after the first time was entirely plundered, and he went straight on till he came to the western bank of the Shannon.

He went across the river to Conmaicne Rein, and he encamped in Leitrim of Muintir Eolais, and remained there with his army until they had finished the celebration of Easter, and while his enemies thought he was going to his native country, such a thing was not in his mind, but he summoned to him privately some of the people of the country, and told them to go into the neighbouring district to spy and watch the people who were in subjection to the English. They went afterwards by the prince's order to watch in Annaly. This is a district in which some of the nobles of Conmaicne of the race of Fergus Mac Rossa dwelt. They were

բիցիցաւ արևոսածարսե. 7 յոճար թոմամալչէ Ծ յալլաւն ան տան բմ. Եսարս
 րեազեալչե տա յիճեւո ար յո եսո ճարթոսար ազոմալչէր տի արսե. Թո
 բո՛ւո եթոք նա Ծոմնաւլ եճէտ Եո հաճո Միաջարսի յա տոշարեաճ շուքա, 7
 յո յալարտի բարս յրն Եոթոթիւ շէտա. Ծար բեթրոճ անաւ յո հարթաճ.

Տօստ օրս ան Երաիտ թոլ Եսլաւն Եո բրոթ բեւ 7 եսօջաւ նա Երեճ Ծա
 Ծոմնաւլ. Ծո Եոմա ար իրսոմ Եոնա իմեաճաւն Լնա Եարչ Ծո թոնրաճ
 տարթա եւիչն յո տոնթոթբիւտ Ե տոթիչ Եոնար Ծո ճօ յամեք յա մաճան
 Ծոն Ենչաւե. Օրեթելի ան Ծա Ենչաւե 7 ան Երոշ յաւե թոլ ճաչ եճ եճ
 Եոնա բարեթարբիւտ մոլ մոմե յեղա Տրաւն Ենլնո թօեբար յիք Եո մե բնո
 տա յճարս թրաւն Եարթի Եոնո ճօ ճարս Ենլնոմոմ բարս յարելի Եիճե,
 եաւ մ յո եարեաճ Եիճե մչն Եոշոաճ բեճնչ. Ծո յարաճ տրա մոնտելի
 սի Ծոմնաւլ թօ թրամոնել շիմնո ան տրի մա թրեճեալ ճարս եճ թրաւչեճ
 Ծոճարոճ Ծոմնաւլ յոթիճա յոթիճա յեղա յեղա յա յարեաճ Եարեաճ, ճարս ե
 Եո յա տա եճ 7 տա Եանթօջլաչաճ յամեթ յոմթօրնաճ բնո նարս ե յարա
 շիմո 7 նարս ե թոլլելի տաւն անալնոտ 7 անալ բոմչարչարճ (տանտար
 Ետրեւան նարսն) օլօտ անանոտ 7 անեթօճա եսարս.

Եսո Եարեալ յրն Եթիւ, Եոնթօր Եսլ Բիցիցաւ Ե անմ, ար արճ Եա
 տանարս Ծօրաճ Ե Ծոն տի նօ եսո հի Ենլնարս նա Երեճ տա Ենել. Եա
 տանաճ Ծանչն տեճօջլաչե Երոճ 7 Ծար բուտ ճարս նա ճալլաւն ան յոնարս բմ.
 Ծո յարթ իրսոմ ճալլ բիցիցոմ տա բանմոնտելի մօ տա յոմթօմնեճ 7 ճեւլ
 7 Ետրիւ ան տրիւ Եար, Երոթօրս Երոն Ե անմ. Եա հարեաճ ճարս Երեճ
 Երոճ Ելեթ բն Ծոմեք 7 Եարթալ Ծո Եարար թոլ նարսն Ե յարթօջաւն
 ան տրիւ թոլ ճաճ Ենլ յե. Գեթարս ան Եարեալ Եա հնա յԾոմնաւլ, Ե Ծո
 յարաճ Երոթօրս 7 Ե Ենանաճ արս անեթօթ Եոն Ե մոնան Եեթոմն.
 Ծո յոշարս Ծոն Եոթելնո մա Բիցիցաւ մե Երամ Եար ան թրաչ Ե Եա տարսն
 Ե Ենոմլ Երոճ, Եա Մաջարսն Ծո բուրթոմ. Երթեթարս Եոնթօարս մա ան
 Երոթա սի Եաչալլաչ Եա Ծարմն յաւե Ծոն թլօչ.

¹ *Annals*. — In 1445, at the death of William O'Ferrall, lord of Annaly, the territory was divided and two chieftains established. *Annals F. M.*, v. 941.

² *Slieve Uilin*. — It is mentioned in the *Book of Lecan*: 'Lughaidh went to be revenged of Furbaidhe and killed him at the summit of Slieve Uillen, and he made his cairn there.' fol. 252. a. The name is now obsolete.

³ *Slieve Carbury*. — A mountainous district in the barony of Granard, Co. Longford. It takes its name from Cairbre, brother of Laeghaire, ardrigh in St. Patrick's time.

⁴ *Inny*. — This river rises in Lough Sheelin. Flowing southwards, it passes through Lakes Derravaragh and Iron. For a part of its course it forms the boundary between Longford and Westmeath. It falls into the eastern angle of Lough Ree.

called the Clann Farrell, and they were subject to the English then. They were very much afraid to separate from them, for they were very near each other. O'Donnell also sent a messenger to Hugh Maguire to invite him to him, and he appointed a meeting in the same territory. He came as he was asked.

The spies returned with an account of the country and of its dangers to O'Donnell. He set off then with his soldiers on Easter Monday precisely through the passes which his guides informed him of, and he came before morning to Annaly. The two Annalies¹ and the whole country on every side were wasted by them, so that they did not leave a single beast from the mountain of Uillinn of the red spear, son of Finn, called Slieve Carbry³ now, to Glaiiss Beramon, called the Inny,⁴ where Eithne, the daughter of Eochaidh Feidhleach,⁵ was drowned. O'Donnell's people put a heavy cloud of fire on the land all round, so that there was a gloomy, blinding, dark cloud of smoke of a strange kind overhead, enough to make them wound and endanger those who were defending them, for their acquaintances and fellow-soldiers could not be recognised and distinguished (if they were any distance from them) more than their hereditary foes and enemies.

There was a castle in the territory called O'Farrell's fortress,⁶ for it was his fortified residence, and that of the person of his tribe who was at the head of the territory. It was a strong impregnable castle, and it had fallen into the hands of the English then. The English gave it afterwards to one of their own people to hold, and the hostages and pledges of the country with it. Christopher Brown was his name. He was a giant in bravery; besides, he used contempt and abuse towards the nobles and chiefs of the country on all sides of him. The castle was taken by Hugh O'Donnell, and Christopher and his brother-in-law were carried away as pledges with both their wives. Hubert, too, son of Fergus, son of Brian, fell by the army; his family was of the nobility. He was slain by Maguire. Conor, son of the Prior⁷ O'Reilly, was taken by another part of the army.

⁵ *Eochaidh Feidhleach*.—For an account of the manner in which he reached the throne, and the chief events of his reign, see Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 196.

⁶ *O'Farrell's fortress*.—The town and county of Longford take their name from

it. Tradition says the castle occupied the site of the present barracks.

⁷ *Son of the Prior*.—This was Maclmora, the illegitimate son of Philip O'Reilly, called the Prior though not an ecclesiastic. *Annals F. M.*, vi. 1966.

Ro maibad 7 mo muadaiglé daoine ionta leó an lá rin naé tabairtari fori aitho an anmanna raimpeadacha la taob na pé ngiall décc do faoirclanraib na cnuche (bátor in aitheire la Cmuortóir hroun riu laim Gall rin lonzporit) do loicead, ar ní mo cumhiglé a tclraiccam la tpeačan na tlinlé 7 la loirceóne na líat larrach báoi in zác aitho & in zác aitho don baile. Ro loirceó leó beór an lá rin ceíteie cairteoil orle do chairtiallaib an tíie cénmoá an lonzporit. Do baó lionmaire da néoalraib da nairceóib 7 da cepeachraib máf aihail mo péora a ttiomáin az pázbaíl na hanzairle dóib.

Loctari arf íar nnoipead an tíie zuri mo zábairt lonzporit i tealluch noúnehaoha an adáiz rin. Do leicclt arclimealta arabairad zuri an tú mbatari zoil iforbairi rin chích .i. zo mamirtir conióttaad la hoio San Francer in ionfoccur don chabán (lonzporit uí Ražallairz) & do bñiac leó zach eóail fori a iuzair ó na fuairreac baogal forina gallaib la oainzli inille an ionair ambátari. Zabair fori an aohairz rin i teallaé neachraoch alla éiar do bél acha Conaill.

fol. 24. a. Ro buó fúail an hnoair ionmura fori atabairtari munclri uí Ohoimnaill mórlíach curo & cteha ir na conairib nmpa in or an da bpeirne 7 i rñiaib monad ar a lionmaire batari leó ar a foó 7 ar a iméline úairóib oia tíir, ar laize 7 ar eneirte zaca cenéoil cteha in ionbaró rin. Niri bó ráual ruantoirpimeach mo éochair adó Rúaóh úa Ohoimnaill an tpectamairim, 7 ba he itpéhián o ar orle a uideada & a imécta, ar ba oia rachaair mo bñiac a munclri a mbú do zallaib manerpe na buille 7 mo airzire machaire conaéct. Ba oia maire ar ceuro mo cpeaéloirceirle a flóiz an da anzairle aihail atrubramoir, & ba oia céoaim íñioin mo íñlénairóirle airpthe imon ceabán. Loctari cenél conaill íñpctam oia tíizib íar ríirpéuzad aneachteia. An Cmuortóir hroun meirpáite baohróe ngiallhar la húa nOhoimnaill zuri mo hím úairó a fuairclad .i. pé fclit ponnta.

Ro rñi do zallaib Ounblinne ó Néill do túl i ccommbáiró cogairó na nzaóirle ar arrlad 7 foráileam uí Ohoimnaill cem ba forpéil fairi co leicc

¹ *Tullyhunco*. — Now a barony in the west of Co. Cavan.

² *Tullyhaw*. — Now a barony in the N.W. of the same county.

³ *Ballyconnell*. — A small town in the barony of Tullyhaw. It has its name from

Conall Cearnach, the famous Red Branch knight, who was slain there by the men of Connaught, to avenge the death of Oífioll Mor, husband of the famous Meadhbh. Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 199, and O'Curry's *M.S. Materials*, p. 483.

There were slain and destroyed many persons by them on that day whose precise names are not given, together with the sixteen hostages of the high-born nobles of the territory (they were hostages with Christopher Brown by direction of the English in the castle) who were burnt, for they could not be saved owing to the rush of the fire and the burning of the red-hot ashes which were in every part and corner of the town. Four other castles also of those of the territory were burnt besides Longford. There were more spoils and plunder and cattle than they were able to take away with them when leaving Annaly.

They went away after plundering the territory, and they encamped at Tullyhunco¹ that night. They sent out their scouts on the next day to the place where the English were in garrison in the territory, *i.e.*, to the monastery built by the Order of St. Francis, very near Cavan (O'Reilly's fortress), and they took away with them every kind of booty which they met with, as they could get no advantage of the English owing to the place where they were. They rested that night at Tullyhaw² to the west of Ballyconnell.³

O'Donnell's people thought nothing of the quantity of treasure which they took, the wealth of cattle and flocks on the roads before them on the borders of the two Brefs and in Fermanagh, owing to the great quantity they had and to the remoteness and distance of their own territory and the weakness and feebleness of all kinds of cattle then. Hugh O'Donnell did not pass that week in a pleasant, sleep-producing manner, and his journeys and marches were far from each other, for on Saturday his people took their cattle from the English of the monastery of Boyle and plundered the plain of Connaught. On the following Tuesday his forces wasted the two Annalies, as we have said, and on the Wednesday after his marauding parties spread about Cavan. The Cinel Conaill went away after that to their homes, having ended their expedition. The afore-mentioned Christopher Brown was kept in confinement by Hugh O'Donnell until his ransom of six score pounds was paid by him.

It was known to the English of Dublin that O'Neill had entered into the confederacy of the Irish at the instigation and request of O'Donnell, though it was not evident then, and though he concealed it as long as he

Ե չե յո օւնկրտար ճիւղէ յո բէտ. Օ յո Եսո ծեմնն Լար ճո Խրտիր Տիր
 Միլիամ Քրիպըլ Ե Լարան Բնած ճր Էնա ճա յո Էսմանցիոմնի բո Կոօրօ
 Լիօուտեմած ա շիոնտած. Քո Բօրօրէ Ծեիւ շեօ Լաօ Էոնա Էոնցան Էժեժա
 Էո Խոծար շիոն Էրաճա Իրբոծարի բոյ Էնէլ յեօճան, Ե յո Էրճեալ ճո
 Խրտիր Բնիրո տօժե Էոնա Բլօճ յո ճար Կար յարօմիլեած յա Էրլիւ Ե Ծո
 Էրօտիած ա ծիոնն 7 ա Ծրօիւել. Լա բօժան յո Բարօ Կա Ունիլ ա Էժեժա Ծո
 Բարճիօ Կի Օհոմնալլ Ծիա ճրնէր Կօ ճո Էրբօմիլիա Էրնիլօւոճ Բոն Ծո Երէ օժ
 Էրճեալեած Էո Էրի Էօճան. Ոն բօրօժանարի ա ճրնեած Կա Օհոմնալլ
 Էրբէաժ Գո Բեօօր, Էոնած Էժ Ծո յոյոնե ա Բլօճ Ծո Էրբօլոմած շիոն Է
 Բօժիլօրի ճօ Խոնմանցիոն Ե Էրօժէժ Էո Էրի Էօճան Եալ Եմբու Օ Ունիլ.
 Էրաճաժ Եմարօն ճօ Բօժար Մարթեմիոն Եալ Երօլմա ճո Էսսլանն
 ճրօլիւ Գո Բօլիլիո ճարճիօ. Օժ ճրաժ Եժա 7 Երբեժա Բար յո Բոժարիո
 ճոնար յո միր Մա Ծո Բօնիած. Եարար Բէալ Խրտիրոն յո Բօնիւտ ճո Խրտիր
 Ծո ճոնալ 7 Ծո Երբօմիլիոն ճո Էրօլիւ Բար. Էժ Էնա յո ճար ճո Խրտիր յո
 Էժ Էրաժ Ծոն շիոնն Կար Բրօր Բեժէ Ծօ ճօմբարարիոն յո ա Բօլիլի
 Բանարօ.

fol. 24. ʒ.

Ծօի Լաօժի ճոնցարօ ճոնարիաժ Ծոնա ճալլան Կոն Եոնարօրն յոն
 Էարիւլալ յո Երի բոյ յո Բնոնն Տիճիճե յո Բօրբարի Էոնոն Էօճա Լաժի
 Եմանիլե յոյ, Տօնարի օժ Եոնցոմ ա ճոնարօ. Եա Էրբեժ յոնցօնա 7 Եա
 Էարթոն Էօժարօ Է Բար Լանն յոն ճարճ Ծո յալա բոյ Էրբեժ Միժնա ճո Էոն
 Բոն .ա. Բրօլիոն Եոնցոմ. Երբար ճո ԷՏօնարի Էրբոնարարի, յո Բօլարթար
 Լիւժե Լոնցա Լանն օլի Բար ԽԷրեոն Բար Էսարօ Էո յոնալ Բնօնար Տուլիճե
 Ե Էրլիւ Էոնալլ մի Երիլ ճո Էոն յո Եաժի Կա Օհոմնալլ Էոն ա Բլօճ յո Էրի
 Էօճան. Քո Եաժի մանրարի ճոնարիոն բոյ յո յո Էրաճա Էրարճալիժե Գո օնօրի
 7 Գո ճոնարիոն Ծո յոնմն Մարի մաժար ճո Էոնիժե. Էրճիար Բոն մանրարի,
 Ե Ծո Երբօժ 24 Խոնար յոն Էժճած օրբիոն Ե Էարօնն Լօնարա Էրբար ճո
 Էրլանցէթօնա Ե Ծօժալան օլե Գո Էնա. Տօնար բոյ Էսլած Էո յոնցարի Էո
 Էրարճ Կա յո Երնօժ ճո Էոլոմն ճարճիւ, յոյ Կրօն Բլ Բօ Լիօնարի յո

¹ *Promiscel.*—An account of this expedition is given in 'A Journal of the late Journey by the Lord Deputy against the arch-traitors Tyrone and O'Donnell, entered into at Dundalk, the 18th of June, 1595, and ending at the said town, the 7th of July following.' *C.C. MSS.*, iii. 113.

² *Faugharl.*—Two miles west of Dundalk. It is the birthplace of St. Brigid,

and the site of the battle in which Edward Bruce was slain in 1318. See *Trias Thaum.*, p. 566, and Grace's *Annals of Ireland*, p. 95; Dublin, 1842.

³ *Murtheimhne.*—So called from one of the leaders of the Milesian colony.

⁴ *Feat of valour.*—The reference here is to the combat between Cuchullin and Ferdiaidh during the famous incursion made

could. When this was proved to the Lord Justice Sir William Russell and the Council too, they could not overlook his fault. He sent a thousand men with proper implements to Iubhar cinn tragha to keep in check the Cinel Eoghain, and the Lord Justice promised¹ to come himself with his army in a short time to ravage the country and to destroy its strongholds and difficult passes. Thereupon O'Neill sent his messengers to O'Donnell to tell him of the assembling of that great army that was intended for Tir Eoghain. The mind of O'Donnell could not suffer to hear the news. Wherefore, what he did was to assemble his forces immediately in one place and to go to Tir Eoghain, where O'Neill was. They went together to Faughart² Muirtheimhne,³ the place where the famous Cuchullin performed the great feat of bravery.⁴ They made tents and sheds to the east of Faughart in the month of May precisely. They waited for the Lord Justice here for some time to protect and guard the province against him. However, the Lord Justice remained in Dublin then, having learned that they were ready for him in this way.

There was a roguish, powerful soldier of the English then in the castle on the bank of the ancient river Sligeach in garrison, and one hundred soldiers with him; George Oge Bingham was his name. He was a leader in fight and a captain of war by appointment of the General who happened to be over the province of Meadhbh then, *i.e.*, Richard Bingham. As for George of whom we have spoken, the crew of the ship sailed north-eastwards, having the coast of Ireland on their right, till they came to the old harbour of Swilly in the territory of Conall, son of Niall, while O'Donnell was with his forces in Tir Eoghain. A monastery was there on the edge of the shore built in honour and reverence of holy Mary, Mother of the Lord. They went to the monastery and took away twenty-four mass-vestments that were there and the vessels for the offering of the body of the Saviour, and other treasures besides. They went back till they came to Tory,⁵ a place which the famous Columba⁶ blessed; this is an island opposite the territory due

by Queen Meadhbh at the head of an army, known as the Tain bo Chuailgne. For an account of it see O'Curry's *Manners, &c.*, ii. 296.

⁵ *Tory*.—An island off the N.W. coast of Donegal. For the origin of this name

and its history see Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 78, *The Irish version of Nennius*, p. 4; Dublin, 1848. and Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 279.

⁶ *Columba*.—He is said to have erected a church, monastery, and round tower there. *Martyrology of Donegal*, p. 151.

epiche amach atúaró zach nóiréac fórran fparriuge ló iméian ó éiri. Ro
 epoitirfe nlimbó an naoim 7 an mhiri uile co na farraibfe míol nimmle
 mnte. At ríadair uía Dhomnaill aithmilleacó an tíre oia éir vo coblaé
 eectiomo, ticceiróe oia éiri vo tharriáctain na hoirecne. Niri bó róda an
 iótharóe dóroim ílreccain an tan vo machte rccéla chucca an turtyr cona
 jlóž vo éoét co tíri Eozain. Soair ó Dómnaill fhuóéiofice vo iúóiri co
 manaicc airim ambui ó Néill mo airifí dala rruy an turtyr recip conairi no
 chingreacó. Ba fóiró uía Néill nemibrioim 7 acriacé a mlima oia fairim.
 Gabair occ fhuóéaire 7 occ foicoimléct an turtyr eineach mo ionchaid rruy,
 ni mo raižrfe fairi, 7 ní mó mo raižrioim foimio, acé na má ni conielect
 eirreóeacó oia jlóž vo chuingreacó éiuiró no éféia, comba héiccln von turtyr
 fo óeóó iompiú vo iúóiri co haé cliaé ona caomnagairi ní dona žaoíóealaid.
 Turtyreéta an tSeoiri meiríáite ílri ffillacó óófaróe žur an Slížeac ni foza
 an mé ropaélaing compiú na nuile óó žan a aithe fairi an oimiacó vo maet
 oecclair na hi naoim Mairi 7 veacclair an Columb acriubrioimoi. Ar imne
 on ariuoche. Baoi vume úaral vo coiccló mlóba foimáirine i ffochairi an
 tSeoiri con oiblaochaid vež oia fannmuntli ma coméect. Uilleac a bhuic
 acoimainm, macróe Remann na rcaub mic Uillic na cceann mic Riocairi, &
 centib vo žaoíóealaid oia énélioim ba fairi moú 7 bér voib aia foct ó mo
 acriebrat mo inre, & niri bo luža fairiflic na nžaoíóeal imna žallaid mar a
 rlieroim, ariuo bo cummáóim moireair & aicreúe žall Duiblinne im cehtairiae
 óioib. Vo moita oimúgin & acrieural móri foim fan Uilleacc lair na žallaid
 rin oža mbui foimairi. Ro lionrioim oifliž & vo lonnuir, 7 baoi occa
 reriúacó vo žriér eiri euité no aitheacó a oimiacó foimna žallaid & turóeét
 i muirliar ní Dómnaill íairin, úairi ba mlimaic lair ioimairi m achairi rra
 rruy. Baoirioim fairilaid occ bmaé 7 occ acrieclacó foim an Seoiri eiriouir
 conuir ríairi imbaožal ma ariazol lá náon, & mo éub rruy a eccoiri 7 a

fol. 25. a.

¹ *Glebeland*.—See Petrie's remarks on the word *neimheadh* in his *Eccl. Arch.*, p. 58.

² *Redmond na scuab*.—*i.e.*, of the sweeping brush. He was the son of Ulick na gceann, so called because he made a mound of the heads of those he had slain in battle; and grandson of Ulick, who was created Earl of Clanricarde and Baron of Dunkellin by Henry VIII. in 1545. See Archdall's *Peerage*, i. 128.

³ *They lived*.—The first of the family who came to Ireland was William FitzAdelm. On the return of Henry II. to England he was entrusted with the management of all his affairs in Ireland. In 1179 he obtained a grant of a great part of Connaught. He died in 1204 and was buried in the abbey of Athassel, Co. Tipperary, which he had founded. He was grandfather of the first Earl of Ulster. *Ibid.*, i. 118. See also

north out in the sea a long distance from the land. They plundered the glebeland¹ of the saint and the whole island, so that they did not leave a four-footed beast on it. O'Donnell was told of the plundering of the territory by the strange fleet in his absence. He went to his territory to avenge its devastation. He had not long to wait after that when the news reached him that the Lord Justice was coming with his army to Tir Eoghain. O'Donnell turned back once more until he came where O'Neill was waiting to see what road the Lord Justice would choose. O'Neill was glad of his arrival, and his soul was stirred on seeing him. They set to watch and observe the Lord Justice face to face ; they did not attack him, neither did he attack them. But, however, they did not allow his forces to scatter or collect herds or flocks, so that in the end the Lord Justice was obliged to go back to Dublin since he could do nothing against the Irish. As for the above mentioned George, after his return to Sligo, the Lord of the Universe did not allow him to be long unpunished for the irreverence which he did to the church of the Blessed Mary and to the church of Columb, as we have said. It happened in this way. There was a nobleman of the province of Connaught in the pay of George, with twelve soldiers of his own people in his company. Ulick Burke was his name. He was the son of Redmond na scuab,² son of Ulick na gceann, son of Richard, and though he was not of the Irish by descent, he was kindly and respectful to them owing to the length of time they lived³ in the island, and the love which the Irish had for the English was not less than his love for them, for the hatred and cruelty of the English of Dublin towards both of them was the same. Great contumely and insult⁴ was offered to Ulick by the English, in whose service he was. He was filled with anger and wrath, and he was continually thinking how he could avenge the insult on the English, and become intimate with O'Donnell after that, for he was anxious to enter into friendship with him. In this way he was spying and watching George continually until he got an advantage of him in a room one day, and he charged him with his injustice and illegalities, and he got

Giraldus Cambrensis, *Expug. Hib.*, ii. 16, for a description of his character.

⁴*Insult.* — O'Sullivan gives a different account of the cause of the dispute. He

says Ulick was wroth, because the Irish soldiers who had accompanied Bingham into Tyrconnell had not got a fair share of the booty from him. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 74.

αιουλιγηθεὸ φαρι, 7 no conφuairi pπεcceria βυθὸ νι τὸ, 7 ὁ na ρύairi γεβαὸ clarὸρ
 νυθὸ co ττοβαετ a ἐλno τa chuilmeiṛe. 7abtauim baile la hUilleacc ífhoim,
 & mo φαοῦ ἀεεετα co hAd Seanaiḡ. Ro λάρατ munτeli uí Ohoimnail a ττεεετα
 oia φαḡiṛ co τiμ Eoḡham aipm ambói. Aτ φαḡaτ a pccéel oia Ohoimnail.
 Aτ euar oúa Neill ífhi τtam. Robtauim iubaiḡi uiblimb. Oo τhaote τpa
 úa Ohoimnail oia τiḡ ífhi ccelebríao oúa Néill, 7 m mo aipm aet m orúchib
 7o iaimce 7up an Slisceac cona pochríaoe laip. Fo ḡaibh φαite hupoiu
 7 oo ματτ Uilleacc a buic an cairtíall τὸ. Φοφαḡiṛ ipan mbaiḡe acharὸ
 φαḡlarὸ, & ba páim laip a mfinma. Hi mίρ tun oo iuníao mṛo iim.

fol. 25. b.

Ba hupm ié iim oo μαλα oo laeé aίmṛa oo ḡallaib τochτ φο pccélaib
 an baile co ττṛib céoaiḡ laech ina φαḡíao. Ba cairtim coccaíτ 7 ba
 τoipeac momḡona eipṛe Ulliam Moḡ aϕlonṛao. Ticepṛe co hEppṛaia
 ciṛ me iú fo pττṛi pccéla uí Ohoimnail. 7 m cōfīnaccairi iompuṛ 1
 ττṛaitim an τan μαḡaτoi munτeli uí Ohoimnail oon τoeb oie oon
 abaim, combáτoi lineac m ionchaitḡ ari ḡac τaoḡ oón oioichíτ mo baoi
 φοḡḡan abaim 7 naé ba mó om olṛaḡ foh uioḡmaicthe baoi foḡḡa. Hi
 baoi conairi 7up na ḡallaib aet τiḡpan oioichíτ, & m mo pṛoḡat
 munτeli uí Ohoimnail uol τpeampa aίmṛail mo ba mfinmaic léo, acht cīna
 mo hoḡta cairtim aίmṛa oona ḡallaib láp na uioḡmaicéib oo moḡta foḡḡa
 oepiú 7 anall. O τaimce ooiéatu na hoṛoche mo élarṛíτ aḡ na ḡaill
 pēb aḡ oíine mo nucceat oialaile, & m mo ματḡaiḡiττ co ματtam. Ro
 Uḡaḡat na hōice iat ipm uíṛoiṛ τaḡ munémo an τṛlebe 7 m iuceḡat
 φοḡḡa, & ba méla mōi léo aττṛimṛo úairiḡ aίmlarὸ iim. Soat φοḡ ccúlaḡ
 7up an Sliscec oo iṛṛiḡ.

Ro páḡaib ὁ Ohoimnail oḡonḡ oía aίmṛaib 7 oía áoḡ τaiupṛi hi ccaipṛen
 Slisceḡ oia iomcōiméτ, & ba pṛan laip aίmfinma φο oáḡh an baile oo bié
 φοḡi a cōmaḡ. Uioḡoiom ífṛeaim con a pṛlōḡ oapṛan Eipme βυθὸ éiarὸ co
 μαḡaiḡ oia éiḡ 7o Oúin na nḡall. Uáoiḡoiom 1 φοḡḡ 7o mṛóon Anḡupṛ. Aτ
 coaḡaτaḡi uóḡoiḡ τaḡccairi mupéoblaé oo éeacht 1 loch pṛabail an τan iim.
 Ba hé ba haḡeac φοḡi an ccoḡlaé hupm .1. Mac Leoṛo na haḡa (oilen pṛl

¹ *The head.*—In ‘The Journal of the Lord Deputy Russell, the following entry occurs under the date June 6th, 1595: ‘Letters from Sir Richard Bingham, certifying the betraying and murdering of Captain George Bingham at Sligo castle by one of the

Boukes (Ulick Bourke), his ensign, who took the castle the same time from the enemy, and slew all the English of the ward.’ *C. C. MSS.*, iii. 231.

² *Delighted.*—‘That killing was of great service to those of the Connaughtmen who

no answer whatever ; and as he did not, he took his sword and cut his head¹ from the trunk. The place was seized by Ulick then, and he sent messengers to Ballyshannon. O'Donnell's people sent his messengers to Tir Eoghain, where he was. They told the news to O'Donnell. It was related to O'Neill afterwards, and both were delighted.² O'Donnell then went home, having taken leave of O'Neill, and he stopped only at night until he came to Sligo with his troops. He received a welcome there, and Ulick gave up the castle to him. He rested at that place for a while, and his mind was at rest. That was precisely in the month of June.

It happened just then that a famous warrior of the English came to reconnoitre the place, having three hundred soldiers with him. He was a captain in battle and a leader in fight. His name was William Moss.³ He came to Assaroe before he had news of O'Donnell, and he could not return immediately when O'Donnell's people came up on the other side of the river, so that they were face to face on either side of the bridge which was over the river, and the space between them was not more than a gunshot. There was no way to the English except over the bridge, and O'Donnell's people could not pass through as they wished. However, a famous captain of the English was killed by the shooting which took place between them from one side and from the other. When the darkness of night came, the English fled away as quick as they could all together, and they were not perceived till morning. The youths followed them at the dawn over the upper part of the mountain, and they did not overtake them. They were very sorry that they had escaped from them in this way. They went back again to Sligo.

O'Donnell left a party of his soldiers and of his trusty people in the castle of Sligo to hold it. His mind was at ease in consequence of the place being in his power. After that he went with his army across the Erne northwards till he came to his house at Donegal. He was at rest till the middle of August. He was told that a fleet of ships had come to Lough Foyle then. The commander of the fleet was MacLeod of Aran

were in exile.' *Annals of Loch Ce*, ii. 517.
 'Each of them afterwards went to his own native territory. In the course of one month the greater part of the inhabitants of the district, from the western point of Erris and

Umhall to the river Drowes, had unanimously confederated with O'Donnell.' *Annals F. M.*, vi. 1975.

³*Moss*.—Perhaps Captain Mostyn, who is mentioned *ibid.*, vi. 1867.

in Alban dianao amh dia ar úairde mo zabhronn ainmuzaó) ré éeo laech
 a lion, 7 ba ríó for mozluair do beir for ainraime la húa nDomnail.
 Itiátt airm batari léo mozbada péthimoiúte 7 raizhoe rhuibzera 7 lann
 cloróme lcthanpsoa cona nuiróimais deblnosaia. Do éolt úa Domnail
 airm umbátari & for forr fhu mé éeora moir, & ba hi mlóón an níir Augur
 fol. 26.a. ienhiarciu do iunhaó moim. Do ionta accoimoiúó for choarrais &
 bhuzeadóis írictain zo melceit arcír iar na moiráoóari muimóe & combtar
 ellna a lóimte. O moctari fuimé iarom, do mat ó Domnail lair íat
 zur an eime, & a ríógh ar élna do sul hi coizeaó ndilealla. Do
 coirlé ar iarom tar Ombaoir, tar Duib, tarfan Slizich, tar hhr noara,
 tar munchnn rlebe zam zur an luígne 7 aipróe co zoiróelbachais.
 Baol óinaó oamzln hupioiu, Cairtiall móri mec zoiróelbaiz do zoiréi óe.
 Do fut zur na zállais feb do moehiatar cairtialla an chució ar élna.
 Ro iuróió ó Domnail a longpore imon óinaó, 7 mo zab az fubairt &
 occ tomairéim for ofr coimíoa an cairteoil. Ba ríimre óróim oim moim
 ar moe éizln don bapoa fo óeóió an baile do éabairt úairóib úia
 Odomnail. Do matrom iarom commur an baile dona hib óiar bo toich,
 7 mo éingelrat techt ina muncliar 7 fo áeozaim zaé tan buó tol óó,
 7 beór aiprom hi combáir cozaró na mzaóreol.

Luro van ó Domnail írictain, 7 ni mo aipr co manac turiaé Mochain.
 Cairtiall eipróe ril in óeúais mic Feoirar. Ro zab occ ionimóe an
 óinaó im. Zebite a muncler for tozail an níir, 7 ni mo rcaiprat laina
 fhu zo magbatar an cairtiall ar eizim 7 co tarporat ar mziállnur mu-
 óaimna an tíre Rirólró mac mic Feoirar con oimuz do máitib an tíre
 imaróln iur 7 mba óeac óomaoimib 7 ionimurais an óinaó. Ro
 rcaóilret iarom a rcliméalta rá Connairne, rá Mhuicler Murcaóa, rá

¹*Province of Oilioll.*—*i.e.*, Connaught. He was the second husband of Queen Meadhbh, and with her ruled over Connaught about the beginning of our era. At an advanced age he was slain by Conall Cearnach at Croghan. She bore him seven sons, known as the seven Maine. Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 199.

²*Slieve Gam.*—A chain of mountains on the boundary of the baronies of Leyny and Tireragh, Co. Sligo, now called the Ox Mountains. This name arises from an

error, as if the Irish name was *Sliabh dhamh*, the mountain of the oxen, whereas it is always written *Sliabhghamh*.

³*Lcyny.*—Now a barony in the southwest of Co. Sligo.

⁴*Costellos.*—The Nangles in Connaught took the surname of MacCostello from an ancestor Osdalb.

⁵*Castlemore.*—In the barony of Costello, Co. Mayo, near Ballaghareen.

⁶*Turlach Mochain.*—Five miles E. of Tuam.

(he took the title from an island in Scotland named Aran) with six hundred soldiers, and the reason why he came was to take service with O'Donnell. The arms they had were bows of carved wood and sharp-pointed arrows, and long broad swords with hafts of horn. O'Donnell went to where they were, and engaged them for the space of three months, and this was in the middle of the aforesaid month of August precisely. Their quarters were provided in the castles and farmhouses. After a time they got rid of their fatigue after the great toil of the sea, and their supplies were got ready. When they were fit after that, O'Donnell took them with him and his army also to the Erne to go into the province of Oilioll.¹ They marched away then across the Drowes, the Dubh, Assaroe, and the upper part of Slieve Gam² to Leyny,³ and from that to the Costellos.⁴ There was a strong castle there called Castlemore⁵ Mic Costello. It fell into the hands of the English, just as the castles of the province had come to them. O'Donnell made his camp round the castle, and proceeded to attack it and threaten the garrison of the castle. He was the better of that in truth, and in the end the warders were obliged to surrender the place to O'Donnell. Afterwards he gave possession of the town to the tribe whose property it was, and they promised to enter into friendship with him and to be at his call whenever he wished, and also to continue always in the war-confederacy of the Irish.

O'Donnell set off after that, and he did not halt until he came to Turlach Mochain.⁶ This is a castle in the territory of Mac Feoris.⁷ He proceeded to besiege that castle. His people set about pulling down the wall, and they did not cease their efforts until they brought the castle to straits, and they put in confinement the successor to the chief of the district, Richard, son of Mac Feoris, and some of the leading men of the district with him and seized the best part of the substance and treasures of the castle. They scattered their marauders over Conmaicne,⁸ Muinter Murchadha,⁹

¹ *Mac Feoris*.—*i.e.*, the son of Pierce. This was the name taken by the Anglo-Norman family of Bermingham when they wished to conform to Irish customs. Campion, in his *H. of Ireland*, p. 11, written in 1571, says they were then 'very wild Irish.' See Spenser's *View of Ireland*, p. 102.

⁸ *Conmaicne*.—The barony of Dunmore, so called from Lughaidh Conmac, ancestor of the O'Rourkes, O'Reillys, and other septs in Leitrim and Cavan.

⁹ *Muinter M.*—The northern half of the barony of Clare, Co. Galway. See O'Flaherty's *Iar Connaught*, p. 308.

fol. 26. b. Leitímeal an Mhacáirne Riabaid, & fa Thúaim da gualann, go mo crioitíhíct an crioich fori gac lech tóib ima crioú 7 ima himnile. Soait fori ceúla con évalaib ionúa. Do maia tpa zoibíhínóir an éoiccro Siu Riríoeapio Biongom lu ceoiníoeáib do ríuag ní Dhomnail an tan rin. Beirt af annpoin mo báoi in Eriu in ionbaró rin vona gallaib epíoe. Cóicc céo vóecc laech amúta évotíoe eitipi tpaighíteach & maieach a lion. Ot éúalaóvíoe ó Doinnail cona ríoeívb do vut tairip riai lu ceonnaétaib, & gac in va vdepréme in gac conair in vdeacháó, mo báoi. ma upóicíhíl 7 ma lícómairi oec ionpíúó vó, & do léige in ac éoipt gacha conairi in iobavó vóíg laií ó Doinnail do éochairi ma élvó.

O mo íreipi úa Doinnail an nírin mo báoi fori iongábaril na nGall reb apoeac mo feo air ba vrbívb laií gup bo móri veivéitin an tlvóíg imma ceipúó 7 ima ceveacháib. ima névái 7 ima minnile, 7 mo buró moa a fáoileéttain 7 a táipirin af a ríoeívb in chochtvúgáó caíé gúiaó & in éopnaí caé laiteheach nía vbul íveíl évata inívecaipavó máí an tan iobtaip veaíte gan veivéitin ionpáib itipi. Airail ann van iobtaip lía vo na gallaib olvot imbátóipoin, & veóí ce in ba lía a ba vúilíg ípéveapit ípu gallaib an ionbaró rin air feabup a naipin air allínairóacht anévovag 7 air iongvaíte aminníl cén go íugrat gaoivóil air eolup an aipmimbíípa ílí tain in gairi úair. Váta ní Doinnail ríanaievíoe cona ríoehaib 7 con a ceveacháib ílí mivómvóón an tlví laóí co munclimv ívebe gan. Vátaip vin na gall oec vianavenaí na conairi ma vóócum aiváil af vóime mo íévopac ó baile an Mhóevag ío thúavó. Ro eitipvóelíg úa Doinnail vóipin maieac fori a ceimv do íavíó vúípa íoípa, & vóia momíopvtaó itipi air na íagvbaip gíollanpavó na afí vóipin nó vóioiváoin vóia ríoeíoin imbaogál. Rámaiecc ó Doinnail gan naé ípíuóéopvian tairi na tpi vóioicíteáib, vóioicíte chuntemáoile, vóiochat baile lípa vóia, & vóioicíte Sívíg co íuacht con

¹ *M. Riabach*.—It lies between Knockdoe and Lough Corrib.

² *T. da ghualann*.—i.e., the tumulus of the two shoulders, so called from the shape of the sepulchral mound near the town. Joyce, *Irish Names*, i. 234. This is a cathedral town in the N.W. of Co. Galway.

³ *Monster*.—He took part in the slaughter of Smerwick, A.D. 1580, where 700 Italians

were butchered in cold blood by Lord Grey after their lives had been guaranteed to them. He was recalled to England in consequence of his cruelties in Connaught. See p. liv., antea. After the death of Bagnal at the battle of the Yellow Ford he was appointed Marshal of Ireland, but he died on his arrival in Dublin from England. *Miscellany of the Celtic Society*, p. 228.

over the border of Machaire Riabach,¹ and Tuam da ghualann,² until they wasted the territory on every side of them of its herds and flocks. They returned with much booty. The Governor of the province, Sir Richard Bingham, happened to be in the neighbourhood of O'Donnell's army at that time. He was the greatest monster³ of all the English that were then in Ireland. He had up to fifteen hundred men with arms and armour, horse and foot, with him. When he heard that O'Donnell was passing westwards into Connaught with his troops and everything he had done on every road he had gone, he prepared to meet him in order to attack him, and he placed his troops in all the short cuts of every road by which he thought O'Donnell would come towards him.

When O'Donnell learned that, he avoided the English as well as he could, for he was sure that the anxiety of the army for their herds and prey, their goods and cattle, was great, and his expectations and reliance on his army to sustain the fight and to hold the field of battle was greater before they got possession of their enemies' property than when they were careless without having any anxiety at all. Besides, there were more of the English than of his men, and even if they were not more numerous, it was difficult then to oppose the English on account of the superiority of their arms and the outlandishness of their armour and the strangeness of their weapons, though the Irish attained a knowledge of the use of arms soon after. As for O'Donnell, he came with his army and spoils after the noon of the third day to the upper part of Slieve Gam. A body of the English was marching along the road towards him as fast as they could northwards from Ballymote. O'Donnell detached a body of horse against them to skirmish with them and to impede them, so that they might not leave the servants or the unarmed or the defenceless portion of his force in danger. O'Donnell went without being attacked across the three bridges, the bridge of Collooney,⁴ the bridge of Ballysadare,⁵ and the bridge of Sligo, and he came with his army and plunder to the neighbour-

⁴ *Collooney*. — The castle stood on the south side of the river Owenmore, close to where it receives a stream from Lough Dargan. It was built by Murrough Mac Donough in 1408. *Annals F. M.*, iv. 797.

⁵ *Ballysadare*. — A monastery was erected here by St. Fechin in the 7th century. Later it belonged to the Canons Regular of St. Augustine. See O'Rourke, *History of Ballysadare*, p. 1; Dublin, n.d.

a րժոց 7 con a քրեախաւ մ յօմբօղիսաւ շլնոճ տալլամ. Խոմէսքա an չօւնկնոցա Տեր Կրօնիտ Ծօնջօմ օ նա տարած շքեւմ քօր րժոց սի Օհօմնաւլ տար քից քօր a քօւլլուիտ շք an Տլիցեաճ. Ճաբարտ Լոնջքօրտ քրմ մայրէկի սմաւ քա Բէր տօ ճալլաւ քարկն քր նա ռաօնիլեալիւն, 7 յօ Բաօլ օցա քքրսոճօ յօնքար ոօ քօրԲեթօ an քարթիալլ քօր մայրէկի սի Օհօմնօւլլ. Բօ քօրօ մօքքօ սա Օհմնաւլ քրմ մաճան քր a Բաթաճ Բարօն մԲիջ քօր քօճաւն անա ստալլա տօ Բքիւճ քրքրմկա քօրքրնա ճալլաւն 7 քօրք քօճ՛ an տմնարօ 7 նա ոճօճ Բաթար սաճ քրմ քարթիալլ.

fol. 27. a. Օ յառճատար քօ հիւեալԲօքրտ նա հաԲօնն աճ քիաճ նա ճալլ քան քան քիքնօն an Բաւե. Բօ Բաօլ օճեաճ սալլաճ յօմտօլեանաճ քրքրած Կրօնիտ Ծօնջամ an տարքրմ, ք Բա մաճ քիքարտ օճ քրքօճ քարթրմ Մայրտն տօ ճարթի տօ. Աք՛ Բա տօքրեաճ տօքքօմա Լար an չօւնկնօքրմ, Բա հէ յոնտ աճա 7 յօքքալե Բաօլ Լա ճալլաւն քօքքրօ Օլնեճքաճճ. Ոօ Բիօճ օճ քարթրեաճաւն 7 օճ ԲաքքԲաթաթաւն քօր Աօճ Միհաքրտօքրմ տօ ճքրք 7 քօր ճաճ ռաօն քր a քքլուեճօ սոնն ոճօ Ալլաճ ոօ քլն Լաիւե տօ ճաօրճեալաւն քլլեւճ քրմ մարքուքքիքճ քարքրեճ. Ոօ քօրքքօճառճարքրտօճ տօճքրմ անաիւաճ տօն տաօճ քրալլ տօն սԲանն ճան քքրաԲալքր. Ճքիքր a քաճ, 7 ճաԲարտ an տօքքօմա քր քլնա. Օճ քիաճ մայրէկի սի Օհմնալլ քաքրքն տա քարքքր, տօ քաքքաճճ քրքր սմաւ քր տօլն քօնքառճատար. Ելճալքրտօ մ a Լեանման 7 ոքր տարթէլտօքր. Տօարտ քօր քլնաճ. Աճ քրաճաճ մայրէկի սի Օհմնալլ a քքեա տօն տրժոց քէԲ տօ ճլնտա քօ մԲօքքրքաճ ք օիւմար, 7 ճքրաճ Լա Լիւար an քրքա աքրալաճարտարքր. Լար քքլօքրքեճճ նա քքեւ տաճ Օհմնալլ, Բաօլ օցա քքրսոճօ 7 քքքրտօճքրմ յօնքար ոճօ քօրԲեթօ նա ճօլլ ք քօ Բէթաճ միւմ յօմքա. Աքլճ քրքքօճքք Լար քօ տօքրօ. Օճ յօլճա ճիւքքա an քքօ մարքաճ յօ Բաճ տօաճ տա րժոց ճօ տքրն քլեճաւն քրաքքիքքեաճ օն մայր քքքնա քօնա տքրեալաւն տօքքարքքե .i. քրօճԲաճա քքրօննկքքաքա քօնա քարքքեճտօլեալաւն քրքքլիօնտա, քր ոքր մաԲատար անալեքարքք տարօնն տօքքարքքեճ քքա an տան քրմ աճճ մաճ Բլճ. Լօտար քր ճօ յաճքաճատար Լօքք մարք Բօ հիւմնլլ Լեճ an քքեալճ տօ հքրքրօքքաճ. Բա մօ սիւ օլտար ոքրե քլմննօ օն տճլիցեաճ. Լա քքօճան յօ քօրօ օ Օհմնալլ քրալլ տա մարքրլօջ քօր քանքար նա ռքալլ տա մԲրեճքաճ ճիւքքա ճքր an քրքրմ մԲալ տա քքաօնքրալքր, 7 աքրնօճ տօճ ճան տօճար քքր նա ճալլաւն, 7 նա Բաճ սճնար Լեճ էլիքլեճ քլմքքր, աճճ անԲեւէճ օցա տքրաքքն ճօ քօլլ Բիքք մ քքօհալճ Ալալե քօնքր տքրալեճատար ճան

¹ *Glendallan*. — Now Glencar, a valley situated partly in Co. Sligo, partly in Co. Leitrim, six miles to the north of the town of Sligo.

hood of Glendallan.¹ As for the Governor Sir Richard Bingham, as he did not meet O'Donnell's army, he went in pursuit of it to the Sligeach. He made his encampment in the monastery, as it was the custom of the English to dwell in the holy churches, and he was considering how he might take the castle from O'Donnell's people. However, O'Donnell on the morning of the following day sent a small party on fine fleet horses to bring intelligence about the English and to get news of the castle and of the soldiers that he had left in the castle.

When they came to the bank of the river they saw the English up and down through the town. There was a vainglorious, obstinate youth with Richard Bingham at that time, his sister's son, whose name was Captain Martin. He was the commander of a troop with the Governor. He was a leader in battle and conflict with the English of the province of O'neccmacht. He was crying out and blustering against Hugh Maguire continually and against every one of the Irish whose name, fame, or repute for skill, especially in the matter of skill in horsemanship, he had heard of. He could not endure seeing his enemies on the other side of the river and not attacking them. He took horse, and his troop too took horse. When O'Donnell's people saw them coming they went away as fast as they could. These went after them and they did not overtake them. They turned back. O'Donnell's people told the fact to the army how they had been pursued angrily and haughtily, and that it was owing to the fleetness of their horses they escaped. When O'Donnell heard the story he set to reflect and forecast how he might attack the English and give them a lesson. This is what he resolved on in the end. A hundred horsemen were chosen by him, the best in his army, with three hundred foot of the same kind, with their implements for shooting, that is, elastic bows and well filled quivers of arrows, for only a few of them were well acquainted with implements of shooting then. They went back until they came to the spot where it was safe for them to place the ambuscade, more than a mile from Sligo. Thereupon O'Donnell sent on some of his horse towards the English to entice them to where he was if they could, and he commanded them not to fight with the English, and told them that it would be no disgrace to them to fly, but to keep drawing them

aihuḡad̄ oóib̄ ḡur an ruidiuḡad̄ rreic̄helḡe mo ráihuḡad̄ for acciuno.
 Lotarí ar na hóice feib̄ mo forc̄onḡrad̄ forp̄ra, 7 vo ḡur̄f̄e am̄ail conaiceēt̄.
 ó Doim̄nail. Ar inpeēt̄am ma conp̄anḡarar up na hab̄a an tan mo leablaing
 cair̄tin Maḡit̄in for a eoch íf̄i na f̄p̄aiceḡim (am̄ail ar t̄line no éinḡfead̄
 cu inoail a f̄iaḡad̄ f̄r̄oal̄ta), 7 mo leablainḡf̄e bur̄om̄ móir̄ vo maḡeḡl̄oḡ
 na nḡall ar ehl̄na. Tiaḡar̄te íar̄om̄ for am̄m̄ur na nóce at conneat̄or̄i
 am̄ail ar úeim̄ ionuceḡar̄t̄ oial̄aile. Ót̄ ehiac̄ muin̄tel̄i úi Ohoim̄nail
 iat̄p̄om̄ oia r̄aḡiḡó feib̄ ba m̄f̄in̄maḡe leó mo f̄aḡar̄ib̄f̄e an maḡf̄in̄ im̄b̄áḡar̄,
 7 vo mel̄ceḡeḡe j̄eim̄ib̄ for a néim̄ 7 ḡeb̄ite c̄eḡur̄ occ rocaḡeḡhl̄n̄ad̄
 ar̄p̄am̄im̄if̄in̄o inḡionḡob̄ar̄ib̄ a nḡm̄eó nḡm̄oḡf̄im̄ar̄i, 7 an eachḡad̄
 nuḡm̄all nanb̄r̄ar̄ó oia f̄p̄oḡad̄ éonḡm̄ail in ionḡeoc̄ar̄ib̄ na nall̄im̄ar̄a
 & oia m̄br̄eḡad̄ar̄ianḡ ḡor̄ an bail im̄būi ó Doim̄nail. Nir̄ bó éian
 oona hócear̄ib̄ r̄am̄lar̄ó an tan moḡ eic̄cl̄n̄ oóib̄ fo úeóró beir̄h̄ occ
 r̄p̄oḡad̄ & occ echloḡeḡeḡad̄ an eoch an doin̄f̄eḡ 7 an doin̄fab̄ail la luar̄ḡm̄be
 na heḡim̄a ionuceḡar̄t̄ na ḡail ma nroḡhar̄ó oia t̄ar̄aḡeēt̄am̄. ḡab̄ar̄te
 muin̄tel̄i úi Ohoim̄nail aḡ oiam̄im̄um̄ 7 aḡ oim̄ar̄ḡn̄am̄ na conaḡe feib̄ ar
 oioḡra conp̄anḡarar. Vo cuḡf̄eḡar̄ t̄f̄im̄f̄ó for̄ óf̄n̄ oib̄ir̄oḡe oia am̄úeoim̄,
 conar̄ bo t̄úal̄ainḡ a doḡ com̄ta vo f̄p̄er̄tal̄ la hion̄moille a eich, conur̄ tar̄o
 if̄p̄oill & hi m̄baḡoḡhal occa bioḡbaḡar̄ib̄ ḡur̄i uó h̄ic̄cl̄n̄ oó tar̄i éir̄iḡeḡad̄
 a éiḡer̄ma tochar̄i f̄p̄ur̄ na ḡall̄ar̄ib̄, ó moḡ f̄r̄oal̄ta laḡ am̄ar̄ib̄ad̄ vo m̄aḡiḡin.
 Fel̄im̄ Riab̄ad̄ mac Daueo ainm̄ an tí h̄im̄. Ionp̄ar̄ir̄oḡe a aḡhar̄ó for̄i
 fol. 28. a. chair̄tin Maḡit̄in, ar̄i ar̄e ba n̄f̄om̄i oó oona h̄ib̄ mo báḡar̄i ma t̄t̄iḡim̄óḡeḡeēt̄,
 & ar̄é ba toḡreac̄h̄ moim̄ḡhona vo m̄ar̄eḡl̄oḡ na nḡall 7 é hi j̄eim̄eḡur̄ na
 conaḡe. Ro baḡoí roḡha áit̄ am̄m̄ur̄ laḡ an f̄r̄élim̄ j̄eim̄ar̄ite oia oioḡb̄raḡeḡad̄
 tan ba haḡlaic. Vo maḡt̄ a m̄éir̄ im̄ r̄uam̄in̄, 7 mo eḡoic̄eḡr̄ar̄i ḡo cal̄ma an
 eḡm̄áoir̄iḡ, & tar̄il̄aic̄ up̄eoir̄i oon roḡa ḡo f̄er̄om̄n̄l̄eḡim̄ar̄i for̄i am̄m̄ur̄ Chair̄tin
 Maḡit̄in, conur̄ tar̄ila tar̄i im̄eal̄boḡo an h̄it̄ar̄iḡ all̄im̄ar̄a in oer̄ie a
 oḡr̄aill̄e ḡad̄ noḡreac̄ ḡur̄i mo t̄reḡḡoḡar̄ar̄i a éḡoḡe ina ehl̄iáḡ feib̄
 aḡim̄l̄l̄f̄eḡor̄i a m̄iḡm̄oim̄a, ar̄i ba hanḡar̄ó éḡeḡoḡar̄i an tí mo ḡon̄ad̄ ann, 7
 ba haḡbol a in̄oḡeḡar̄ in na ḡaḡoḡeal̄ar̄ib̄ & báḡar̄iḡol̄ar̄a a am̄b̄ir̄f̄eḡa in ḡach
 m̄aḡiḡin im̄bioḡ im̄ c̄oḡiḡeḡad̄ h̄ic̄coḡeḡim̄oḡe ocha luim̄neac̄ ḡo Oḡoḡb̄h̄aoḡir̄

¹ *MacDevitt.*—This was Phelim Reagh, the head of the MacDevitts of Inishowen, a branch of the O'Dohertys. He was afterwards subjected to a mock trial in

Derry, and executed, the charge against him being that he had taken part in the rising of Sir Cahir O'Doherty. *Flight of the Earls*, p. 194.

on little by little one after the other till they brought them without their perceiving it to the place where the ambuscade was arranged for them. The soldiers went away as was commanded them, and they did just as O'Donnell asked them to do. As soon as they had come to the bank of the river, then Captain Martin jumped on his horse on seeing them (as quick as a hound would go in pursuit of its favourite game), and a large body of the cavalry of the English jumped on them also. They went after that towards the soldiers whom they had seen as fast as they could go together. When O'Donnell's people saw them coming as they desired, they left the place where they were and set off on their horses, proceeding at first to hold quietly the bridlbits in the mouths of the swift-galoping horses and of the fleet, restless steeds to hold them back, keeping them very near the foreigners, and by decoying them to bring them to the place where O'Donnell was. The youths were not long so when it was necessary for them at last to spur and whip the horses at once and together, owing to the great speed the English made galloping in pursuit of them. O'Donnell's people proceeded to ride quickly and hasten along the road as fast as they could. They left behind one of them unwillingly, for he was not able to keep up with his company owing to the slowness of his horse, so that he went slowly and was in danger from his enemies. Hence it was necessary for him, against the commands of his lord, to fight against the English, since he was sure he would be killed on the spot. Felim Reagh Mac Devitt was his name. He turned his face to Captain Martin, for he was the next to him of the party in hot pursuit, and he was the captain in battle of the horse of the English, and he was leading the way. The aforesaid Felim had a sharp, piercing spear² to shoot when he wished. He put his finger to the string and he drew the javelin boldly, and the shot of the dart struck Captain Martin with such force that it passed through the border of the foreign armour at the hollow of the armpit straight and it pierced his heart in his breast as his misdeeds deserved, for he who was wounded there was a merciless rogue, and his hatred of the Irish was very great, and his evil deeds

² *Spear*.—The *fogadh*, called also *ga* or *gae*, was rather for hurling and for thrust-

ing. See O'Curry's *Manners*, &c., i. ccccxli Here it means an arrow.

many, wherever he had been throughout the whole province from Limerick to the Drowes, on account of his relative. Thereupon the English retreated after the wounding of their defeated hero and leader, and they carried him, weak in the throes of death, till they came to the town. He died that night. When going to the other world and leaving this at that time he bore with him many a groan and curse of the poor and distressed whom he oppressed on account of their property. When O'Donnell knew that the English had turned back, he was filled with very great wrath against the soldiers, as he did not get the wish of his mind and the desire of his soul regarding the barbarians as he planned at first. A party of the assailants came into the presence of their prince (though it was very hard for them on account of his great anger), and told how it had happened to them, and they all testified on behalf of the soldier who had wounded Captain Martin that there was nothing to save him if he did not make that shot except the power of the Lord. They quieted O'Donnell's anger, and his mind was appeased thereby, and he was told on the following day that the captain had died, as we have said. His anger was less on that account, though his mind was not at ease immediately because the English escaped as they had done and his stratagem and ambuscade had effected nothing but the killing of that one man, as we said before. As for the Governor, after the death of his relative and nephew he was filled with wrath and anger, and he ordered his army to go to the monastery and pull down and destroy the rood-screen¹ and the cells of the servants of God, and to bring him enough of the firmly bound, well jointed boards and of the strong, smooth-hewn beams to make a machine² for pulling down walls. They brought him afterwards what he demanded. Many carpenters and numerous workmen were brought. They made closely jointed, very firm sheds for war of these beams and elm planks, and they were covered with boards nailed straight-edged, fitted firmly for the soldiers to fight from. Skins of cows and of oxen were put outside. Straight-moving wheels of strong oak were placed under them for their removal to the fortress.

When these cleverly devised strange implements were ready they were filled with soldiers and warriors and brave mercenaries of the English. They were brought there by strange motion in the darkness at the

co mó fuidéigíte tuil i tuil fhu huilinn an chairteoil. Gabait for tógáil an mír ísittam. Fíó iac lucht an chairteoil dan, níri bó mírib & míri bó tim mo gabraic for fhearéal alra na toglá, úairi mo batari raonir írim tóinad ma upfoichill 7 gabait occ bloúad an balla ró anléicómarí oía nooib-juccad i tpoiraig. Tíághait alaitégaile fori taiblib an tóinad, 7 vo leccle forpna anuar ile vo éairigib élnhgariba cobraide & vo tpoimélochais tuimge fol.29. a. tuil ammarí gupí bot mionbairghe móribloúta zach ní fupri telgimadair go talimam. Tíághait ar oile úioib fori penergub 7 fori lepaib an chairtéoil, 7 gabait occ tuibruccad an uballméal luaidé 7 atpamnédoi telntríde forpna, gupí mo forpugit an fianlaé bátari ír na cumóraigib elarraig von cloicéirírim, & só gáé cenél tuibruicéi ar chlna vo coraéoní tóib, cona bai bá oía nuiméimálad itiri. Mí forpimóelangtari na gail accpéchétnuigad mí ba mo aih ó na mo fléragé ní von tóinad aét curit a ceaiteláéa úioib, 7 rághbait a tciúe tpoada & a telgúuiré togláta mír 7 roait ma fpuéling ité beóghonta, & móbtari buioig vo bpeit an anmonn leo. Ba tocoimacht móri 7 ba rnoim adbal lair an airig Rirólríó Diongam na caomnáceairi a anéporde & a mhuie tumbíre forpnan ceairtiáll & forpna híb batari mo, & ó na mo éumiamg roair forpna air írim conairi ituróchaó tari coimhíliab na Sléghra 7 tari Mag ndoi mic Allguba go januice Roircommam. Ro airir amhríde ar bayé a tóinair, & níri bo plán lair a mílnma íari maibad á bpaéari uadá 7 íari mhoréad an tíme éairir. Soairé dan ó Domínall íari mbúairé & telit tarpan Samáoní rairtuaró 7 leiceló uadá na halbanairg batari fori aihraime occa 7 mo eimhíreairi a tpuairpúela fpuí.

Níri bó fada an íoruaríde oía Ohoimnall go tcamice vo múiri gupí an Slégaé & mo bhuir cairtíall Sléigíge cona fariceaib éloé fori cloicé ve ar úaiman na ngall oía gabait gan mátozáó tóipóm. Ro bhuiread beóir lair tari chairteoil vécc vo éairtiállais conacht 7 vo bhíre gail 7 airtíme o naé áon mob oíman lair vo fpuébaire fpuir nó oía aihíairi itiri. Vo thaoe ma fpuéling tari ran Eime buó éúairé, & mo farairgíreairi occ leigead árcíri go

¹ *Alive*—At the approach of the English Burke went out to meet them, and fought bravely in front of the castle. Their superior numbers forced him to retire. He tied a rope to a huge beam and by letting it fall from time to time on the assailants he killed 600 of them. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 176.

² *Corrslabh*.—See p. ci. antea. Its sole connection with the Seghais or Boyle river is that it is on the north-west of Lough Ce, into the southern part of which this river falls.

³ *Plain of Aoi*.—Called also Machaire Connacht. See p. xxv., antea.

beginning of the night, until they were placed face to face at the angle of the castle. They then proceeded to pull down the castle. As for the people who were in the castle, it was not in a slow or timorous manner that they set to receive the assailants, for there were masons in the castle well prepared, and they set to pull down the wall opposite them to hurl it down on them at first. Their brave men went on the battlements of the castle and they threw down on them from above many of the sharp solid rocks and heavy massive stones rapidly, so that everything which they met with to the ground was shattered and destroyed. Others of them went to the windows and loopholes of the castle and proceeded to shoot their leaden bullets and cast hand-grenades of fire on them, and they crushed the soldiers in the wooden sheds by the dropping of the stones and by every kind of shot also, which were discharged against them, so that they did not succeed at all in their attack. The English did not wait to be wounded further, as they could do nothing to the castle; they threw away their defences and left their houses for fighting and their erections for breaking down walls, and they went back severely wounded, and they were glad to get away alive.¹ It was a great disappointment and a mighty sorrow to the Governor, Sir Richard Bingham, that he could not vent his cruelty and wrath on the castle and on the party who were in it; and as he could not, he went back by the same road he had come, over Corrsliabh² of the Seghais, and across the plain of Aoi,³ son of Allghubha, till he came to Roscommon. He stopped there, for it was his fortified dwelling; but his mind was not at ease after the death of his relative and the preying of the territory in spite of him. O'Donnell went away after his victory and proceeded across the Saimer north-eastwards, and he sent away the Scots who were in his service and gave them their pay.

O'Donnell did not delay long till he came back to Sligo, and he pulled down the castle of Sligo, so that he did not leave a stone of it on a stone, for fear the English might take it without his knowledge. Thirteen more of the castles of Connaught were pulled down by him, and he took hostages and pledges from whosoever he feared would oppose him or be at all dissatisfied. He went back across the Erne northwards, and he went to take rest until the month of December. Meantime

fol. 29. b. mí déceμβepi. Βαταρι τρια υίαιαι 7 αιγίξ κοιγιά ολνέccμαc occa monnαιβαó & oγa τοποιν αι α ττίρι λαγ να ζαλλαιβ cén mochá ιμβαοι ι μμυηίηι 7 ηι ccαιατμαó υί Όμοιναίλ υιοβ. Ουρ φαγζατταρι φοχαυόε υία φαοιελανοαιβ & υία ηθαοιελανοαιβ το φαγζιό υί Όμοιναίλ το éccαóινε αν ιμυιό 7 α ηίccυαλαηζ ηηη. Οειέβηι όη αι βα ηέ α πογε coάυόε 7 αν υορ υοιη 7 αριααη ιμύλζλα αι ζααη ηανβυαιη. Ηο éongβαιβ ταν ανύαιηε & αναιηζ μα ελαοιητέέc 7 μα ccοιέαιηυρ βυό υέιη. Οο βηηίό βεόρ coιητοιηό ηένόη α τήηε φοι α βηυζαόαιβ 7 φοι α éοαητταιβ υια ηάορ υίηηηη υήιόίλ υία ηαιηεαβααηαιβ 7 υία ηαορ ανηραηη eneηε. Αν ταν τρια το βειηεαό μα ττίρι βυό υέιη ηατ ηο φοιέongμαó φοι α ηύηηηη ηι ccοιταηηοε congηαιη eηυό & cέέηηα cεηα 7 αιβα το όáiλ υόίβ αι υάηζ ιηατοαηα 7 αιττεηε α ττίηε το ηυόηι. Ουρ ηαιηec υηη Τεαβοιτ α βήηε ηαιc Ηάτερ éioταηζ ηηc Σεααι ηηc Οίηηεηαι ηccυηηα éαιζ το αεαóινε α ανηοηιαιηη ηη ηύα ηΌμοιναίλ 7 αιηοιηε φαοιέλαηηα ζηνηοάροη.

Βα ηηοζ λαηιοη αν eccαοιηε 7 αν ιοιέοραοιτ, & ηο τηηεαίλ ζο τταυαηεcηέό οη οαοηηε 7 αν υοαηηαιττε ιμβαταη υιαμαό e βυό φοηαιη, 7 ζο ταιηβηαιό μα ηαάηηόα ηαυ το ηυόηι. Λά ηυόαιη ηο φοιέongαιη φοηηα ανηαιβ 7 φοι α όίη τύαιηατοίλ 7 φοι όίη υιοηίηαιη α eηηαηe coηαιηccηηηη λαγ να ηύαιηηιβ ηεηηεηηαηαι ηηη ccοιηeηηα υιανηαό ηη αηαιό α ηαιηατ. Οο ζηηαιc ηαιηίαιό ηεβ ηο ηηαιηηοηη φοηηο. Τιαζαιτ λαγ να ηύαιηηιβ co coηεαό ηηεαύβα, 7 ζάβαητ φοι ιονόηαιό 7 οηζαιη να ηγαιί 7 ζαé αοιη το ηαια ηι ccοτταé 7 ηι ccαιατμαó ηηυί. Ο ηέυοη φοαηίαιηε υόιβ φοι αν αραιηηηηη ζο ηέυοη ζαιηίηυό.

Ιοιέυα υί Όμοιναίλ ίαιη λéιηcηη α ηέίηι υόηαιόε ηέτολ ηοα ηεβ αηηυβηοηαιη, το ιοηαιηec α ηέogηα ι mí decembηηι το ηηηηαιό, & το υεααηαό ηccοιηεό ηηεαύβα, & βα ηι coηαιη το λυό ταιηηαιη Slιγίζ ταιη ηηαιζ ηεο-θηυηε 7 ηηηe τήηη ηηηαιέηαιό ηηηύαιόε ταιη ηηυαιό ηαóeη 7 ζο τήη ηαιηαιζααηα

¹ *Meadhbh*.—She was the wife of Conor MacNessa, king of Ulster. She left him and returned to her father, Eochaid Feidhleach, to Tara. By him she was made an independent Queen of Connaught. A war sprang up in consequence between Conor and Meadhbh. Conor was at length slain. After the death of her second husband, Oilioll, at the hands of Conall Cearnach,

she withdrew from Croghan to Inis Clothrann, in Lough Ree. There Furbaidhe, a son of Conor by another marriage, lay in wait for her and slew her with a sling-stone, to avenge his father's death. See O'Curry's *Manners*, &c., ii. 290, and *Ogygia*, p. 269.

² *Travohelly*.—The strand near Ballysadare, Co. Sligo, where Eochaidh, the Firbolg king, was slain in his flight from

there were nobles and chiefs of the province of Olneccmacht in banishment and exiled from their territory by the English, besides those who were in amity and friendship with O'Donnell. Many of the nobles and of the common people came to O'Donnell to complain to him of their hardships and great sufferings. With reason, since he was their pillar of support, their bush of shelter, and their shield of protection for all those that were weak. Moreover, he kept their nobles and chiefs in his company and society. Besides, he gave entertainment throughout his territory in his farmhouses and castles to the wretched poor people, to the houseless, and to the weak and feeble. At the time that he received them into his territory he ordered his people generally to distribute aid in herds and flocks, young cattle and corn to them, with a view to their dwelling in and inhabiting their lands once more. Then Theobald Burke, son of Walter Ciotach, son of John, son of Oliver, like the others, came to Hugh O'Donnell to complain of his great hardships, and certain nobles besides him.

Their complaints and accusations were painful to him, and he promised to set them free from the bondage and slavery in which they were if he could, and to restore them to their patrimony again. Wherefore he ordered his soldiers and mercenaries and the faithful people of his territory to march rapidly with the nobles of whom we have already spoken into the territory against their enemies. They did as he ordered them. They went with the nobles to the province of Meadhbh,¹ and set to prey and plunder the English and every one who was in amity and friendship with them. They were at this business from the middle of harvest to the middle of winter.

As for O'Donnell, after resting from fatigue for a long time, as we have said, he brought his forces together in the month of December exactly, and came into the province of Meadhbh, and the road he went by was across the Sligeach and Trawohelly,² and through Hy Fiachrach³ of the Moy,

Moytura. The cairn under which he was interred is one of the *Mirabilia Hiberniæ*. See *Ogygia*, p. 289.

¹ *Hy Fiachrach of the Moy*.—Now the barony of Tireragh, Co. Sligo. It lay along the eastern bank of the river Moy. It was so called to distinguish it from Hy Fiach-

rach Aidhne, which was coterminous with the diocese of Kilmacduagh. MacFirbis's *Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, edited by O'Donovan for the Irish Archaeological Society in 1857, gives an exhaustive account of this district and its inhabitants in former times.

mic Fiaémach mic Eachóac Muighléóin. Ba sean ceimel mo aitheib í an
fol. 30. a. ionbairt riu & na túacha diai bo toich ó éin níáir. Dúicéis ríonóac
an chléneoil mo tuir naitheib an tairiu. Ba do Fiancaib a mbanaó cheneóil,
7 a cmocharib Saxan do deochatoir an tó riu, & ba tria níre na
Saxan mo cheoábrat an chnoch. Ar a doir riu nri uó lughha moireair
na ngeoirdeal lair na gallaib olteáitte. Mac Uiliam Dúic ba hannaím
oimlehair do éigléina na tíre & ni mo zairé riu mé íar fproitamléacó forra
do na gallaib. Ro batari san iomaé muirde & muighléóinac óioibríón, 7
nirpatai cora riu arioile imón anmuim ar dia diai la zae áon oioib ba do
buóóein ba tó cínour & éigléinur an tíre. Do nanzatairíre ó biug co
móir fo zairim uí Doimnaill íar ttocht do von tír 7 ba dúcais óioib eia no
éilreair úair mo lairte cenél ceonail fo éioir oóib ó chéin níáir, & ni mo
toibzúir riu me la zrian & zeraitecē gall 7 la haroble aníre & accumacht.
Aite na maiche batari írrethbhré riu ar oile im on éigléinur Uiliam
Dúic o Sputhair arimrírre uile, Dáib ó an firaich, Ríreíre mac
ólmán an chorraim, Oileuair mac Seadan mic Oileuair, Emann mac
Tomair an máchaire ó Congae, Teaboite na long mac Ríreíre an íarainn,
Seadan mac Riocair mic Seadan an tshmann, & Teaboite mac Uateir
chiotais mic Seadan mic Oileuair.

Doir fanzatai riu éoinóil cēna hi cuma éais do raizé uí Doimnaill
toirz & bairim an tíre, Mac Zoirrebaiz, Sean tub, mac Siuram .i.
Emann an machaire, & Mac Doimnaill galloglach. .i. Maicur mac an
Abbaó, & Mac Muir .i. Emann, & O Maille .i. Eoghan. Ba híar na

¹ *T. of Anhalgadh.*—Now Tirawley, a barony in the Co. Mayo. It lies along the western bank of the Moy. *Ibid.*, p. 397.

² *Fiahrach.*—The name Fiachra is known on the Continent as that of a saint whose hermitage was near Meaux. The French word *fiacre* is said to have been given to hackney carriages employed in taking pilgrims from Paris there. See Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, August 30th.

³ *Eochaíd Muighmeadhóin.*—He was ardrigh from A.D. 358 to 365. His wife was the famous Mongfinn; they had four sons: Brian, Fiachra, Fergus, and Oilíoll. By his second marriage with Carthan Cas Dubh, daughter of the Welsh King, he had

Niall of the Nine Hostages so famous in Irish history. See Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 303.

⁴ *Shrule.*—A village ten miles W. of Tuam
⁵ *D. an fraoch.*—*i.e.*, of the heath. now a townland in the parish of Crossboyne, barony of Clannorris, Co. Mayo.

⁶ *D. an chorraim.*—*i.e.*, The Devil of the reaping-hook, usually called the Devil's Hook. He was a son-in-law of Grace O'Malley. His descent is given in *The Annals of Lough Ce*, ii. 488.

⁷ *Cong.*—A village in Co. Galway, between Lough Mask and Lough Corrib. There are here still the ruins of a monastery built in the seventh century by St. Fechin.

over the Moy itself to the territory of Amhalgadh,¹ son of Fiachrach,² son of Eochaidh Muighmeadhoin.³ The tribe who inhabited it then was different from the tribes whose property it was from remote time. Burke was the name of the family inhabiting it then. The tribe was descended from the French, and they had come from the English territory to that country, and it was by the power of the English they had first got possession of the territory; yet they were hated by the English no less than the Irish were. Mac William Burke was the chief title of the lord of the territory, and he was not called so for some time as they were overpowered by the English. They had also many chiefs and princes, and they did not agree among themselves about the title, for each one thought that to himself belonged the headship and lordship of the territory. They came, both small and great, at the call of O'Donnell when he came to the territory, and it was the duty of all to come, for the Cinel Conaill had given it over to them under tribute long before, and it was not levied for a time owing to the cruelty and severity of the English and the greatness of their strength and power. The nobles who were in contention with each other for the chieftancy were William Burke of Shrule,⁴ the senior of them all; David an fraoch;⁵ Richard, son of Deman an chorrain;⁶ Oliver, son of John, son of Oliver; Edmund, son of Thomas an machaire, from Cong;⁷ Theobald na long, son of Richard an iarainn; John, son of Richard, son of Shane an termainn;⁸ and Theobald, son of Walter Ciotach, son of John, son of Oliver.

There came to that same meeting, like the rest, to O'Donnell, the chiefs and barons of the country, MacCostello (Shane Dubh), MacJordan,⁹ *i.e.*, Edmund an machaire, and MacDonnell the gallowglass,¹⁰ *i.e.*, Marcus, son of the Abbot, and MacMaurice, *i.e.* Edmund, and O'Malley,¹¹ *i.e.*, Owen.

⁸ *Termainn*.—*i.e.*, the glebeland of St. Mochua of Balla, Co. Mayo. There are still remains of the old church and of a round tower here. See Colgan's *Acta S.S.*, p. 789, and Petrie's *Ecc. Architecture of Ireland*, p. 452.

⁹ *Jordan*.—The De Exeters of Gallen, Co. Mayo, took the name of Mac Jordan from Jordan De Exeter, founder of that family. Campion says that the Jordans, like the Berminghams, were in his time 'very wild Irish.' *H. of Ireland*, p. 11.

¹⁰ *Gallowglass*.—*i.e.*, foreign soldiers. Dymmok describes them as being 'picked men of great and mighty bodies, cruel without compassion. The greatest force in battle consisted in them, choosing rather to die than to yield. Their weapons are a battle-axe or halberd six feet long.' *Treatise of Ireland*, p. 7.

¹¹ *O'Malley*.—They were lords of Umhall, now the Owles, the district around Clew Bay, Co. Mayo. See *Tribes, &c., of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 43.

comairliúróe & íar na ttoḡae no hoirionuítí tígḡina foyi an tíri & i maith
 Eayra eadroe do ḡairtí an tannam ar Mac Uilliam de, & ba he mac
 Teapoit no ḡoiríoh. O mo éḡḡlaimriut na maitherin uile atḡuibhiamari co
 húa nDoimnaill euy an maigín cḡtḡae, do mónaó la húa nDocharḡaigḡ Seadan
 óḡ (reb mo foyéonḡairriomḡ fari) cḡtheoria loigḡ buróne oía fḡoḡhaidḡ oḡuim
 ar oḡuim ni ionḡacmang an Uíra 7 na laóeḡaḡha ima ceuarie. Ocht céo
 .x. oia aihraib & oia oer tuillme & tuairḡarail fḡu enḡ na moḡḡhḡaḡha irin
 ceḡna buróin. O Docharḡaigḡ foyein & ó baóḡill Taós ócc con ḡḡairḡaith
 thíre Conaill allamuiḡ oibḡróe irin cuairḡ tanairi. Na tḡri Mac Smbne
 con a nḡalloeclaidib oia neachḡairrióe. Fḡu Conacht con a tḡoichḡḡḡal
 oon leth amuiḡ oibḡrothe uile. O Doimnaill fḡirín cona aḡreachtib &
 úairḡib ma fḡrethíorḡcaill boḡba foyi oia na maḡha & m lamáó neach oía
 úairḡe no oía aḡmíroḡḡe tocht ma fḡreacḡairie irin maith aḡt an tí no

fol. 30. b.

foyéonḡmaórom do ḡḡairim chucca ar núaḡ. ḡebaró íḡiom occa foyeúoáó
 & meíóceeri fḡuy na maírib batari ma foychairi eḡeo do ḡḡnaoth fḡuy na
 úairḡib imon anmum oḡa mbatari fḡreḡairḡe & coḡnaí. Roḡ tochuir
 chuiḡe barum & toirigḡ an tíre íḡi nuḡo oia aḡheomariḡe chucca ima
 foyeath cia oia húaḡrib no oḡromḡfó hi cḡnour na cḡuche. Mac Doimnaill
 7 Mac Muḡuy & ó Maílle barḡoh atḡḡḡḡaroi ó óḡḡḡhuch ḡuy úo oon
 tḡriothri Uilliam búre mo ba techta tígḡema do ḡḡairim, úairi arḡfóh mo ba
 ḡnaith béḡ oírib oḡroméaó an tḡriothri ar beḡaib an tḡriothri. Ro maḡoh Mac
 ḡoiríohḡaigḡ 7 mac Sḡuirḡam ḡuy uó do Theaboit mac Uateiri chioḡaigḡ mic
 Seadan mic Orluḡarar mo buó oior ḡairim fḡaḡha ar ba fḡiruiḡ fḡḡḡḡuch eiríthe
 illo & mn aḡhaidḡ íḡri 7 icoiḡcḡuch ciambaó uáeáó ciambaó foychairíe oó.

Íar ceḡúó á chioimairle oía Doimnaill ba fari oeró lair fo óeóroth
 cḡnour na cḡuche do thabairḡe do Theapoit mac Uateiri chioḡaigḡ & mo
 foyéonḡairi foyi Mac Teapoit Mac Uilliam do ḡḡairim de. Do mionaó
 fariḡuimḡ ino rin, úairi mo ḡoiríeáó anmum de maḡoh na fḡóḡhírib icoiḡcḡoi,
 ḡe mo batari ar aill oia chḡnól ba fḡriu ar aoi naoiri & ba mo aih
 ḡairiúohḡa. Ar a aóirín aré do óeachtaró ceḡḡuy euyarom foyi atchui 7
 ionnaríbaó ar a thír, & do maḡḡḡḡeḡe oó co tḡioḡmaḡoh ma oḡḡhaidḡ do
 uroḡhri oia cealmḡaḡoh. Aḡaill beóḡ, baoiríe itaib a aoiri & a fḡḡḡamai

¹ *Title*.—See p. xliii., antea, for an account of the ceremony of inauguration. Some further details will be found in Ware's *Antiquities*, p. 65.

After that consultation and election a lord was inaugurated over the district and he was called by the title¹ of Mac William on the rath of Eassacaoidé, and it was the son of Theobald that proclaimed him. When all these nobles had assembled, as we have said, to Hugh O'Donnell in the same place, Shane Oge O'Doherty formed (as he was ordered to do), four lines of troops back to back around the liss, and the chiefs all about. Eighteen hundred of his soldiers and hirelings and mercenaries round the royal rath were the first body; O'Doherty himself and Tadhg Oge O'Boyle with the infantry of Tyrconnell outside them, in the second circle; the three MacSwiny's with their gallowglasses outside them; the men of Connaught with their party outside them all; O'Donnell himself with his chiefs and nobles in a close circle on the summit of the rath, and no one of the nobles or gentlemen was allowed to go into his presence in the rath but whomsoever he commanded to be called to him at the time. He proceeded then to consider and forecast with the chiefs who were with him what to do to the nobles in reference to the title for which they were in contention and dispute. He called to him the barons and chiefs of the territory in their order to ask them which of the nobles he should appoint to the chieftaincy of the district. MacMaurice, MacDonnell, and O'Malley said with one voice that it was right that the senior William Burke should be styled chief, as their custom was to appoint the elder in preference to the younger. MacCostello and MacJordan, said that it was right that Theobald, son of Walter Ciotach, son of Oliver, should be styled chief, for he was strong and vigorous by day and by night at home and abroad, whether he had a few or had many with him.

When they had given their opinion to O'Donnell, he resolved in the end to confer the chieftainship of the territory on Theobald, son of Walter Ciotach, and he ordered the son of Theobald to proclaim him Mac William. That was done to him, for he was called by the name in presence of the forces publicly, though there were others of the tribe older in years and better qualified than he. Yet it was he that had come first to him after his expulsion and banishment from his territory, and he had promised to restore him to his inheritance if he could. Besides, he was in the flower of his age and dexterity in arms to meet the suffering and hardships of the war in

ϕυ ροιμετιν ιμνιό & επτάταλινζ αν εχογαρό ιμβασιοιόν, & οαν ϕυρ ριν βα ρέ αν τί Τεροιτ βα μό αν ιμορεαιρ λαρ να Γαλλαιβ τον εϕλοντασθ ιριν 7 βα λυζαροε νο γεβταιρ Γαοιόιλ αιμιϕυρ νε αβιέ ανουεχεριν.

Ro hepiγabaσh Orluepυρ mac Seaan 7 Emann mac Tomair an machaire & Seaan mac Riocairυ mic Seaan an ελμaman, 7 οο ηϕιεθα ιγλιμιλιρ λα ηύα η'Οοιμναιλλ conουρ ϕυccαιτ co τιμ Conaλλ. Οο βλιε ζέιλλ & αιτιε ele ó αρ αιλλ οona ηύαιρλιβ βατορ οcc eumγεαó αν ειγλιμαιρ ϕυ λαμν αν Τλροιτε ιλι να οηιroneαó ιριν ϕϕλαιτηυρ. Οο εαετ ó Οοιμναιλλ ιάρι ταιν ιλι ετοchaιτιυμν να ηοελαcc οó ιμ βαϕυνηαέτ chille ινέoem, & ηρ να ηυγληβ ιcloμo Μυιϕυρ) ταρ Μύαρό ύα η'Αμιαλζαρό co τιμ Φιαχηααα, & ηο οηιρονιρταίρι ειγλιμα ρορ αν είρι ριν. Βα νε οο ζηοιρ ανμαμ οο Ταοηζ mic Tharohz μαβαγη mic Εόζαμ υί Ουβθα. Αρέ τρια ó Οοιμναιλλ ηο ζηοιρ ó Cellaiζ οon Φηοηρορηα mac Ceallaiz mic Οοιμναιλλ mic Αλθα να cealleach 7 mac Οιαμναα Μυγηι λυηcc οο Concoβαρ mac Ταοηζ mic Εοζham, & mac Οoncharó εήιπε ηοιλεαλλα οο Μυιϕιϕυρ chaech mac Ταοζ, & mac Οoncharó αν εορμαν οο Κυόμυγε ιμαc Δόσθαc, & ο fol. 31. a. ηεζμαι μαβαα οο Felim mac Concharul. Ηιρ υό νεααιμαιερόν αρ ηο βατορ α ρυηϕηροηe ρο chioρ & chám οο chlnél ceonaiλλ οο ζηέρ, & βα cubaró μαιελαοη eia buó é ó Οοιμναιλλ ηο οηιroneαó ιμα ναεαίρθα ιαορομν, & οο ζαρια να ηanmanna αεμυβμαιαρ. Βα ραιν ηe οο ηοιηeροιόν ιτορην. Οο μαιρομν οαν ο Ρύαιρ 7 Mac Οιαμναα ιμα ναααίρθα ιαρ να ηοηοαρηαοη λα ζαλλαιβ, & ηυι οο ηιαορομν ηαμά αετ ζααη αον οο ζαορνεαλαιβ coιζιό Μεαóβα ηο ιηιρθεεεζλιγταιρ ϕυρ να ζαλλαιβ οο ηοιηe αν ceéηa ρυύ. (Ηοιρ ζαημεαó ó Ρυαιρ ηe ηua η'Οοιμναιλλ ηαμη).

1596. an 5. βλιαóam.

Ιαρ ηροηβαó να ηζοιόν ηεμϕαιτε, οο λειccε ó Οοιμναιλλ con αϕύαααα ταρ ραν Σλιεζ ραιρ ευαιοη αν 15. Ιανυαρ ιη ηπορác να βλιαóna ρο 1596, & οο

¹ *Kilmaine*.—In the south of Co. Mayo.

² *The Bress*.—A castle in the parish of Mayo, in the barony of Clanmorris.

³ *O'Dowd*.—They were lords of Hy Fiachrach of the north, from the Robe to the Codnach. See *Tribes, &c., of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 343.

⁴ *O'Kelly*.—A genealogical table showing

the descent of the different branches of this family will be found in the *Tribes, &c., of Hy Many*, p. 96.

⁵ *MacD. of Moylurg*.—They were divided into three families, the head of which was styled The MacDermot; the other two were The MacD. Roe and The MacD. Gall. *Top. Poems*, pp. 20 and 47. The Mac

which he was, and, moreover, this Theobald was of that family most hated by English, and the Irish would have less suspicion because he was so.

Oliver, son of John, and Edmond, son of Thomas an machaire, and John, son of Richard, son of John an termainn, were seized and put in fetters by Hugh O'Donnell until they came to Tyrconnell. He took hostages and pledges from some of the chiefs who had sought for the chieftaincy in opposition to Theobald, after he was inaugurated in it. After celebrating Christmas, O'Donnell went next into the barony of Kilmaine¹ and to the Brees² of Clanmorris, across the Moy of Trawley to Hy Fiachrach, and he appointed a chief over that territory. He conferred the title on Tadhg, son of Tadhg Reagh, son of Owen O'Dowd.³ It was O'Donnell who gave the title of O'Kelly⁴ to Ferdoragh, son of Ceallach, son of Donnell, son of Hugh na Calleadach; and of MacDermot of Moylurg,⁵ to Conor, son of Tadhg, son of Owen; and of MacDonough⁶ of Tirerrill to Maurice Caech,⁷ son of Tadhg; and of MacDonough of Corran to Rury, son of Hugh; and of O'Hara⁸ Reagh to Felim, son of Concashil. This was not difficult, for their ancestors were under tribute and tax to the Cinel Conaill always, and he was the proper person whomsoever O'Donnell inaugurated in his native country and gave the title to, as we have said. It was right he did this. Besides, he restored O'Rourke and MacDermot to their territories after they had been banished by the English, and not those alone, but every one of the Irish of the province of Meadhbh who had separated himself from the English, he did the same to them. (O'Rourke was never appointed by O'Donnell).⁹

1596, the 5th year.

After performing the aforesaid actions, O'Donnell departed with his army over the Sligeach north-eastwards on the 15th of January, in the beginning

Dermot had his residence in a small island in Lough Ce, called the Rock. This place is frequently mentioned in *The Annals F.M.*

⁶ *MacDonough*.—They were descended from Muireadach, king of Connaught, who died in 710, and were a branch of the tribe commonly known by the name of the O'Conors of Magh Aoi.

⁷ *Caech*.—*i.e.*, one-eyed or blind.

⁸ *O'Hara*.—They were chiefs of Leyny, Co. Sligo. Since the 14th century they were divided into two branches, O'H. Buidhe and O'H. Reagh. For an account of the family see O'Rourke's *H. of Ballysadare*, p. 363.

⁹ *O'Donnell*.—This is a marginal note in the Manuscript, in the author's handwriting.

óeacharóh tarí Dúib tarí Dúobair & taríran Saíaoirí buó thúaró. Ro aiyur
 ma chiyuch feiyin zan foğluaracht co huytorach raiñiaró íayí tam. Bá
 huyin céet raiñaiñiyin raiñieadó tuy raiñicc ayí oile túine úaral ó Rígh na
 Spáine an 3. Dúib. Alonra Copir ba hainm von túine úaral iyyin. Ba hi
 tucceat fo von mo zluay co huiy mbanba raithieoy 7 oiyoy reeel
 na nğaoiróeal, úayí iobtarí ayí eoaiz & comiclnğail zaoiróil foóla vo Ríğ
 na Spaine aya turoheacht ón Spain feacht iñam, & vo iatrat oiyong
 vo iyyitrib & vo rlncharóib rlyi rfeime hi foraiñhamlé & i cumine von
 Rígh tuyrtheachta 7 reela mac Míleaoh, & van beoy an luche mo laiti forí
 longuyr lay na zailair a huiy Eymio íayí nğaitt an acharóa foraiñb
 no tiazhtaoiy deccaoine in imneó ruyumh & ruy aiyuroreaiñb ó chein
 máiy. Tuy raiñiz an techta eiyinoy feb aiyurpamari. Ay í conaiñ
 mo feolartaiñ a luyza lañ úeay ruy hoí nEiyenn aníay zuy mo zharph
 porit i eiyich boghaine hi ceúan na ceall mbíz raiñieadó. Fo zaiñb
 raiñti huyinóiu la húayrlyb na eiyiche ílyi na fíoyreel & vo óeacharó ayí
 aill óioó vo éoluy layí tye beaynar móiy co iñamice Leitribioiy aiyim imboi
 ó Doinnaiñ an tan iyyin. Ro raiñóizlé co foruyraoilyó amaiñ ba tú ruy ié
 théoyia noíóche cona laib, & mo záb az achehoiñayic iğel an chozaió ac
 chuala fo eiyroac na zaoiróil foruyra zallaiñ. Att coarohachayí óóoyoiñ
 co leicc. Atblyeyroiñ zuy vo oía naiñlyoy & oía ruyoy reel vo óeacharó
 forí foríeoyñia an Ríğ, & naé ceaoiñnagayí vol aiyim ambaoy ó Neill, no
 anao ní buó iyyinú la timolnayr, úayí ba homian layí oia ceioyeyr zoiñl
 fol. 31. b. achocht co hEiyimio co laiylyey longuyr ieyimib forí an réo. O mo fíeyi
 ó Doinnaiñ zuy vo fíoyi anebayit & an baoghail imoioyoiñ, mo iğmóob
 layí zuy an Ríğ ayí a uet buó déim & a huett uí Néill 7 a huett na nğaoiróeal
 ayí éeana. Ba rlyh tothacht an rğmubino vo chuinygeadó conganta ioyiz 7
 rocharóe aiyim 7 iolfaobayí in azaió a naiñat & oía rayoyróoyoiñ iat on
 oioyie ambaoyai occa mbioúbaoyib vo zmyer (az zaitt an acharóa foruyra &
 azay rayobáó on ceiyeyoiñ catholaéoa Románda mo ruyotcharó Naoiñ
 rayraiñicc oía rlyñaiñ & oía ruyneyrayi, & mo congaylylyt o chein máiy)

¹ *Philip III.*—This is a mistake, as Philip II. did not die till 1598.

² *Copis.*—See p. lxxvii., antea.

³ *Inis Banba.*—This and Inis Fodhla were

names given to Ireland by the bards.

⁴ *Feniens.*—So called from Fenius Farsa, an ancestor of Milesius.

⁵ *Wrote.*—See p. lxxvii., antea.

of the year 1596, and he went across the Dubh, the Drowes, and the Saimer northwards. He remained after that in his own country without leaving it up to the beginning of summer. It was in the beginning of November precisely that a certain nobleman came from the King of Spain, Philip III.¹ Alonzo Copis² was the nobleman's name. The reason why he came to Inis Banba³ was to confer with and get intelligence from the Gaels, for the Gaels of Fodhla were friendly to and united with the King of Spain on account of their having come from Spain long before, and a number of learned men and historians of the Fenians⁴ had set down in remembrance and record before the King the doings and history of the sons of Milesius, and besides, the people that were driven into exile by the English from the island of Erin, after taking their property from them, used to go to complain of their hardships to him and his ancestors for a long time. The messenger, however, came, as we have said. The course he directed his ship was westwards, keeping the shore of Erin to the right until it entered Tir Boghaine and the harbour of Killybegs precisely. He received a welcome there from the nobles of the territory when they got news of him, and some of them went to guide him through Bearnas Mor until he came to Lifford, where O'Donnell then was. He was entertained very hospitably, as was right, for the space of three days and three nights, and he set to inquire about the history of the war which he had heard the Irish had been carrying on against the English. They laid it before him then. He said it was to inquire and get information he had come by order of the King, and he could not go to where O'Neill was nor delay any longer owing to haste, for he was afraid the English, hearing of his coming to Ireland, would send ships on his way. When O'Donnell knew that his statement was true and the danger which he ran, he wrote⁵ by him to the King on his own part and on the part of O'Neill, and on the part of the Irish too. The purport of the letter was this: to request aid in men and a supply of arms and various weapons against the enemy, and to rescue them from the bondage in which they were held by their enemies always (taking their patrimony from them and persecuting the Roman Catholic faith, which St. Patrick had preached to their elders and ancestors, and which they held for a long time), and that they would be subject to

combteir foimámaighíte dó do fíor & óia fíol ma tótharó. Do mac íshomh an teéta laim foim iméaét & fázbaró bñthachtam.

Tlit úa Domnoill lair irin flizeó & ni mo mear fuy zo ar a bariach, & mo lá ariall dia aihraib lair irin réo dia rnaóath ar chuanab & cethlmaib zo manac darran mbliuar méimráitú. Sliab doimó doibeoil eiróe & ba haóba éuan & caibóln fyu flait & aipeell cen co moir toirnlirtair an tathóh Rúath huir, ar nuy melgróe flait na oipeam irin eueh ó mo hoimoneaó i flaituy co fparicab an mhuy co lleicc, conath aipe atbereth an Riathme hechtach deimó ar a meo no maíhath do choilleaóab & chuanab & dafz zac uile ar chlna. Dala Alonra Copir maimeiróthe fuy an bhuir affarab a lunza & tleit mnte & do beariat muntuy uí Dhoimnaill a polairnaó flola lair irin lunz daitib impeamra & do éfenactab elumgeala. Ro baomó i foichill na fahíte anair cecib tan duy fiofath. Ro feolurtair fo deóro la éeo tinfeó na fuithe anairtúar laim eli fyu hoim nEimn fiairolr zac noimeach co maimec don Spain.

lomtura uí Dhoimnaill mo buiróe iffoz zo tofac lun. Mui uó éian dó íhritam an tan muírat techta ó Mac Uilliam fuy óia aipnlir óo co ttanac zenerail cogaró na Daimíógan Ser Seon Noimay co himelboio a euehe turicoimrac flúatí míoim, ar óatí co ceumpeaó coizeaó Connaét uile maen faball dafn man & doimleir la Dhoimna Saxan. Atíte na haimí & na húarli batari ipocmaróe an zeneriala, laira Tuadímhan, Donchaó mac Concóbair mic Donchaó uí Dhuam co lion a flóiz, & laira cloinne Riocairó Uille mac Riocairó Saxanait mic Uille na celn cona toiréltal zclna. Aebfuitir caé icoitcimo an tan rín na mo tiomairgeaó 7 na mo tionólaó fyu haimrlir imchln in Eimn dhuét Dhoimna Saxan coimlion imbatari foim an fluaírim. Ni éaro ó Dhoimnaill na rzelairn at coar uó ipóill nach foimóil, úair moibair fuyite eallma a flúatíom do thecht iccoizeaó ndillela cío mé rú mo mahtatari na teachta. Seimótar luy & ruybllna la húa nDhoimnaill zo fadóealab an choicró, 7 mo óalartair chuga iat fuy an íarpari aipm at cóar uóim an fluaí echtaipcénéoil do fábail lonzríuyte.

fol. 32. a.

¹ *Sassanach*. — *i. e.*, the Englishman, the second Earl of Clanricarde. He was Lord Lieutenant for some time. He died in 1582. See Archdall's *Peerage*, i. 129.

him and to his successors always. The messenger then prepared to depart, and left his blessing.

O'Donnell accompanied him on his way, and he did not part from him till the next day, and he sent with him some of his soldiers on the road to protect him from robbers and kerne till he passed over the above mentioned Bearnas; this is an intricate mountain, difficult to pass over, and it was a place of refuge for robbers and rogues robbing and plundering until Hugh Roe banished them, for he did not allow robbery or plundering in the country since he was inaugurated in the chieftaincy till he left the island. Wherefore he was called the legal executioner on account of the number of robbers and thieves and of every kind of malefactors too whom he had executed. As for Alonzo Copis, he came to the port where he had left his ship and embarked in it, and O'Donnell's people gave him plenty of flesh meat in the ship, large hinds and white-fleeced sheep. He was ready for the east wind whenever it should come. At last he set sail with the first breeze of wind from the north-east, keeping the shore of Ireland on the left, south-westwards straight until he reached Spain.

As for O'Donnell, he was at rest up to the beginning of June. Not long after messengers came from Mac William to him to tell him that a war-general of the Queen, Sir John Norris, had come to the borders of his country, having with him a great army, in order that he might subject the whole province of Connaught at once, wholly and entirely, to the English Sovereign. The chiefs and nobles who were with the General's army were the Earl of Thomond, Donough, son of Conor, son of Donough O'Brien, with all his troops, and the Earl of Clanricarde, Ulick, son of Richard Sassanach,¹ son of Ulick na cceann, with his force too. It was commonly said then that for a very long time there had not been gathered and collected in Ireland on behalf of the English Queen so great a number as was in that army. O'Donnell did not neglect or slight the news which was reported to him, for his forces were in complete readiness to go into the province of Oilioll even before the messengers came. Letters and despatches were written by O'Donnell to the Irish of the province, and he summoned them to meet him to the west of the place where he heard the forces of the strangers had encamped.

La roðain do leize úa Doimnail icclinn tréda cona flog lair
 tarran Eime ríarí tarí Slisceé lam' ól'í fpu rruib plébe gan tré luigne
 7 tré chruich gailne co manuce ro úeoíó in aipur dala fpu Seon
 Noimur aipm umbui oce rudaipit 7 oce báiz teét omropeadó na epuche
 mana éáipitadóáip gáil 7 aittipm úaróib. O manzatarí om teéta úí Ohoimnail
 zo gaoiréalaib an coigiró aínail atpibpíomopi dur ficeletríde gan eppnadaó gan
 ionfpúipeadé fon tozairim hupm. Tamice ann clettur allaníarí úa Ruairic,
 Bpian óz mac Bpian na múipcha mic Bpian ballaiz mic Eozam zo roémarce
 chača ó mbpian. Tanaice ann úa Conéobairí Rúao, Adó mac Toipréalbaiz
 Rúairó a himealboipit máizge Adí fpu háé Slipín anairí. Tanaice ann ó
 Ceallaiz (Flitropicha) a huib Maine anairíólp fpu Sionann aníarí. Tamice
 ann Mac Diaimatta (Conéobairí óce), a Muiz Luipz an Dághra fpu
 coipupíliab na Sléira anairíólp. Tangatarí ann béop na hí no aipreabpíat
 an ceipich ó coipupíliab zo muip hi tuairceclpíat an éoicero lóón an da mac
 Donncharó 7 an dá ó Eghia & ó Dubra. Iarí ttoppíachtam na nzaeréal
 zo harit nólnbaile roparóitit ropi ioncharib Seon Noimur ap gac taróib
 don abainn dianao ainm an Rooba. Ro baol romaitaizléó deipú 7 anall
 fpu ríó 7 caonéomíadé ltoppíra, 7 ní ba híó ón íarí fpuipí adé ba do bpíadé &
 tarpecéleadó & do éabairíat bpeicce in apóile dia ceolmíparatip. Báol van
 Mac Uilliam Teaboitit mac Uatepí chioataiz co líón a éionóil ipm coicélpítal
 ipm úí Ohoimnail. Anait achairó an tuchepim eimeadé mo ioncharib ap oile
 zo ttoppímetarí a loimti lár na gailaib. O no pcaidé ífpom ambiaó róibpíróe
 fol.32.b. ap fpuipí deipró leo ólipize an púipit ambáctarí o na cáomnagatarí ní dona
 gaoiréalaib. Do gúititit raimlaró. Soáitit ppuothpíopce & nupí uó plán la
 Seon Noimur a mílnma ap nípu uó gnaé lair a ionpúó ahilcthaib éceipiat
 imne. Do éolitit úa Doimnoil 7 na gaoiréal ap élna dia ttoppíhib zo rudaé
 romílnmnaé.

Ot chilítit rílnaó Duiblinde gairpeceó & gíhíatitceét gaoiréal rófap &
 omfpóipíaríat, 7 gombtarí eoláiz in aipmimbeapit 7 in lípnoaleadó an éoocaró
 no imceclapílt íepmíb. Adóbarí oile béop ima no omnaróipítit an lípnaóim

¹ *Gailenga*.—This tribe inhabited a district now included in the diocese of Achonry and a part of Sligo. They had this name from Cormac Galeng, third in descent from Olioll Olum, King of Munster, who drove

out a Firbolg tribe, the Clan Gailcoin. *Top. Poems*, xxxix.

² *Hy Many*.—A district which in former times included the barony of Athlone, in Co. Roscommon, and the baronies of Bally-

Wherefore O'Donnell set out with his army across the Erne westwards, across the Sligeach, keeping the extremity of the Slieve Gam on his right, through Leyny and the territory of the Gailenga,¹ until at last he came to the rendezvous where Sir John Norris was threatening and boasting that he would go plunder the territory if they did not give in hostages and pledges. As soon as O'Donnell's messengers went to the Irish of the province, as we have said, they came without delay or hesitation at this call. First came from the west O'Rourke, Brian Oge, son of Brian na Murtha, son of Brian Ballach, son of Owen, with the fighting men of Hy Briuin. O'Conor Roe came, Hugh, son of Turlough Roe, from the border of Magh Aoi, east of the ford of Slisean. O'Kelly (Ferdoragh), came from the south-east of Hy Many,² west of the Shannon; MacDermot (Conor Oge) came there from Moylurg of the Daghda, to the south-east of the Corrsliabh. There came also those who inhabited the territory from the Corrsliabh to the sea in the northern part of the province, *i.e.*, the two MacDonoughs, and the two O'Haras, and O'Dowd. After the Irish had assembled at one place they halted opposite Sir John Norris on the banks of the river called the Robe. There were very many on one side and on the other for peace and amity, but it was not so in truth, but they were spying and circumventing and deceiving each other if they could. MacWilliam too, Theobald, son of Walter Ciotach, with the whole of his forces, was at this gathering of O'Donnell's. They remained for a while in this way opposite each other, until the English had consumed their provisions. When their supplies were consumed they resolved to leave their encampment, since they could effect nothing against the Irish. They did so. They turned back, and the mind of John Norris was not at ease, for it was not his custom to withdraw from the enemy's territories in this way. O'Donnell and the Irish also went away to their homes merry and cheerful.

When the Council in Dublin saw that the bravery and valour of the Irish had grown and increased, and that they had a knowledge of the use of arms and of the management of war, they were much afraid of them. Another reason too why they feared was the union of friendship

moie, Tiaquin, Killian, and Kilconnell, in Co. Galway. It was inhabited by the O'Kellys

and O'Maddens. See O'Donovan's *Introd. to the Tribes, &c., of Hy Many*, p. 2.

caimatiaó 7 combaḡa fhu Riḡ na Spaine, 7 an long peniḡiaiti do maacht ón Spáin aḡiait ac cóaḡatai doibḡioim. Arí aḡile aḡuócht lár an rḡaó 7 lár an coimḡiaite úeḡithe teéta do choi do fáiḡiú uí Néill & uí Ohoimḡaill oḡulaíḡim & oarḡach ríotha & colḡcoimḡiaic foḡia. Baḡiat teéta do taḡoaó lár an rḡaó fhu hiomlúaó naiteḡice na ríotha foḡia 7 na ḡoḡeaḡaib laḡla Uimḡimḡan Tomár Buitḡeḡi a anmair. A Saḡaib oḡr fangḡatai an cenél oiaḡbaoi. Ro baḡiḡe do in doir enḡic rḡoata an ionbaó rḡm, & aḡiḡeḡeḡoḡ Cairil Maolḡuḡie Mac Raíe. Oḡr ficḡeḡiḡe lár an teḡtaḡeét ḡo fangḡatai ḡur an ceḡaḡaḡ rḡl foḡi bḡú tḡaḡa baile mic buain oiaḡḡaḡoḡi an ḡiaḡbaile. Ro fíóḡiḡe teéta do imboí ó Néill do ḡeḡaó na teḡeḡa ma teḡoḡeatai. Foḡoḡr úa Néill na rḡeḡeḡa cḡta in oochum uí Ohoimḡaill. Ticeḡiḡe íḡoim oḡum máḡeac co haḡum imboi ó Néill. Do íḡhaḡe oibḡimib co foḡhaḡo Mḡuḡeḡimḡe foḡi ionchaib tḡaḡa baile buó éuaó. Tanaice an claḡla aḡuḡbḡoḡaḡi 7 an teḡeḡoḡ foḡi ionn na teḡeḡa cḡta. Ac rḡeḡeḡa oona rḡaḡeib an teḡeḡe ma teḡaḡatai 7 aḡbḡeḡeḡat ḡoḡi bo rḡḡi cóḡa oḡoḡ ceallaó & no biaó ionaḡeḡbaó chaíe oíob foḡi aḡi oíli muna oḡḡeḡa an ríó.

fol. 33. a.

Ac euaḡatai doib na coimḡa do maḡḡeḡeḡeḡat an rḡaó úaḡoib taḡi cḡno an tḡíotha .i. oibḡeḡeḡaó coiceó Conḡoḡaḡi doibḡioim ḡénmoḡhá an mbloíó tḡie rḡl o oim Delḡan co boimḡ mo taḡḡa úe ó cḡm máḡi lár na ḡaḡlaib & na tḡeḡaḡ na ḡoill foḡio taḡi toḡoimḡ acḡ naḡa ḡaill caḡḡeḡe rḡḡeḡa do léceḡaó fhu cḡeíe 7 conḡiaó do ríoḡ, & na ḡaill baḡaḡi i ceḡaḡimḡ & in oḡbaḡi cḡno tḡaḡha ón muó ceḡona, & oḡan na teḡeḡaḡoḡi maḡi inaíe aḡḡoḡha foḡia no accuḡat naile do tḡoḡach chíoḡa nó chána, acḡ na má ceḡo cíoḡ do bḡeḡha foḡi aḡḡoḡeḡaḡ do ionḡnaḡal doibḡioim ḡo háe cḡiaé 7 na cuḡḡeḡeḡe ḡeill na aḡeḡeḡe foḡia acḡ maó rḡm, & fo ḡebḡoḡaḡ an ceḡeḡa na ḡoḡoíl aḡḡaḡeḡaḡoḡi in a ceoimḡaḡeḡe coḡaó iccíoḡeḡe Olnéceḡaé. laḡi teḡaḡeḡeḡeḡe a aḡeḡeḡe 7 a oḡḡeḡeḡeḡeḡe oon laḡla, aḡiaéḡ

Butler. — The tenth Earl, commonly called 'Black Tom.' He succeeded to the title at the age of fourteen. He was brought up at the English Court with Prince Edward, later Edward VI. For his services against Gerald Earl of Desmond and the O'Mores of Leix he received grants of several abbeys with their lands from

Elizabeth, to whom he was distantly related, Sir William Bullen, the grandfather of Anne, having married Margaret, daughter of the seventh Earl of Ormonde. See Archdall's *Peerage*, iv, 31.

² *M. Magrath.* — The apostate Bishop of Down. He was Protestant Archbishop of Cashel from 1570 to 1622, and held that

and sympathy with the King of Spain and the coming of the ship from Spain, as was reported to them. The plan adopted by the Senate and Council in consequence was to send messengers to O'Neill and O'Donnell, and to propose and offer peace and friendship to them. One of the messengers chosen by the Council to discuss the business of the peace between them and the Irish was the Earl of Ormonde, Thomas Butler¹ by name. The family to which he belonged had come from England. He was weak through old age then. With him was the Archbishop of Cashel, Myler Magrath.² They went on the errand until they came to the town which is on the edge of the strand of Baile Mic Buain called Stradbally. They sent messengers to the place where O'Neill was to tell him the business they had come about. O'Neill sent the same message to O'Donnell. He came after that with a troop of horse to the place where O'Neill was. They both went to Faughart Muirtheimhne, opposite Stradbally, a little to the north. The Earl of whom we have spoken and the Bishop came to the summit of the same hill. They told the princes the business on which they had come, and said peace would be better than strife, and they would blame each other if the peace was not made.

They stated to them the terms which the Council offered in reference to the peace, viz., to hand over the province of Conor to them except the tract of territory from Dundalk to the Boyne, which was cut off from it long before by the English, and that the English should not encroach beyond the boundary except the English of Carrickfergus, who were allowed for trade and traffic always, and the English of Newry and Carlingford in the same way, and that they should not send stewards or governors over them, nor in any such way force rents or tributes, but only the same tribute that was laid on their ancestors, which was to be taken by them to Dublin, and that hostages or pledges should not be demanded from them beyond this; and that the Irish in the province of Olneccmacht who had risen to aid them in the war should have the like terms. After the Earl had set forth his statement and proposal,

see with those of Waterford and Lismore. A sketch of his career will be found in the *Eccles. Record* for 1884, p. 633. Bruodin says he returned to the Catholic church

about a year and a-half before his death. He gives some interesting details of Myler's early life in his *Examen Anatomicum*, p. 71; Prague, 1671.

ó Néill 7 ó Domnall & ambáttar ina pfochari oo chumzfoharib en éoiriú ar an áitib fuidé 7 oo ífghac von táob ar aill von tealais. Sabairt ag curd accoimairle 7 occ amligeadó ziompiadó na nǵall ó mo chéú ǵabmar an mhúri cftur ǵur an tairin.

fol. 33. 7. Ba roóainz úóibrim ón, úairi batari meabna leó & la húa nDomnall rainmeadó, roiz ǵaoiriothe ag coirteét fhuú na cfiúeoia bliadóna 7 na teoia míoia mo bui irin ceaircairi in dé eliaé, & ba hirin aicfpt ar mo aih mo meabnaó o na cimbióib fo cfiúota irin ceaircairi imairóin fhuir, & batari hi ceumine 7 i foirairéifc lair, & acbfiric ǵuri bot ceoluncheadé tozaothadé timzéalleta ǵall oo ǵmeir, & ǵuri bo tma ǵúéairimzme mo ǵatrat anathairóa foir ǵharóealairb éoicero ǵhairlián & éoicero Conmaoi mie Daoie & in hfo na má act ceoib neacé oia tcalhrac acfiri inn Eriu ba tma thangnachc & bpeicprie oo bfiurac óe. Búóimne oo ǵlnacc fhuibri an ionbaró bur tlioi bari ceonǵairb cacha & ceccairó & bur tana bari ceiaé ǵabala & an tan ǵltairi foiruib na ǵóóóil acpachcacairi in bari mbairǵ ma runn oiaó in oiaó, 7 faǵabac ceoip ní chumziflet ar bari tpeiaó. Oo beirat na ǵaill bpliz iomaibri amuiróe & raizprie foiruib an tan fozabac oo hainlirlam anfuimthe ib in uachadó aum 7 eioiz, ócc & fhuieo, maó píte oo ǵneéi fhuú 7 ǵan maoha nair aiciri foiruo fhu coimallac fhuib in oo raipimzpeirfct óaoib. Acóbari oile beóir. Ro acchhuiprió a caiairaó foir Ríǵ na Spaine máó píte oo ǵneéi, & bió nar 7 búó meabal oaoib ǵó oo ólnom fhuir an ti na hepiri ǵoi, & coimálnafur in mo thairimzairi, & mo baó amfpori maip oaoib aihmair oo ǵabair oe, & oiri fhuir rin nit cobmaéari úacó oo muóiri tan beíte iquochtan a lair íair foacó foiruib vona ǵallairb. Ro móllrac arairl vona maicib an epireit, & mo alntairǵrioc fhuir na hairiurceairbirin mo fhuizill. Batairi foirinn oile oibprie lair ar lainn an rió oo óenoim, & acberprieiríoe ba hiomairprie ólnam an tpeoúa, & baó airimuch muna ólrimta.

Mónúairi aih ba foiri oóibrim in mo maóiríoc ciro ílri tan, úairi batari iomúa mna & mionóáoine 7 foirupóccleaoic oo éotaip écc oúacite & ǵoipca fo oairin an choccairó hirin. Robtaip iomúa beóir laech lonnamrelecha 7

¹ *Curoi MacDaire*.—He was King of Munster about the beginning of our era. See Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 220, and O'Curry's *Courtship of Momera*, p. 164, n.; Dublin. 1855.

² *King of Spain*.—See pp. xlvi. and cxxxiii. The support given by the Archduchess, the King's daughter, to Irish Catholics in the Low Countries is well known.

O'Neill, O'Donnell, and the other chief men of the province who were with them rose up from where they were seated and went to the other side of the hill. They proceeded to take counsel and to recount the conduct of the English since they first seized on the island up to that time.

This was easy for them, for it was remembered by them and by O'Donnell in particular, since he had been listening to it during the four years and three months he was in the prison in Dublin, and that was the tale which he remembered best from the captives cast into prison with him, and it was in his recollection and remembrance ; he said that the promises of the English were always vain and deceitful, and that it was by false promises they had stolen their patrimony from the Irish of the province of Leinster and of the province of Curoi mac Daire,¹ and not that merely, but whomsoever else they deprived of his land in Ireland it was by fraud and a false peace they obtained it. 'It was thus they acted towards you when implements of war and conflict were few and your battle-ranks thin ; and when the Irish attacked you, they took your part heretofore in the conflicts one after another. and they obtained whatever they desired by abandoning you. The English tell you lies now, and they will attack you when they find you unprepared, not ready, with scantiness of arms and armour, of soldiers and champions, if peace is made with them and if securities or hostages are not given by them for fulfilling to you what they promised you. Another thing, too ; you will give up the friendship of the King of Spain² if peace is made, and it will be disgraceful and shameful for you to practise a deceit on him who never tells a lie and who will perform what he has promised ; and it would be dishonest also for you to entertain any suspicion of him ; and, besides, you will never again be helped by him when you will need him after going over to the English.' Some of the chief men commended what had been said and agreed with the resolutions which he proposed. There was another party of them who were satisfied to make peace, and they said it was right to make peace, and they should be sorry if it was not made.

Alas! what they said proved true, though later, for there were many women and children and old men who suffered death by cold and hunger on account of that war. Besides, there were many proud heroes, and

τοιγῆ τροσα & ρολιελαννα ροιελνεοιλ το εοτταρι αιόλθα αναρπεχε τροπια
 οι ριυ 7 αναλλ ροβιειν αν εοοαυό ελτα. Ουό ριλ ανη τροα εοοιρ λρι νό ανίλλι
 τον αιμικε αρρ, βα ηεικελν αν ριό το θαμυμλρεε τροα αρλαχι 7 ροιόονγρια
 υί Όθονηαιλλ. Ιομπαιρ αν ταρλα 7 αν ερρεοορ εο ηαε ελιαε, & απρετρα
 τον Ιυρτιρ 7 τον εομαιλε αν ουιλταό ιμον ριέ 7 αρρρεαγρια ό να
 ζαοιόεαλαιβ.

fol. 34. a.

La ροόαιν ριο λάρτε αν ρίναό αρόελα εο ερίοχαιβ Saxon ζυρ αν
 ηβαιηRiozham Elizabethi. Ρο ζαβ ρίηζ 7 λονηαρ ηρθε. Ρο τιοιόιλεό 7 ριο
 ελζλαμαό ιολαρ ηοόαινε λέ οια εοοι εο ηεμυηη cona conζαιβ ελτα οα
 ζαε ηαόαιζε αρ ελνα εοηαρ ηο λυζα οεταε ριχε μίλε οόλι τυαμιαρταιλ &
 οο ανηραιβ ριο βαταρ ηυηρφοιχιλλ εοοαυό ηα ηζοιόελ. Ρο ευηρκαίζλεό αν
 ζοιβλνιόηι 7 αν ταμυζ βαοι ροι εοικεεό Μόυβα αν ιοηβαυό ριη α εληοαετ
 αν εοιζιό, .i. Σερ Ριροεηο υιοηγοη cona ημαίεμυβ & ριο ζαμυιτ εο
 ηαεη ελιαε & ριο ευητετ αιρρθε εο Saxonib. Ουρ ραιμικε αρ οίλε η
 ιοηαό αν ζοιβλνιοηια. βα ρίηη οεοαρ 7 βα ριηηη ζεαλλαιβ οο ηα ζαοιόεαλαιβ
 ιμίρ December οο ρυηηηαό Coneur ελρφοιτ α εομαιηηη, ηυοηηε αιρροεαρ
 εηρθε αρ άοι ηγαμια. βα ηύαηαλ ίαρ ρρυιλ, βα ρίηη τιοόηαιετι ρέο 7
 μαοιηε. Ρο θαμυμαίεζ όοροηι ηοηρην ύαιρ ριο ροαιτ εχυεα οηιοηζ ηόηι
 ούαιρλιβ εοικεό Μόυβα αρ αόλζηαιηιλλεάό. Ρο ροαιτ εχυεα ελτευρ
 ό Conóοβαηι Ρύαο, άόό μαε Τοηηυόελβαίεζ Ρύαο Μιε Ταυόζ ηυιθε, 7 μαε
 Οιαμιαοα Μηυιζε λυηιζ, Conóοβαηι μαε Ταυόζ, εοηβαταρ ηα ηυηηελρμυρ 7
 ριο ηαιόμυρτε αεοοηια ριηρρ. Ταμικε βεόρ ό Conóοβαηι Slicciεζ α εμιοεαιβ
 Saxon ηρην ηρφοζήηαρ οο ρυηηηαό .i. Οονηαό μαε Καεαιλ όιζ ηιε Ταυόζ
 ηιε Καεαιλ όιζ, ιλι ηα οηρνεαό ηι εεληοαρ οη ηβαιηRiozham ροι ιλέοοαιβ
 ριόιεζ 7 ραιζηοιημιαιβ ηη υηρφοιχιλλ ηη ριο βα εομφοεευρ οό ουιλαιβ &
 οο Connachταιβ οο εληηρρζαό ριη α λαιη. Τιεερθε εο Connach-
 ταιβ ρο εηέτυαιρ οο εοχαιρ ριη εηνέλ εοηαιλλ & οο χιαε ριηύ ιεομβαίεζ ηα
 ηζαλλ, ύαιρ ριο βα ηόηι α ηυρφοιτα ριηρην εεηνέλ ηιρην ό ριο οελιζιρταιρ
 αέελρηηε ριηύ λα ροηηηαν 7 ροηιλονη ζαλλ, 7 ηαρ ηο ηαμιαχ όοιβ ανηαι βα
 ουεταίεζ όο & εία ηο βειερριοη εο ροηιάμαηηε ούα Όθοηηαιλλ ηίρ ηο

fol. 34. b.

εοίρ ιοηηηαό οε, αρ ριο βαοι Όμυαν μαε Εαεταε α ριηηηρλι ηαιηαιό οο Μιαλλ
 ρα ροαιη ιηάρ, & ριο βαταρ ελανη Μηοηηζρμηηε αρ ελνα, 7 αρ λα Φιαεηα μαε

¹ *Set aside*.—See pp. lxxxii. and 99, antea.

² *O'Conor Sligo*.—See p. 84, antea. A son of Donough was married to a daughter

of the Earl of Desmond. His treacheries are described at length in *Pac. Hib*. He was slain by Tibbot na long.

leaders in war, and freeborn nobles who met with an untimely death on both sides in consequence of the same war. Yet, whatever may have been the advantage or the loss which arose from it, it was necessary to reject the peace at the request and demand of O'Donnell. The Earl and the Bishop returned to Dublin and told the Lord Justice and the Council of the refusal of peace and the answers of the Irish.

Thereupon the Council sent the news to England to Queen Elizabeth. Anger and wrath seized on her. A large number of men was assembled and collected by her to be sent to Ireland, with proper equipment of every kind too, so that there was no less than twenty thousand mercenaries and soldiers ready for the Irish war. The Governor and the chief man who was over the province of Meadhbh then, *i.e.*, Sir Richard Bingham, and his relatives were set aside¹ and summoned to Dublin, and sent from thence to England. There came in the month of December another in the office of Governor who was better and more faithful to his promises to the Irish. Sir Conyers Clifford was his name, a knight famous by repute; he was noble by blood, a man who bestowed jewels and wealth. This was an advantage to him, for a great number of the chiefs of the province of Meadhbh came to him on account of his good qualities. The first who came to him was O'Conor Roe, Hugh, son of Turlough Roe, son of Tadhg Buidhe, and MacDermot of Moylurg, Conor, son of Tadhg; so that they became intimate and entered into peace with him. O'Conor Sligo,² too, *i.e.*, Donough, son of Cathal Oge, son of Tadhg, son of Cathal Oge, came from England in harvest precisely, having been appointed by the Queen to the command of many hundred troops and soldiers in complete readiness; as he was near the men of Ulster and Connaught he would bring them under her power. He came to Connaught immediately to fight against the Cinel Conaill and wage war on them on behalf of the English, for his misdeeds against that tribe were great ever since he withdrew his obedience from them owing to the wrath and hatred of the English, and he was not obedient to them as he should be; and it was no wonder that he should be subject to O'Donnell, for his ancestor Brian,³ son of Eochaidh, was so to Niall, who was younger, and they were

³ *Brian*.—See O'Donovan's Genealogical Table in *Tribes of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 477.

both children of Mongfinn;¹ and it was by Fiachrach, son of Eochaidh, that Conall Gulban was fostered, and his residence was in the province of Olneccmacht, where he did not remain inactive as he seized the portion of territory north of the Saimer to Lough Foyle on the east; and after taking it by force he divided it among his brothers, and gave the cantred which was from the Blackwater,² on the north-west, to Callcaoin,³ on Lough Erne, to Cairbre, son of Niall, his brother, and as the family of Brian, son of Eochaidh, inhabited the territory after expelling the descendants of Cairbre all but a few, the Cinel Conaill put them under tribute and hosting to themselves because the territory belonged to their relative. It was no wonder, therefore, that O'Conor Sligo should render obedience and submission to O'Donnell and be subject to him without opposition, for the same was due by all the people of Connaught besides, since the race of Niall, son of Eochaidh, had become supreme over the Gaels long before, and to them belonged the sovereignty of the island. As for O'Conor of whom we have spoken, when he came to the province of Meadhbh his supporters and friends welcomed him, and his trusted people and followers were filled with pride and arrogance, and with anger and self-will, in consequence of his coming, and they proceeded to boast and bluster too, to insult and threaten the Cinel Conaill. They were called the O'Harts,⁴ and they were obedient to the man in his place always.

When O'Donnell heard of his coming and of his boasting language and of his having entered into an alliance with the English against him, he did not wait for the assembling of all his forces, but he went across the Sligeach, westwards, with his soldiers and mercenaries, and plundered O'Conor's subjects and friends of whom we have spoken in every place where their dwellings were clustered together, strong and difficult of approach, so that he did not leave a single beast with them, and he disturbed no one in the country but them, though he had spared them up to that on account of their weakness and wretchedness until their insolent language, enmity, and hostility, which they could not conceal, brought this plundering on them. O'Donnell pitched his camp after a while in Brefny of Connaught, to the east of Slieve da en. He remained there until his forces came to him from every place where they were.

1597, an 6. bliadain.

Is na tteiglamhó fámlaró an deireadó Ianuairi. 1597. vo coirlet tpe-
 ran coiceadó fáiméir hi tpmucha áéto úa nOilealla, airtóe don éorann tpe
 eláir machaire Chonnaét hi cloinn chonniadg hi curch Maine mic Eachtad.
 O vo maicht in eirimeédon ó Maine mo léig ílmaó 7 ppeánuzáó via
 ígímealtoib ígímoiblúáta fo thúaiti an chalaró & fo úachtari an tíre, &
 don angtari cona nairceitib tpeach & cétíra con ambhoite 7 cona mbózábail
 moirú láoi co baile Acha an Ríog airm imbóí ó Doimnail. Ro óalortari
 ua Doimnail Mac William Duje (Teaboite) chuga gur an vó rin.
 Taimiceitíe fo gurim úi Ohoimnail. Ar ann tra baoi an baile hirim ló
 mbísz o áé eliaith mlóimíe fáir. Va vaingín víoéozláiré eirtíe, 7 nri uó
 foirib ammur fáir. Ar a doí mo ionnhoigíre an íloz an vúnaó, & foélríeac
 tlinnte 7 tlinnata fma vóirrib foí zác lé. co mo haóannaic comláta
 elaruaigti an caoinvúnaíó vía neétari. Vo blíac eluca íaríom opeimíreáta
 vómópa 7 airtáta imleabru & mo íarác fpu muráib 7 ballaóab an baile co
 mo ppearzábpat foí taiblib tuzáirta an tpenvúnaíó foí zác taob. Ro
 leablamíre ar aill víob vóna taiblib zombátari foí fma fmaicib ma ílfoim
 íarí nsum & airtleach oíunige via noíglaecharib. Vo léceite na vóirri
 óbela don tpeoz ara haíte conairceite foí lári an baile. Zabaitt foí
 toghail na teigléo tairceitíe 7 na tteigíhoir ecomíreácha 7 na ecubachal
 foí fma fma mo bui írim vúnaó co ttearceitíe eirtib amboi mntib víonmíarib
 fol.35.b. & vóetálarib co mo eirtíre an elatari co leice. Ro baó coiceari vóbal lá
 muntíri na bamríozan an Ríozcharíall rin vo bunz don íanlac mo
 línzíte an baile hirim víamaó íao búóírim no beít occa éorvúnaí fmu. Áét
 elína mo baó vóilísz víochumíanz oíem fpu an tí bui hirimíe nac fma
 muntíri cen baoi an coimíe 7 an conach az congnáim íarí. Vá víim
 vómíre fma tteuzáó va zác írimvúal íoála arim mbaríerim víonmíur 7 víol-
 míoimib, vúma 7 víaríomn, víímaó 7 vóeac, 7 va zách ní íanztari a íear an

¹ *January.*—‘J. 20th. letters from the Earl of Clanricarde, that O’Donnell was come into the country of Clanricarde with 3,000 foot and 200 horse, burning and spoiling.’ *C.C. MSS.*, iii. 254.

² *Callow.*—A district comprised principally in the barony of Kilconnell, Co. Galway.

³ *Athenry.*—A town thirteen miles east of Galway. This place was granted to the Berminghams soon after the English invasion. In 1241 Meiler, second Baron of Athenry, founded a Dominican convent there. The ruins of the extensive castle are quite close to the town. See Archdall’s *Peerage*, iii. 30.

1597, the 6th year.

1597.

After assembling in that way at the end of January,¹ 1597, they marched through the province south-westwards to the cantred of Tirerrill, from thence to Corran, through the level part of the plain of Connaught, to Clann Conway, to the territory of Maine, son of Eochaidh. When he came to the middle of Hy Many he let his active marauders spread and extend themselves over the district of Callow² and to the upper part of the country, and they returned with the proceeds of their plunder and cattle, with their captives and captured cattle, at the end of the day, to Athenry,³ where O'Donnell was. O'Donnell invited Mac William Burke (Theobald), to him there. He came at the summons of O'Donnell. That town was a short distance east of Athcliath⁴ of Marce.⁵ It was a well secured fortress, and an attack on it was not easy. However, the army attacked the stronghold and they put fires and firebrands to the gates on each side, so that the gates of jointed wood of the beautiful fortress were set on fire on the outside. They took with them there very large and long ladders, and they put them to the walls and ramparts of the place, so that they mounted to the strong, lofty battlements of the solid fortress on every side. Some of them jumped from the parapets, so that they were in the streets standing after wounding and skirmishing with many of the brave soldiers. They threw open the gates for the soldiers afterwards, so that they came to the middle of the town. They set to pull down the storerooms and the well secured apartments, and the private chambers which were in the fortress, until they took all the treasures and wealth that was in them and they plundered the residence immediately. Great would have been the slaughter by the Queen's people in defending that royal stronghold against the party who entered the town if these by themselves had contended for it with them. However, it was a painful and difficult task for him who was there or for his people, if the Almighty and good fortune were not aiding him. There was taken away from that town an immense quantity of every sort of treasure, of wealth, of brass and iron, of clothing and dress, and of everything needed

⁴ *Athcliath*. — Clarinbridge, eight miles S W. of Galway.

⁵ *Marce*.—A peninsula extending into the

bay of Galway, five miles S. of the town. Mention is made of it in the *Life* of St. Enda. See Colgan's *Acta SS.*, p. 709.

lucht batari occa ionatocet 7 oza aitteababá do élfar 7 do élflomaó chuca ar zác airo ó chlin máiri zó rin. Aipfó úa Dominaill con a rloz rin mbaile an aohairg rin. Fázbairt an baile ar a bairac íar na oiccam. Do leccle a pcclimealta do cpeadóirgam élonne Riocairt va zác leir don abainn. Ro cpeacháó 7 no cuairéarzéaó la ojuing dona rzeimealtair rin o Ucthairé zo maiz Senchomlath. Ro loipcecaó 7 no leipzmoieaó lar an lucht naile úob ó baile áta an Rioz & ó Rathgorgin rin íar zo Rinnmil zo mlótharóe 7 zo oipur na Gaillimhe. Ro loirgeaó leó van tlfh bjuzhoé ril for ioncharb na caépac ctena .i. Gaillim ainmighclri on abainn forp no baídeáó Gaillim mglh bupfal.

Do zúat forlonzhoit & rianbotha, pulacht 7 peolchombach, ruan & raimchoal an aóairg rin eitir Uarian móri 7 Gaillim occ cloichan Lirpiz. Do thalt ó Dominaill cona rloz ar a bairac zo manairpoin an énuic in oipur na Gaillim ar óairg ionmagallimá rin lucht na caépac our an rruigbóth caomclur óia nllimairb iongnairé 7 óia réaróib rionmlá úaróib for ar ail dona éreachaib batari occa, ar nri bó roóairg óia munnclri ina mbaoi do érió 7 do cclhria oca do éiomairzad naé do éiomian leó óia naéaróá, 7 van no bur mlhmaric laipoin zan tiontúó óia éiri (munbaó aróble éóála aifloiz) zo mochtam do zo zoit nri zúairie i cenél áeóha na heéctza. O na ruaripoin an roba lamn lair ó lucht na caépac, ba fairi veiró occa fol. 36. a. rilcló ina rruclhling zo raimcc tpa clirpmlúón coizó Connaéct zan anbuian zan unrlzla zan fairclri zan fairpachmar zo mochtam do tarpan Slizéó tar Duib tar Orobair 7 tar an Saíaoiri bur éuaró. Turpécta úi Concóbairi Slicciz ac riaráir rann rlcal naile, tarccloméa rlúaz moir lair

¹ *Clanricard*.—It included the baronies of Loughrea, Kiltartan, Clare, Dunkellin, Athenry, and Leitrim, *i.e.*, the south-eastern portion of Co. Galway. See O'Flaherty's *Iar Connaught*, p. 323.

² *The river*.—*i.e.*, the Suck. It rises near Ballyhaunis, and passes by Castle-reagh and Ballymoe. From this to Shannon Bridge, where it joins the Shannon, it is in great part the boundary between Galway and Roscommon.

³ *Lara*.—A townland six miles N.E. of Athenry, containing the ruins of a castle.

⁴ *Magh seancomlath*.—*i.e.*, the plain of the old gate. The name is now obsolete.

⁵ *Rathgorgin*.—A townland in the parish of Kilconerin, barony of Athenry. On the rath there are the ruins of a castle, surrounded by a fosse.

⁶ *Rineville*.—A townland on the eastern end of Galway bay. There are here the remains of an old castle.

⁷ *Teach Brighde*.—*i.e.*, Bridget's house, a hospital on the east side of the town, built by the citizens in 1542. See Lynch's *Pú Antistitis Icon*, p. 57; Dublin, 1847.

⁸ *Gaillimh*.—See Hardiman's *Hist. of Galway*, p. 2; Dublin, 1820.

⁹ *Oranmore*.—A village on the eastern end of Galway bay. On the shore there is

by those who dwelt in and inhabited it, which they had plundered and collected from every place long before that. O'Donnell with his forces remained in the town that night. They left the place the next day, after plundering it. They sent out their marauders to plunder Clanricarde¹ on both sides of the river.² It was plundered and scoured by some of the marauding party from Lara³ to Magh seancomladh.⁴ The district from Athenry and Rathgorgin,⁵ westwards, to Rinville,⁶ Maree, and to the gate of Galway was burned and wasted by the remainder of them. Teach Brigdhe⁷ was also burned; it is close to the same city, *i.e.*, Galway, which is so called from the river in which Gaillimh,⁸ daughter of Breasal, was drowned.

They encamped and made tents, killed cattle, and prepared food; they rested and slept that night between Oranmore⁹ and Galway at Lynch's Causeway.¹⁰ The next day O'Donnell went with his army to the monastery of the hill,¹¹ at the gate of Galway, for the purpose of a conference with the townspeople to see if he could obtain an exchange of strange clothing and beautiful property from them for some of the plunder which he had, for it was not easy for his people to collect and drive with them to their own lands all the flocks and herds which they had; and besides, he did not mean to return to his own country (were it not for the great treasure his army had) until he came to Gort¹² of Inis Guaire,¹³ in Cinel Aedha¹⁴ na Hechtgha.¹⁵ As he did not obtain what he wished from the people of the town, he determined to turn back, and he came through the very middle of the province of Connaught without anxiety, fear, apprehension, opposition; and he came across the Sligeach, the Dubh, the Drowes, and the Saimer, northwards. As for O'Connor Sligo, who has been mentioned elsewhere,

a castle, said to have been erected by one of the Earls of Clanricarde.

¹⁰ *Lynch's Causeway*.—The name is obsolete.

¹¹ *M. of the hill*.—Not Knockmoy, as O'Donovan thought, which is fifteen miles off, but the Augustinian monastery, which was on the south side of the town. See Hardiman's *H. of Galway*, p. 272.

¹² *Gort*.—Gort insi Guaire, *i.e.*, the field of the island of Guaire, a town midway between Ennis and Athenry.

¹³ *Guaire*.—The common ancestor of the

O'Heynes, O'Clerys, &c. He was King of Connaught from A.D. 652 to 665. The Irish poets speak of him as the personification of hospitality. See *Tribes of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 60; and *Transactions of the Ossianic Society*, v. 34; Dublin, 1860.

¹⁴ *Cinel Aedha*.—Aedh, son of Cobtagh, from whom this tribe has its name, was eighth in descent from Eochaid Moighmheadhoim.

¹⁵ *Na Hechtgha*.—Now Slieve Aughty, the mountainous district between Loughrea and Mount Shannon, Co. Galway.

το γάλλαϊβ & το ξαοιόεαλαϊβ το theacht ζυρ αν Sliccé i mí febhuaqm ζάρι
 bioce íarí momullec. Το παλα úa Doimnaill an tan ym i cealharde i
 φορ'longzபோice fyu Slicciz anair hi foichill φορρια & an airf'vάλα úoib. Το
 βητε ruabairc ainmuy φορριο μεριú πανζαταρ ζυρ an Sliziz. Ro thlichirft
 μίαm & το ηίτ'λαρft αιμε áct μαδ uαζαδ ταρριαρτοιρι úioδ occ τριαζ
 nEochairle. ζονται βατερι úριονζ úioú úioδ. Ro μαρβáδ ann van mac
 το Uilliam buyc .i. Riocairc mac Uilliam mic Rirolirto mic Oileueparf & ar
 aill nac airniútl'ri punnuaδ. Soair ó Concobarf φορι cúλαϊβ 7 m ba rlan
 laif a mlnma m éuróeét an τυριαρ ym. Tanaicc ó Doimnaill úia éiz &
 το leicce l'p'p'ueáδ 7 p'ccaoileáδ úia r'λόζ con telccerf aréif áct na má
 φορριαζαδ áf' aníraime & τυαρυρταϊl hi coicceáδ Meáúba i foichill coccaró
 úi concobarf 7 na ngall 7 Miall ζαριβ ó Doimnoill úia úl'ib'fine búúdeirín
 i τταοιριζεáct leó. ζαβαιρ'úe φορι mnyáδ 7 aróimlleáδ na nγαοιόεαλτ'huaé
 ηemroéóeáταρ hi combariz na ngall 7 úi Choncobarf, conταρτερ'at φορι cculaδ
 το ηúρι'ri úριονζ úioú úioδ. Tanaicc ann eltur mac Úiaimava (.i. Concobarf)
 τυριuch Mhaizi luyfz fil fyu coiruy'liab na Sl'zra anairúf'f' co ηuy n'liairec
 a múuncl'iar 7 a chuyri fyu húa n'Doimnoill an úaria p'acht & co τταρ'at
 a oiz'riári n'ó feb' mo ba béf úριορι a ionaro το ζ'p'ef. Το ηον'p'at τοιριζ na
 τ'úáé fil fyu r'liab áúiaú ζo muyri an ccl'na & το ηατ'p'at anζéill 7
 anairt'p'ie úia Ohoimnoill fyu coimall ζαé n'lié mo éinζeal'p'at.

Ba m eacmang na ηeepin .i. i m'p' Arpuil von ainicc long on Spain ζo
 núatháδ φοριηe uáit'p'ep' na nγαοιόεal. Ro ζáb ποριe hi ceuch Conaill
 mic Néill hi cúan na cceallmb'fz p'ainp'eaδ hi éiri bozame íari níar'p'har
 allanaari von ζ'lionn m mo bl'naé an Columb airúf'f'ic. Tαnζαταρ air'p'úe
 fol. 36. b. airim ambaoi ó Doimnaill ζo Úin na ngall. Rop'p'oi φοιτ'iz eáδ úioδ fyu
 ar oile 7 mo p'iaouζit'p'ioim co haiym'it'p'neaé la húa n'Doimnaill, & το ηac
 ar'ccáδa con 7 each úoib. 7 ion'p'oirft arf' φορι cúλαδ & το β'p'iaé p'ccéla na
 ep'uche leó. Tυι'p'éeeta mic Uilliam buyc ac r'iaá'ar'p'unn mo τοιριú'f'ar ar a
 éiri la hiom'p'or'p'ian a éennuil búúdeirín & la ζ'p'iaiteéct ζall, úiaη mo naróm
 úia Concobarf Slicciz coúáδ 7 cap'p'iaδ eir'p' a é'liam'ain mac mic Uilliam
 buych Teaboitt na long mac Ri'p'p'ei'p'io an íar'ioimn mic Oauro mic Eamainn
 mic Uillicc & an ζoib'f'ri'noúri Si'ri Coneuf Cl'p'or'p' co mo haé'cu'p'eaδ 7 ζuy mo

¹ Calry.—A parish in the barony of Carbury, between Glencar and Lough Gill.

² Glen.—i.e., Glencolumkille. See p. 35, antea.

a large force was gathered by him of English and Irish to go to Sligo in the month of February, very soon after the beginning of spring. O'Donnell happened then to be encamped at Calry,¹ to the east of Sligo, ready and waiting for them. He made a vigorous attack on them before they reached Sligo. They fled before him and ran off, all but a small number who remained behind at Trawohelly. A large number of them were wounded and drowned. A son of Mac William Burke, too, *i.e.*, Richard, son of William, son of Richard, son of Oliver, was killed, and others who are not specially mentioned. O'Conor returned, and his mind was not at ease because he had gone on that expedition. O'Donnell came home, and he let his forces separate and scatter that they might get rid of the fatigue, but he left his hirelings and his mercenaries in the province of Meadhbh, in readiness for war against O'Conor and the English, and Niall Garbh O'Donnell, one of his relatives, in command of them. They set to prey and devastate the territories of the Irish who before that had joined in alliance with the English and O'Conor, until they brought back a great number of them to him. First came MacDermot (*i.e.*, Conor), the chief of Moylurg, which is near the Corrsliabh of the Seaghais, to the south-east, so that he established intimacy and peace with Hugh O'Donnell a second time and made submission to him, as was the custom of the man who held his place always. The chiefs of the district north of the mountain to the sea did the same, and gave hostages and pledges to O'Donnell to observe all they promised.

It happened at this time, *i.e.*, in the month of April, that a ship came from Spain with a small party to confer with the Irish. It came to the territory of Conall, son of Niall, to the harbour of Killybegs, in the western part of Tir Boghaine, to the east of the glen² which the famous Columba blessed. They came from that to Donegal, where O'Donnell was. They were glad to meet each other, and they were entertained honourably by O'Donnell, and he gave them presents of hounds and horses, and they returned and took with them an account of the country. As to Mac William Burke of whom we have spoken, he was banished from his territory by the violence of his own people and by the hatred of the English for O'Conor. Sligo established an alliance and friendship between his brother-in-law, the son of Mac William Burke, *i.e.*, Theobald na long, son of Richard an iarainn, son of David, son of Edmund, son of Ulick, and the

hionnaribad̄ l̄ar na maireib̄ rin cona t̄tionol̄ Mac Uilliam Teaboirt mac Uateirī éiotaiḡ ara āt̄ar̄tha sup̄ bo heiccl̄n̄ v̄o arenaim̄ zo cenél̄ Conaill̄ mic Néill̄. Íár t̄teacht̄ v̄óroim̄ airm̄ imbas̄i o Doimnaill̄ vacaóine a imn̄ó p̄r̄r̄ mo airm̄ ina f̄ochairī zo m̄r̄m̄l̄óón̄ r̄aim̄iar̄. Dō ž̄nī ó Doimnaill̄ r̄l̄uair̄gl̄ó an̄ veir̄eas̄ l̄un̄ zo coiceas̄ n̄ailealla con̄ tuil̄ó̄ tar̄i Múair̄ ūa n̄aímal̄gar̄. Nī éaom̄naccatar̄i an̄ ch̄muó̄ r̄m̄é̄b̄l̄ic̄e p̄r̄r̄ zo t̄ar̄it̄t̄ar̄at̄ an̄ ž̄éill̄ v̄ó. Dō b̄l̄ic̄t̄oim̄ vo Mac Uilliam.

R̄o r̄aī ūa Doimnaill̄ ina r̄m̄é̄l̄inḡ íar̄i p̄r̄r̄as̄bair̄ na c̄uche p̄o aitt̄it̄im̄ & ūin̄la vo Mac Uilliam & p̄or̄r̄as̄aib̄ Ruóir̄as̄e ó Doimnaill̄ (a v̄l̄ib̄riathair̄i būv̄óem̄ 7 mūož̄ v̄aíma cenéoil̄ cconail̄l̄) na f̄ochairī v̄ia n̄l̄ic̄eas̄ in̄ až̄ar̄ó a n̄aímātt̄ zo r̄l̄ož̄ m̄óir̄ v̄ia im̄l̄l̄óh̄aib̄ t̄r̄aigh̄t̄eas̄ & v̄ia airm̄oib̄ tuar̄ar̄tar̄ail̄ im̄ar̄óil̄n̄ r̄ur̄. Ba p̄or̄m̄teach̄ t̄r̄ia Teaboirt̄ na lonḡ p̄r̄i mac Uilliam in̄ on̄ p̄r̄l̄aib̄l̄r̄ 7 v̄an̄ beóir̄ n̄irī bo r̄aim̄p̄ear̄ic̄ach̄ in̄ ó n̄Doimnoill̄ v̄ia oir̄on̄l̄ó̄ r̄oirī a bel̄aib̄. Nīr̄i bo lūža im̄m̄oip̄io m̄iopeair̄ ūi Chonc̄obair̄i Sl̄ic̄c̄iž̄ in̄ cenél̄ cconoil̄l̄ 7 in̄ Mac Uilliam, con̄ airm̄e rin̄ mo ž̄as̄b̄ aib̄ž̄l̄r̄ 7 accob̄air̄i iat̄ v̄ib̄l̄im̄b̄ in̄ aitē an̄p̄al̄as̄ 7 anecc̄r̄at̄air̄ r̄oirī Mac Uilliam & r̄oirī cenél̄ cconail̄l̄ r̄aim̄p̄eas̄. Ba r̄l̄óh̄ vo m̄on̄r̄at̄ in̄ ž̄ar̄i ūair̄īar̄i n̄im̄t̄eēt̄ ūi Ohoim̄naill̄ r̄l̄ož̄ moirī vo ž̄allaib̄ 7 vo ž̄oer̄v̄el̄aib̄ vo t̄l̄gl̄om̄as̄, 7 r̄aiz̄eas̄ r̄oirī mac Uilliam co p̄or̄ t̄oir̄m̄p̄iōtt̄ ar̄ an̄ t̄irī co na m̄ileas̄aib̄, ūair̄i nī p̄oip̄ioel̄anḡair̄i an̄ p̄oip̄ilion̄ b̄aol̄ ina až̄har̄ó & ó mo t̄r̄ual̄l̄p̄oim̄ cona óž̄aib̄ r̄ás̄bair̄ an̄ t̄ir̄e. Dō iom̄aiz̄l̄t̄e r̄l̄im̄p̄a c̄l̄t̄h̄ia 7 im̄n̄ile na c̄uche cona n̄air̄p̄eas̄b̄t̄ach̄aib̄ tar̄i Múair̄ ūa n̄aímal̄gar̄ 7 t̄r̄ie t̄irī P̄h̄iaé̄p̄ach̄ M̄h̄úair̄e co p̄anḡatar̄i r̄l̄iaib̄ ž̄am̄ p̄ua n̄as̄aiz̄. Ž̄ab̄air̄t̄ occ̄ arecnaim̄ an̄ t̄r̄l̄iaib̄ ī p̄ōtt̄ na hor̄óce.

fol. 37. a.

Iom̄t̄ur̄a an̄ airm̄už̄h̄i Coneur̄ Cl̄iof̄oirt̄, o p̄o é̄l̄m̄oip̄oim̄ ó Conc̄obair̄i 7 an̄ r̄l̄ož̄ ār̄m̄ub̄r̄am̄ari vo tof̄ann̄ Mac Uilliam ar̄ a t̄irī, mo toch̄uirī ch̄uiz̄e an̄ lion̄ ar̄ l̄ia r̄oirī col̄m̄nacc̄air̄i vo r̄oé̄r̄aiv̄e. Dōn̄ an̄ž̄at̄tar̄i ann̄ an̄ v̄a íar̄l̄a b̄atar̄i ip̄im̄ ccoiz̄eas̄, íar̄l̄a Tuas̄ómuim̄an, Donn̄ch̄as̄ mac Conc̄obair̄i mic Donn̄ch̄ar̄ó ūi Ūh̄m̄am, & íar̄l̄a cl̄oim̄ne Rioc̄air̄io Uilleac̄ mac Rioc̄air̄io Saxan̄aiz̄ mic Uillec̄ na cceann̄, 7 a mac̄r̄ar̄ó̄ Rioc̄air̄io

¹ *Province*.—Clare at this time belonged to Connaught. It had been added to that province by Sir John Perrott in 1584. It was reunited to Munster in 1602 at the request of the Earl of Thomond. Cox, *Hib. Angl.*, i. 454.

² *Dunkellin*.—A townland in the parish of Killeely, Co. Galway, in which there are the remains of an old castle; and close by is a rude stone seat called Clanricarde's chair in which the Mac William was inaugurated.

Governor, Sir Conyers Clifford, so that Mac William, Theobald, son of Walter Ciotach, was driven and expelled by the nobles, together with his forces, from his inheritance, and it was necessary for him to come to the race of Conall, son of Niall. When he came where O'Donnell was to complain of his sufferings to him, he remained with him till the middle of summer. O'Donnell made a hosting at the end of June to the province of Oilioll, and he went across the Moy of Tirawley. The district was not able to offer any resistance, and it gave hostages to him. He gave them to Mac William.

O'Donnell went back, having left the country under the control and obedience of Mac William, and he left Rory O'Donnell (his own brother and the roydamna of Cinel Conaill) with him to strenghten him against his enemies, and a large body of foot soldiers and mercenaries with him. Theobald na long was envious of Mac William on account of the chieftaincy, and, besides, he had no special love for O'Donnell for having appointed him in preference to himself. The enmity of O'Conor Sligo too was as great against the Cinel Conaill and against Mac William, for which reason a violent desire and longing seized on both of them to avenge their wrongs and injuries on Mac William and on the Cinel Conaill especially. Shortly after the departure of O'Donnell they gathered a great body of English and Irish and attacked Mac William and banished him from his territory with his soldiers, as he was not a match for the great numbers opposed to him, and he proceeded with his soldiers to quit the country. They drove before them the flocks and herds of the country, with the inhabitants, across the Moy of Tirawley, and through Hy Fiachrach of the Moy, until they came to Slieve Gam before night. They set to march over the mountain all through the night.

As for the Governor, Conyers Clifford, when he sent O'Conor and the army of which we have spoken to banish Mac William from his territory, he summoned to him the greatest number of soldiers he could. The two Earls who were in the province¹ came there, the Earl of Thomond, Donough, son of Conor, son of Donough O'Brien, and the Earl of Clancricarde, Ulick, son of Richard Sassanach, son of Ulick na cceann, and his son Richard, Baron of Dunkellin,² and Murrough, son of Murrough, son of

Եսրն Սոմ Կոլլոմ, & Մուրիաձ մա Կուրիաձա մե Ծարմաձա սի
 Եսրն Եսրն մորս սի Կոլլոմ, յաժրո՞ւ րե Կոնա թո՞ւրաժե. Ծ ո՞
 յաժրաժար Կո հարս ամբոյ ան Զոյնկոմոյ ո՞ իճիաժ րե Բոյ Կոնո մե
 Սիլլիաձ Կոնա ծո՞ւրս ան Կոնարս նա Կոլմաժարս ո՞ թաժիաձ 7 մ յո Ես
 ծոյնն Լար թոճԵար շիճա, Կոնոն Զար ան Կարթիաձ Բի Բոյ Եսոմն մոյս Բի
 Բիաձ Զան անոյս, 7 Բիաձ ծա Էն անարս. Կոլմաժոյ Ե Կոլմո՞ւ. Ես Կոնարս
 Կոյժեան 7 Ես թաժ Բարիաժոն ան մոնոժ հարս. Եսոյ ան Զոյնկոմոյ րոն
 Կարթիաձ ան սոճարս 7 Բոճոճ մոյս ո՞ ճլեյթ Լաժի Կոմաժ Եսոյճոյ. Ոար Եո
 Լիճա ծաժաժ Կոյճ Կոնո Ե Լոն 1 Բոյիաձ Բոյրնա Զարոժեաձ. Եժ Կոյր
 ո՞ Մաժ Սիլլիաձ & ո՞ Կոնարճոյ օ Ծոմոնոլլ ան Զոյնկոմոյ ո՞ ծոժե
 Բիմո Բոյրնա Բիճիճո՞ նա յո թոյրաժ ծոմճաձաձ. Եր Բարս ծոյրո՞ Լեո օ
 Բարճարս յա մաժարս Կարս մոնիաձ ան մարճ Բեժե Երսնիոմոյ Բարճեաձ
 Զար ան Եսոմն Բո ան Բիժոնարս անճարթոժարս ծոն Կարթիաձ, 7 Ե ԿԵճա 7 Ե
 ոմոնե, Ե ոճոլլանարս 7 ան ճարարս 7 ան Ծոնոճ Ես Ծարս Եսա ո՞ Լեժաձ
 Եսճա Բիճոնո՞ Ես հոմոնե մար Կո մեհիան օն Կարթիաձ. Ծ յո Եարթոն
 Եսաձ ծաժոյթ անարթիթեճո՞ նա նալլարս 7 յո Բարճոյճ Բոյրնա ԿԵժ ծոլ Կարթն
 Եսոմն Զան Բարճեաձ ծոյն անար յա յո Բարթիճ, 7 Ես ԲԵժ ո՞ յոմոնե Կոն
 ծիարաժ ոմոլլոյ 7 յոմրնաձաձ ծա Կոնո՞ 7 ԿԵճարս 7 Զոլլանարս օ յո
 Զարթաժ Բարս Եսոմթոմարս ան Կարթեոլ Բոյ Եսաձ ան Երլոյճ ԿԵճոմն,
 յոմոյր Զոմաձ յաժո նո Բոյրեթա Կարս Կոնո Եսոմոնիթ. Ո իճո՞ ո՞ յա
 ծոյնիոն Էնն ան ոն Ես մնարս Լեո, ԿԵժ ո՞ Կոնոմոյն Կարթն Եսոմն
 Զոմարս ծոն ծոյն Կարս Զան Բարճեաձ Զան Բոյրեթեժ. Ես րոն Կարթն
 Երաժիժ ան Զոյնկոմոյ Կոնա Եսնարսաձաձ Կարս Բարս Լա Բիճարս 7 Բարթեժ ան
 Երլոյճ ԿԵժ ծոլ Կարթն Եսոմն.

fol 37. b.

Ես մեձա մոյս Լար ան Զոյնկոմոյ ան ծոլ Բեյթ Բարս Կարթն Զարթն Բոյրնո.
 Լա թոժան Եժ Կիւաժարս Երթեաձ Երթեաձ նա մո՞ 7 նա ոժան 7 Ելլոյս նա
 նանման Բեյթաձաձ Եճ Կոմիթեժա Ե ԿԵժ 7 Բոճարնաձ օճրա Ե ոմոնա
 7 ան Եճարեաձ Ելլանարս ծոյն րոն ծոժոլ մոնի. Ծ Երթեժ Ե Բարթեժոն նա
 ոժոնոճարս 7 մա ոժոյրնարս Բո Կոմճարս նա ԿԵժաժ Կար ան Կարթիճ. Ծար
 Բարթեժ օն ծոյնն ծոնա հոմոնե, 7 Երթաժ Կար Կոնե ծոյն. Զոնաժ Ծոնոճ մոյս

¹ *Dermot O'Brien.*—Murrrough O'Brien, second son of Turlogh Donn, King of Thomond, surrendered his title and country to the Crown in 1543; and in return Henry VIII. created him Earl of Thomond for life

and Baron of Inchinquin, with remainder to his heirs male. The Earldom was re-granted to his nephew and his heirs male by Edward VI. in 1552. The title of Inchinquin passed to Murrrough's son, Der-

Dermot O'Brien,¹ Baron of Inchiquin, all these with their forces. When they had come where the Governor was they all went against Mac William and his forces by the road which they could not avoid and on which he was certain he would find them, *i.e.*, to the castle, which is on the Blackwater, east of Slieve Gam and west of Slieve da en. Collooney is its name. That place was the ordinary road and a well known pass. The Governor stayed in the castle that night, and a large body of chosen soldiers with arms and armour; there were not less than fifteen hundred in readiness for the Irish. The news reached Mac William and Rory O'Donnell that the Governor was advancing by the road which they could not avoid. Wherefore they resolved, as they had crossed before morning over the top of the mountain-slope of which we have spoken, to go to the river opposite, which was near the castle, and to send away their flocks and herds, their servants and recruits, and the unarmed crowd, by a safer road than that, which was a long distance from the castle. As they were but a few persons in comparison with the foreigners they did not attack these, but they crossed the river without being noticed, as they did not expect, and they thought they should obtain safety and security for their flocks and herds and servants, whilst they themselves went close to the castle, opposite the foreign army, in order that they might be a help to their people. What they wished, however, was not what happened to them, but they crossed the river and reached the other side without being noticed or heard. Then the Governor rose up with his foreigners from his sleep owing to the shouts and the talking of the army when crossing the river.

It was a great sorrow to the Governor that they should have passed by before he overtook them. Then they heard the loud bellowing of the cattle and of the oxen, and the noise of the senseless animals responding to each other, and the loud cries of their drovers, and their shouts in the early dawn of the morning to the east of them. They sent their cavalry in troops and squadrons in the direction of the herds to see if they could overtake them. They seized a quantity of the cattle, and some escaped

mot, and to his grandson of the same name; his son by Anabella, daughter of the ninth Lord Delvin, was Murrough, mentioned above, born in 1562. He was present in

Perrott's Parliament in 1585. His grandson Murrough played a very important part in the war of 1641. Archdall's *Peerage*, ii. 46.

vona gillib & volr na hiomann. Ni mo fceoracc arluag rlium anforam nach ananacal la hanporlonn 7 iomac an trloig do mala forra monchaib. Tifghait na Galroil ar famlaro co manzataru taru ran Eirine bur thiaro & ni mo lhrac na goill ar nool tairrib doib an clctna pect amail mo airneirioim. Soair an goibhinoim ma fpuething & ni b6 rlan lair a mlnmna ot iulataru a namiat aipe ifri na bpaibail in uacharo 7 ifri nhabail forro in ait momchumiang amail mon gab. An 29. lum do mala mo rin.

Don anaic tra lurtir nua in Eirne i torac mir ml'oom an traimeiaro do runnias .i. loiro Borough. - Tomar a ann. Uataru iomra iolaro an oghao iorigaile 7 an rianlach tachairu 7 tmoa do beic lair ma caoimteeet. O do maacht mo gab orlam cloroom an Ruz chuzo, 7 mo cumreaihl6 lair Seru William Ruytel baor ma lurtir rru me teora mbliadna go rin. Do blnao lair beor geneialaet an eozaro do Siu Seon Noimur 7 mo oipron e bur'oeim ir na ceimib rin. Ro for'oeongruo lar an lurtir rin for'oeibhinoim doicco Olnecmaet tocht co lionmaru leip'oeionoilte foru cenel cconail rin clno'oeiaru do doiceao Conchohairu daite anralao & ecciaitir gall forra. Ni b6 heirlrae mo rrearlao an for'oeongruoim lar an ngoibhinoim, & ba rlanioio'oehao moir lia mlnman oia tairrao de a aineiruo 7 a moipe do uiozal foru cenel Conail Gulban mic Neill reach cae.

Ro tarcelomao & mo tionoileao lair in moa iuaiae o6 do gallaib & do goioealaib an doicco, 7 mo uail ma noochum go mainirtiu na burle an 3. la do Augur. Do maacht ce'eamur iru toichlr'alrin larla Tuao'mumian Donnhae mac Conchohairu mic Donnhae uí Bruain. A re ba tizhina foru zarib'oeionn Luioeae mlnu mic Olnzura tihu'oe ril rru an Luimneach a tuao, ar ar'oe an Lu'oeao hirin mo bfn an mbloio eipe arpu'oeiomoi do doizeao Olnecmaet go mo tairabrac a riol ma ueaohairz. Don anaeruo go tcionol na Tuao'mumian maioin rru. Taimce larla cloinne Riocairu iru toichlr'al e'ona co leip'oeionol a thipe in a rochairu 7 cona mac Riocairu mac Uillec mic Riocairu Saxanaiz do rlioet Uilleam conquerer. Do riancaib

fol. 38. a.

¹ *Borough*.—Camden says he was sharp-witted and courageous, but of very little skill in military affairs. *H. of Eliz.*, p. 542.

² *Lughaidh Mean*.—He was fourth in descent from Cormac Cas (à quo Dalcasian). He wrested Clare from a Fírbolg tribe. See O'Curry's *M.S. Materials*, p. 209.

³ *Descendants*.—Keating says this district was exempt from all tributes and taxes, and paid no reverence to any of the kings of Ireland. *H. of Ireland*, p. 92. See also *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, p. 35.

⁴ *Richard*.—He was afterwards fourth Earl of Clanricarde. More of him later.

from them. A great number of the servants and of the drovers were wounded. Their own army could not interpose or help them owing to the greater number and force of the army opposed to them. The Irish went away in this manner until they crossed the Erne, northwards, and the English did not follow them when they passed them by the first time, as we have said. The Governor returned, and his mind was not at ease that his enemies should have escaped from him, after finding them so weak and coming on them in a very difficult place as he did. This happened on the 29th of June.

A new Lord Justice came to Erin in the beginning of the middle month of summer exactly, *i.e.*, Lord Borough.¹ Thomas was his name. Many and various were the soldiers for battle and companies for fight and strife that he brought with him. When he came he received the King's sword, and Sir William Russell, who was Lord Justice for three years, was replaced by him. The chief command of the army was also taken by him from Sir John Norris, and he himself assumed that position. An order was given by this Lord Justice to the Governor of the province of Olneccmacht to go with his forces in full muster against the Cinel Conaill, to the western part of the province of Conor, to avenge the wrongs and enmity of the English on them. This command was not received negligently by the Governor, and it was a great satisfaction to his mind to go to wreak his cruelty and vengeance on the race of Conall Gulban, son of Niall, beyond all others.

He assembled and mustered all the English and Irish of the province that were obedient to him, and summoned them to meet at the monastery of Boyle, on the third of August. The first who came to that meeting was the Earl of Thomond, Donough, son of Conor, son of Donough O'Brien; he was lord of the rough district of Lughaidh Mean,² son of Oenghus Tirech, which is to the north of Limerick, for it was that Lughaidh who separated that portion of territory of which we have spoken from the province of Olneccmacht, and his descendants³ in succession inhabited it. He came with the troops of Thomond. The Earl of Clanricarde came to the same meeting with all the forces of his territory, and his son Richard,⁴ son of Ulick, son of Richard Sassanach, of the race of William

ίαι mbunaóαρ 7 α εμοχαίβ Saxon το ύεοχατομ α cenél an úrín con úaróib ainmniγheτfi an flíonn. Tanaicc van Teaboitt na long mac Ríroflíro an íaríonn cona roéparoe. O Conéobairí Slíziγ Donnchaó mac Cathail óis mic Taróγ mic Cathail óis 7 ó Conéobairí Ríuáó Aóó mac Toiméalbais μίαρό co Uíon α μυντιηε immaílle fíú. Ro fáoió imoγio luptiγ oγionγ oía roéparoe go Saíllín go τταροαταoiγ sonnaoha móμa oía raiγheáó sup an Samáoiμ.

Íαι ττflamaó an τrloiγ co háit naonbaile goμbatari hi mainiτti na Slíγra va banna ar fíchit vo mtleaóab τμαγheáé & veich mbanna máicrloiγ vo flépe flariγloiγ cona ceotunab comθainγne eμuaróíaríonn 7 cona rímonnlaíγnóib ríothpoda ríonnfléna 7 go ηγunnáoab supápoa γéppáoaríeacha, 7 co cclarómnib caoilγeapia coτταoiγnγne cona momooumaiβ aille íomólinéte 7 co ceaeébaγmab eioγeioμα coceúarτα, sup bó lanpaóileé-tain leó na baoi acmaing abpíeapταl hi cóiceeáó Conéobairí mic Uíγa la hallmápoáé 7 ainτaríγnaróe anarim an éitτó 7 ainmíll, úari m μábatari τpaelma oioβmáicéi lár na γaoíoealaib an τan rín acτ maó bflγ, 7 m batari eitγhe te po amonτpanáilríoim. Oo arγnarari íaríoim na rloiγ rín go Slízió 7 araróe co hEipine. Sabait longpóit an aóaiγ rín ór up Samáie. Va fari veipró leó rín mitchóflhoil ar α βαμαé íonhpoíγeáó na habánn po an líeóimari sup bó veimín leó na baoi aon áé ó éaolunpce go hflγ Ríuáó γan íomchomíft ó úa n'Omínoíll fari. O μo éimríte poi an comáipe hiriμ μo chéimniγríoτ co háτ curl úain an τrampeáó ma τtuntib τpíoma τoiτclmíla, sup μo ooiτríte maompeéτ 7 m oln fáball oía fáiγeáó. Ro γábrat na comθeoiγe batari an oú rín aγ copnaiβ an ácha fíú amáil ar veaé μo fεττpat ce m batari lion acopnaíma fíup an poiíonn vo μachτatarí chuea. Va fúleáé pobeμtaé μo γábrat poi fpeapταl α namat sup μo línγríte an Uíμ rloiγ an τáé oía namθeom poiμa po úeóró. Acht élna vo μαpíbaó & vo baíeáó echt móμ an rín on τrlóγ eéτairíenéoií .i. Baγun mpe uí Chunn, Mupchaó mac Mupchaó mic Oíarímaoa mic Mupchaó uí Uíam, úari baoiγohe eitpi α μυντflí 7 íomθoíam an aéa oía mímθeáγal poi

fol. 38. b.

¹ *William the Conqueror.*—William Fitz-Adelm De Burgo, so called because he was said to have conquered Connaught. See *Annals F. M.*, ad ann 1204, and p. 92, antea.

² *Name.*—It has its name from Ricard Oge, son of William FitzAdelm, and Una, daughter of Aodh O'Conor, the last King of Connaught. The head of this branch was called Mac William Uachtar.

the Conqueror.¹ They were from France originally by descent, and the tribe came from England to that place, and from them the district has its name.² There came also Theobald na long, son of Richard an iarainn, with his forces; O'Conor Sligo, Donough, son of Cathal Oge, son of Tadhg, son of Cathal Oge; and O'Conor Roe, Hugh, son of Turlough Roe, with all their forces. The Justice sent besides a body of his troops to Galway, that they might bring large guns to him to the Saimer.

When the army was brought together to one place, there were at the monastery of the Seghais twenty-two regiments of foot soldiers and ten regiments of horse of chosen troops, with their strong coats of mail and their stout, long, broad-shouldered spears, and their loud-voiced sharp-sighted guns, and their slender, sharp, hard-tempered swords, with beautiful firmly-secured hafts, and their curve-crested hollow helmets, so that they imagined there was not in the province of Conor MacNessa a power to cope with them on account of the outlandishness and strangeness of their arms, armour, and weapons, for the Irish had only a few guns then and did not wear armour like them. These forces then marched to Sligo, and from that to the Erne. They encamped that night on the bank of the Saimer. They determined to cross the river opposite them at early dawn the next day, for they were sure that there was not a single ford from Cael Uisge³ to Assaroe that had not a guard of O'Donnell's on it. When they had determined on that plan they went to Athculuain in a heavy, numerous mass, and they poured in at once and in one body to cross over. The guards who were placed there to defend the ford against them did as best they could, though the numbers of the defenders was not great compared with the crowd that advanced against them. With vigour and strength they set to receive the enemy till the whole army crossed the ford in spite of them in the end. It was a great disaster for the foreign army that the Baron of Inchiquin, Murrough, son of Murrough, son of Dermot, son of Murrough O'Brien, was mortally wounded and drowned, for he was between his people and the deep part of the ford, to protect them against danger,

³ *Cael Uisge*.—This place, at present called Cael na hEirne, is where the lower river Erne issues from the lake, a short distance above the town of Ballyshannon.

There is another place of the same name on the north side of the entrance to Newry harbour. See Joyce's *Irish Names of Places* 2nd series, p. 395.

when he was struck by a bullet exactly in the armpit, at the opening of his plate-armour, so that he was pierced through from one armpit to the other, and though there were four or five thousand of his men about him they could not aid or assist him, for he fell from his horse in the deep part of the ford, so that the nobleman died in this way. The army did not wait to take his body with them for burial as was fitting, but they marched forward on their road till they came to Sith Aodha,¹ on the bank of the cataract. The day of the week was Saturday. They encamped there, and some of them stayed in the monks' monastery² on the banks of the Unshinn.³ They remained so from shortly before mid-day on Saturday till the following Monday morning.

As for the ships of which we spoke in the beginning that were summoned by the Governor to go from Galway, the people who were ordered to go on that expedition unmoored the greater number of the ships in Galway to bring and convey the loud-voiced guns,⁴ great and large and sharp, to break down and destroy the fortresses and strong castles of their enemies. Besides, they put in them everything that was needed by the army. They sailed, keeping the northern part of the province on their right till they came to the Erne, on Sunday precisely. They entered the harbour opposite the island of Saimer, and they landed all their supplies both of food and strong drink and of everything needed by them while besieging the castle in the island, on Monday. They drew the large guns on land and they planted them face to face with the castle, which was on the bank of Ballyshannon.

The people who were in the monastery came, and all placed themselves on the summit of Sith Aodha around the ordnance. Then they proceeded to cast their heavy bullets and their loud-sounding balls of fire, so that the report and loud thunderings were heard far away from there. They sent a countless number of the choicest of their soldiers to the foot of the castle with implements to pull down the wall, and with strong iron armour round the bodies of their heroes, and with bright-shining helmets on their heads.

³ *Unshinn*.—This is the stream close to which the abbey is built. It rises in Lough Unshinn, five miles N.E. of Ballyshannon.

⁴ *Guns*.—The besiegers brought four guns from Galway to batter down the walls of the castle. See p. cxxx., *antea*.

There was a bright covering¹ of round, broad shields of well-tempered iron all round outside to defend them against the shots of the impetuous party of heroes who were in the castle. There was no hesitation or cessation in that contest for the space of three days and three nights, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday. However, the attack which the foreigners made was of no avail, and it was better for them that they had not come on that expedition, for there were poured from the castle on them showers of bright fiery balls from the well planted straight-firing guns and from the costly muskets, and of missiles of rough-pointed, sharp rocks, heavy, massive stones, with beams and blocks, which happened to be on the battlements of the castle, so that their well made bent shields and their closefitting helmets were not firm or strong enough, for they were crushed and killed within their iron armour by the well aimed shots directed against them. When the soldiers were massacred in numbers in this way, they did not prolong their stay any further to be slaughtered. They turned their backs to their enemies. They were driven into the camp. The people in the castle continued to shoot after them, so that many were slain, both reckoned and unreckoned. Some of them escaped severely wounded.

It happened that O'Donnell was in want of soldiers, and had only a small force on the Saturday the fierce, vindictive multitude entered his territory. His forces assembled and collected to him before mid-day on Monday, for they were never slow to come at his call whenever he asked them to come to meet him. First came Hugh Maguire with all his forces. Then came O'Rourke, Brian Oge, son of Brian,² son of Brian Ballach,³ son of Owen, with his party. When they came to Hugh O'Donnell he did not allow quiet or peace day or night to the Governor or to his people. O'Donnell's force drove those on the outskirts of the Connaught camp into the middle of it, and those in the middle to the outside, and fear and terror did not allow them to put their horses or cattle to graze beyond the boundary of the camp outside owing to the great straits in which they

¹ 'Offences of Sir Bryan O'Rourke,' in the *Egerton Papers*, p. 144, Camden Society, 1840.

³ *Brian Ballach*. — *i.e.*, the freckled or spotted. A notice of him will be found in *Annals F. M.*, v. 1591. He died in 1562.

βαδάιβ. Νο βισό ιομπυαζαό 7 ιμóυβμαααό ζαά λαοι ειτηι αν μαριεβιαζά
 α ούι 7 αναλλ βυι μίε να τηι λά μο βάταρι αν β'βιαζ ζαλλ οαα ιομπυοίζαά αν
 ούναρό.

Ro ζοναιε & μο τιμζοαιε ποχαρθε βτοπηια βάν εάν αν αιμζτηι, αάτ να
 μα βα μόο μο επεαηααίζιτ αν β'βιαζ ζαλλ οαάτ να ζοβόι. Βα οο να
 ηυαιβ'λιβ βα ηβ'οειρε μο ζοναό ύαιοιβ αν ταν βιν ύα Conóobari Slicicch
 Oonmchaó mac Cachaíl óig. Ro ποαό ποι μαριεβιαζά να ηζαλλ πο όείοό ιριν
 τηεβ'λαίτε ζυρ να β'οοιαιβ combataρι μβ'ρεα αρι μβ'ρεα βυι να τηαιζηάεάαιβ.
 Σαριαιε ίαροιη βυι αριοιε, 7 ιι τηια β'αιμβ'ηιε μο β'αβ'ρατ αάτ ύαμ'αν αριόιε
 οιανβ'ταρζαίρε. Ο μο ματαίζιβ'τ να ζαλλ ζαίρεαά 7 ζαριαιτεάτ να ηζαοίθεαλ
 οβάρ 7 ομφοβ'βαίρε ταίριβ' αμ'αιλ να μο β'αοιβ'τ, βα μελα μόρι leo
 τυροόεάτ αν τηιβαρ τυόάτορι τηε α β'ραβ'ααιβ'ροτ οία ααυαάοαιβ ιμον
 αααρτιαλλ, & λα β'βιαζά υί Ohoimnaill von leit naile & ζαβαίλ ποημο ιριν
 ααυίλ áumainz iteaominaζαίρι ι ταανητα οαα ηβ'ρεααίροιβ αona βαοι ια
 ααυαηαζ ποαό ποι εύλαό οο β'αίζαά αν άθηα τηιβα ταηζαταρι ιετοραά, ια
 ιομπυοίζαά ναά αθηα ναίλε οά loch Cihne mζine Ouyiz ζυρ αν μαιρι μόιρι.
 Ο οο μααηταταρι αν β'βιαζ ζαλλ οια β'οοιαιβ ηίρι βο β'άιμ conζυβ'τ 7 ηίρι
 βο μβ'ημναά μυζρατ αρ αν αοηαιζ βιν λα ηυαμ'αν 7 αμ'όβ'ηβαρ άνεάοιλ
 ααοιαλλ, αρι βα οβ'ιβ'β' λάρ να ζαλλαιβ' ζυρι υό ηαρα leoβ'οιη αν οιοαό αρι
 έν λαάταρι ιμάρ ανεμειαά οο β'β'ιεά.

ζαβ'ρατ αν ζοιβ'β'ημóιρι να ηβαρλαοηα 7 να μαίτε ατημβ'ιαμορι αζ αμ'ο α
 ααοιαίριε ό υι'ετοραά οιόάε οια αβ'αοιη ζο μαιόόβ'οιλ μαρθηε οία οαρποαοιη
 ουρ ειό οο ζβ'ηοαιι ιμον ηζύαραάτ ναηβ'οιλ βαοι ποι αιηο οόιβ', αonaό β'αιρι
 οειηρό leo πο όείοό ο μο ζβ'ε βαηβ'οιβ'ι αν λάοι ποημο αρζηαίη ποι ιμοναηαιβ'
 αρ αν μαίρεαη ιμβ'αταρι οο μύλλαά β'ιθηε άόόα οιοηηβαίζαά να ηαβαηηι ύαρ
 υιι Eγ'ρα Rúairi ι β'αιλ ηαρι βο αonaίρι αοιτεηβ'ηο οο οαοιηιβ' β'άιμ ζό βιν, ααηε
 fol. 40. a. ναμ'ά μμνα οιζβ'ιριτιρ αμ'αιό νο τηιενβ'ηι ταίριβ' ηι τηαιε β'αιμ'ιαό οο β'β'οιηάό
 ανβ'ιτε 7 α μαιάααηαι, οβ'ιέβ'ηι όη αρι βαβ'β'ό ανμ'αιη αν ιοναοβ'ηι μο ιονη-
 β'αίζιβ'τ ποηβ'αν άβαηηι ααρβ'άν να ααυαά. Ro βαοι οαν ηβ'ιτε μόρι οζα
 ηζυβ'β'ααητηροίη αηυζα οον αηυβ'ηι .ι. ειζβ'η 7 υαμ'αν, ζυρι μο οοιβ'εβ'τ ιη
 αοιμβ'εάτ ια ναοηβ'οιη οβ'ιηάτ οειμμηαοαίζ ζυρ αν άβαηηι πο αν β'ιέαοιαρι.

¹ *Cassan na ccuradh.*—O'Sullivan trans-
 lates this semita heroum, the heroes' path.
Hist. Cath., p. 203. It is immediately

above the cataract of Assaroe. For a more
 detailed account of this flight see *Introd.*,
 p. lxxxviii., antea.

were placed by their enemies. There was skirmishing and shooting every day between the cavalry on both sides for the space of the three days that the English force was besieging the castle.

Many were wounded and hurt on both sides, here and there, during that time ; but yet more of the English force were wounded than of the Irish. Of the nobles among them who were wounded then the best known was O'Conor Sligo, Donough, son of Cathal Oge. The English cavalry retired at last on the third day to the camp, and they were mixed up with the foot-soldiers. They separated afterwards from each other, and it was not through love but through fear they separated from each other. When the English saw the bravery and courage of the Irish grow and increase beyond them, as they did not expect, they were greatly grieved for having come on this expedition, on account of those of their heroes whom they left behind round the castle, and at the army of O'Donnell on the other side coming on them in the narrow corner in which they were confined by their enemies, so that it was not in their power to go back towards the ford across which they had come first, or to go by another ford from the Lough of Erne, the daughter of Burg, to the ocean. When the English army reached their camp they did not sleep pleasantly, nor did they pass that night agreeably, through fear and terror of the Cinel Conaill, for the English were certain that it was more likely they should be destroyed all together than come off safe.

The Governor, the Earls, and the nobles of whom we have spoken went to take counsel from the beginning of Wednesday night to the early dawn of Thursday morning as to what they should do in the great danger before them. Wherefore they resolved in the end, when the bright light of the day shone on them, to go forward from where they were, from the hill of Sith Aodha, across the river, up the bank of Assaroc, at the point where the river was not a common passage for people up to that, but only heroes and brave men would cross it in the drought of summer to prove their strength and courage, so that the name of the place where they entered the river was Cassan na ccuradh.¹ There was, besides, a great power urging them on then, *i.e.*, necessity and fear, so that they passed on together in one violent, thick crowd to the river opposite them. The crowd, both front and rear,

was so eager, that they were placed in the middle of the army on account of their dread and the difficulty of the river opposite them, and their fear and terror of the enemy pursuing them. They left behind their great guns and the ordnance and everything they had which they could not carry away, both food and drink, and every other necessary too. They then presented their breasts to the passage of that rough, unfrequented torrent, and on account of the strength and power of the current of the river (as was usual with it), and the difficulty of the very smooth surface of the flags as the common passage of the great host, and, moreover, from the weakness and failure of the English from want of a proper supply of food, many of the men, women, steeds, and horses were drowned, and the strength of the stream bore them into the deep part of Assaroe, and thence westwards to the ocean. When the people in the castle saw the army escaping thus they set to shoot at them as fast as they could. They were answered by the party who were in the van, and had reached the bank on the other side. They began to fight in defence of the crowd that was in the rear, so that the noise and report and the echo were heard in the places near, and it seemed to them that it was thunder and the conflict of the heavenly elements which they were hearing from the upper part of the atmosphere and from the depths of the sky. When O'Donnell heard the shooting in the engagement and the echo of the contest, he came from his tent immediatety and the forces came too. They went with their weapons of war speedily and set off towards the river to take vengeance on the English as quick as they could, all together. They did not come up with them until they were on the other side of the river. Many of the rear of the army were wounded and drowned, and they set little value on them, as their nobles, leaders, and chiefs of war, their followers and friends had escaped. They were glad to carry away their lives from the straight, deep-wounding shots of the people of the castle, and over the strong, violent stream, over which heroes had never come before them without ruin and death. O'Donnell set out in pursuit of them across the river, but however that was not the way took.¹

When the Governor and his army came across the Erne in this way he put his people in order and array. He placed his oxen and horses used

pén & captaó (βαταρι λάρ αν ρλυαζ̄ διομψυλανζ α loim & α ναυόιζε αμ
 chfna) αν ζυλλανιαρό 7 αν οβ̄ ςαιριμ & ζαé αλν no ζοντα υίοβ̄ λτορηια 7
 μοιμ. Βαοι ρειριμ ςona διορημαιβ̄ ςαζ̄ϋλοιζ̄ cona αμ̄ραιβ̄ 7 cona οζ̄βαρό τον
 ταιοιβ̄ αμ̄αλλ, 7 μο λα α όβ̄ ςιυβ̄μαιέτε ρομ̄ αμβέλαιβ̄ ςυμ̄ϋελαίτε & διομ-
 έορημαίμ̄ ςαμ̄ ελ̄ηη αν ύαμ̄αλ 7 αναμ̄ιαέ cona ηέτα αταάεμανζ na α ττιμ̄έαλλαó
 αμ̄ α ρεαβ̄υρ μο ριυόζιγε. Αμ̄ια αοι ριμ̄ μο ρ̄λημ̄ατ̄ μ̄ιμ̄τελ̄μ̄ υί Δοιμ̄νοιλ̄
 ςεαβαρό διοχρηια ρ̄ιυú ζο μο ζοντα ιλε λτορηια ςε ρ̄ιυ 7 αναλλ, 7 ζο
 ρ̄ραμ̄εαιβ̄ε ειχ̄ & ςαοιμε αν λά ημ̄ιμ̄. Ζαβαίτε na ζαίλλ αν τυχετ̄ ριμ̄ λαίμ̄
 οβ̄ ρ̄μ̄ αν μ̄ιμ̄. Ρ̄ληέμ̄ι ζ̄λέρ̄ ρ̄λεοχαίό ρορηια ιήμ̄ιτεαμ̄ 7 βα ηαναίελητα α
 μεó. Ρο ρομ̄ιζ̄ιτε na ριομ̄ια ςεϋρ̄óε ζορ̄ιβο ηιμ̄β̄ρεέταμ̄ τον λοεϋμαió αν αμ̄ιμ̄
 διομ̄λυαó λα ηαρόβ̄λε αν ρ̄λεαχαίό. Βα μο αμ̄ μο λα ηυόε ρομ̄ μ̄ιμ̄τελ̄μ̄ υί
 Δοιμ̄ναίλλ̄ ολ̄οάρ̄ ρορημα ζαλλαιβ̄ ίαμ̄ na ηοιετ̄ζαó ύαμ̄ι μο ρ̄αζ̄αμβ̄ρ̄ιοτ̄
 αρ̄ρομ̄β̄ματα αναραηα ιομ̄ηϋοτ̄τα 7 αμ̄αλλέμ̄αηηα 7 αμ̄οιλε ςια ηέτ̄ζαó λα
 τ̄ιμ̄ηημ̄ 7 λα τ̄μ̄ίε na τ̄οζαμ̄μα ςο τ̄ηαμ̄ιαέταμ̄ na η̄ζαλλ. Βαταμ̄ι αν ςι
 ρ̄όεμ̄αίτε ρομ̄ι αν αραμ̄ιρ̄ιμ̄ οεε αν ιμ̄όεαβαρό μο μ̄αυόρ̄μ̄μομ̄ι 7 οεε ετ̄εταμ̄ι-
 μοχεταμ̄ι βολ̄ζηαίλ̄ αμ̄οιλε ζο μ̄αχεταταμ̄ι ταμ̄ι Διομ̄βαοιμ̄ ταμ̄ι Δοιμ̄β̄ 7 ζο Μαζ̄
 εελ̄ιτενε. Ο μ̄οβ̄ταμ̄ι ρεετ̄ηιζ̄ μ̄ιμ̄τεμ̄ι υί Δοιμ̄ηναίλλ̄ τον τ̄οζαμ̄ιμ̄ ιομ̄παε
 ma ημ̄ηέλ̄ηιζ̄ & ατ̄μ̄υλατ̄ na ζοίλλ̄ ςία τ̄εζ̄ηιβ̄ ρο η̄ελα 7 αίτ̄μ̄. Δέε chfna
 μ̄οβ̄τομ̄ι ρυβ̄αίζ̄ ρομ̄β̄αολ̄ιζ̄ αμ̄ι αβα αν ελυόα αμ̄ na ζαίετ̄ιβ̄ ιμ̄βαταμ̄ι & η
 οβ̄ημ̄ατ̄ αέε ημ̄ζ̄ η̄μ̄ιε ςια ρ̄ραμ̄ζ̄αμβ̄ρ̄ιοτ̄ ó ςο λ̄ηματαμ̄ι ρ̄λημ̄ι. Ημ̄ι βó
 ρ̄αμ̄ηαίό ςία Δοιμ̄ηναίλλ̄ ηι μο ρ̄ολαμ̄ιηναίζ̄ υόρ̄ομ̄ι αμ̄ηηελαχ̄εηημ̄αó ζ̄αν
 ρ̄λαν α η̄λ̄ηηαμ̄ οϋαζ̄βαίλ̄ ρορηια & μο ζ̄αβ̄ οεε μ̄αμ̄ηζ̄ημ̄αó 7 οεε ημ̄ημ̄ι εο
 μομ̄ι ιμα τ̄ελ̄ημ̄ύó υαó αν τυχετ̄ ριμ̄. Βαταμ̄ι ιη Slieceaé αν αόαίζ̄ ριμ̄,
 βαρ̄βó αεεετ̄ηα η̄μ̄óε, αμ̄ι α βαμ̄ιαé ςαοηαίζ̄ ι μ̄αμ̄ηετ̄μ̄ι na β̄υιλλ̄ε, 7 αν τ̄μ̄λ̄
 οιοche ηι τ̄μ̄αίε Δτ̄ηα λ̄ιαεε. Ιη ρ̄έλ̄ ειτ̄ερετα na ηί ηαοίμ̄ Μαμ̄ηε 7 ηι εοιεε
 ςεεε Δυζ̄μ̄ητ̄ αμ̄ι άοι λ̄αιthe η̄μ̄ρ̄ ζ̄ηεμ̄ε ατ̄ μ̄υλαταμ̄ι αν ρ̄λ̄υαζ̄ ριμ̄ ςαμ̄ι
 Σαμ̄ιαοιμ̄.

Ο ςο μ̄ομ̄ηεταμ̄ιτ̄ε na μ̄αίερ̄ιμ̄ οιβ̄λ̄ιοναιβ̄ ςια τ̄εζ̄ηηιρ̄ ημ̄ι βó ρ̄ύαηαé
 ρ̄άοηαλ̄ μο έοcheαίε Δοοη Ρ̄ύαó ύα Δοιμ̄ηναίλλ̄ cona ρ̄οcheμ̄αίτε ιμ̄β̄υι μ̄λ̄ημ̄α

¹*Magh Cetne*.—*i.e.*, the field of compulsion, where the Formorians obliged the Nemedians to pay a tribute of children, cattle, wheat, milk, and butter on the first of November each year. It lies between the rivers Drowes and Erne. See Keating's *H.*

of Ireland, p. 78, and *The Book of Fenagh*, p. 250. This place is often mentioned in *Annals F. M.*

²*Athleague*.—A village on the river Suck, in the N.W. of the barony of Athlone, Co. Roscommon.

for the wains and carts (which the army had to carry their provisions and their implements also), his attendants and his unarmed people, and every one of those wounded between them and the sea. He was himself with companies of chosen troops, with his soldiers and youths, on the other side. He put his shooters opposite for the defence and protection of the nobles and chiefs, so that they should not be surrounded or circumvented owing to the perfect way in which they were placed. However, O'Donnell's people made a fierce attack on them, so that many among them were wounded on this side and that, and horses and men were left behind that day. The English marched then, keeping the sea on the right. A shower of rain fell on them after that, and the intensity of it was unusual. The men ceased in consequence, for it was dangerous for the soldiers to use their arms on account of the heavy rain. This had a greater effect on O'Donnell's people than on the English on account of their clothing, for they had left behind their cloaks, long stockings, and shoes, and other parts of their dress, owing to their haste and the urgency of the call to take vengeance on the English. The two armies were engaged in this way in the contest of which we have spoken, harming each other until they crossed the Drowes and the Dubh to Magh Ccctne.¹ As O'Donnell's people were tired by the pursuit they turned back, and the English escaped to their homes with sorrow and confusion. But yet they were pleased and glad on account of their escape from the straits in which they were, and they made but little account of those whom they left behind since they themselves escaped. It was not so with O'Donnell; their joy was not pleasing to him, since his mind was not satisfied that they had got away, and he proceeded to lament and reflect very much at their escape from him on that occasion. They stayed in Sligo that night; that was their first journey; on the night of the next day, at the monastery of Boyle; on the third night in the district of Athleague.² On the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and on the 15th of August, according to the solar month,³ the army crossed the Saimer.

When the nobles on both sides had gone to their homes, O'Donnell and his forces did not pass idly or slothfully what was before them of the

³ *Solar Month*.—See *The Book of Rights*, p. xlviiii.

τον φορημάριον ύαιη ζαχ ταν νο τοιμάιέβδ σιζίνόαιλ νο ανφοιλονη
 ο ζηαλλαιβ φοη ύα Νέιλλ (Αού mac Φησοριχα) νο φαοιόεαδ λιτη 7 τεετα
 εο ηύα η'Οοιμάιλ τεεαοίηε α επτάλαηηζ ηηη ηια αιλ 7 ηια αελχηηηγεαδ
 ηη τοοηε ηια ελοβαηη 7 ηια ελοηφοηεαηεη αν ταν ηα φαζβαοαιη ζαίλλ α
 βαοζηαλ βυδην 7 ηα λειζεαδ αν ομαη τοιβ βιέ οεε φοηηηαη φαηη. Βα
 τοιλιό τοιχημάηηζ το ηαηη ηαοηη ηαηε ηα ηαηαηα ειηηηιέιαηα ηα ηηιαηηε
 ηηυβλαάα 7 ηα θεαβέα τοιηζε νό ηηεαηελαδ ηη εοιεεεβδ ηαηελλα ηα εηη
 βυδηνηη 7 ζαδ ταν νο εηιζεαδ ι εηη ηεοζηαη ηη τοηηεηην υί Νέιλλ. Ηηη βο
 ειαη βάοι ύα Όοιμάιλ ηφοη ίαηη ηηηεεετ αν ζοιβηηόηα 7 ηα ηηαηλαδ αηαη
 ηο ηηηαηηηεοίηηοηη αν ταν τανζατοη τεετα υί Νέιλλ το φαζεαδ υί Όοιμάιλ
 ηια αηηηηη όδ εοηβυη αν ηηηηη (Τομαη Λοηρο Βοηουηη) & ηαηλα εηηλλε
 Όαηα (Ηηηη mac ζηηοιτε) εο ηοέηαηε ζαίλλ ηηη ηηοε 7 λαιζήη οεε ητοεηε
 εο εηη εοζηαη αη ταηηαηηζ 7 αη ειοηεοηζ τοηηηόεαλβαηζ ηηε εηηη ηα
 fol.41.6. ηζαηεαδ ηηε Φεληη Ρυαδ υί Νέιλλ, 7 ηο φαοιό εηυεα τοεηε εο λιοη α
 εηιοηοιη όια εοβαηη 7 όια ηηηεαδ ηη αζαδ α ηαηαετ & ηο εηηηεαλλ βεοη
 εεεηη ταν ηαηε το ηηεεεαδ ύα Όοιμάιλ α ληη τοεε ηια εοηηηηεαετ εο
 εηηεαδίοηη ηα τοηηεηη εηη ηηηαοαδ ζαη ηοηηηηεαδ.

Ο ηο ηηηηζ ύα Όοιμάιλ ηα ληηε, ηο ηοηεοηηαηη φοηη α τοιχήηεαλ
 ειοηόλ αη ζαδ αηηο ίηα τοοηοηη ηό εεττόηη, ύαιη ηηη βο λαιηη λαι ηα Νέιλλ
 το βιέ ηηη ηηηη ηηηηη ζαη αλάβάζηα το εάβαηηε ληη. Όεηέβηη όη αη ηηη
 υό εοηηεοε εο ηο εηηη όια εεηελ άηαοη ηιαη λαιαη όηε & λαιαη εοεηα
 αη οηε οεαετ αν ηα αδύοηηη βαταη εοόηαηζ, 7 βαταη ηλαεα φοηη α εεηελαίβ
 αν ταηηηη. Όο εοετ ίαηοηη ο Όοιμάιλ ι εηηαηεε εο ηαηηηη αηβαοι ό ηηηη
 εοηηοηηα ηοηηη ηια ηηαηεηηαζ 7 ηια ηηηεαδαιβ ηαηοηηη ηηηη 7 αηοηε τοιβ
 ηα ληηηαηη αη ηη ηο αηηηηηοηη ηα ηοηηε ηηηύ λα εοηηηηηη αη υαηαη ηα
 ηηαλλ το ταιεεετ ι εηη ηεοζηαη εηό ηηα ηηύ εηηεαδίοηη ζηηη αν ηαηηηη ηηαηε
 ύα Νέιλλ.

Όαηα αν ηηηηηη 7 ηα ηηαλλ αεηηυβηαηοηη τανζαταηηηόε εο ηηαζ λάνηόηη
 λιοηηαη ληηειοηοιτε ζο ηοηοιηετ Αθα, αηηηόε εο εηαηηεβαηε ζο

¹ *E. of Kildare.*—This was Henry, twelfth Earl, called by the Irish na dtuagh, i.e., of the battle-axes. O'Neill urged him to renounce all allegiance to the English Crown and to join with the Irish. His second daughter, Brigid, married Rory

O'Donnell, brother of Hugh Roe. See *Annals F. M.*, v. 238o.

² *Men of Meath.*—O'Sullivan says one of the Barnwalls commanded the forces of Meath. He detached a party under the command of his son to attack Tyrrell, one

harvest, for whenever any oppression or violence was threatened by the English against O'Neill (Hugh, son of Ferdoragh), he sent letters and messengers to O'Donnell to complain of his sufferings to him, and to ask and beseech him to come to his aid and assistance when the English did not strive to harm himself and fear did not allow them to oppress him. The long journeys, and swift hostings, and difficult skirmishings which he carried on in the province of Oilioll and in his own territory and each time he went into Tir Eoghain to the assistance of O'Neill, were painful and hard to every one else. O'Donnell was not long at rest after the departure of the Governor and of the Earls, as we have related, when messengers came from O'Neill to O'Donnell to tell him that the Lord Justice (Thomas Lord Borough) and the Earl of Kildare¹ (Henry, son of Gerald), with the forces of the English and the men of Meath² and Leinster, were coming to Tir Eoghain at the instigation and by the advice of Turlough, son of Henry na ngarthadh,³ son of Phelim Roe O'Neill, and he sent to him to come with all his forces to aid and strengthen him against his enemies, and he promised besides that whenever O'Donnell would require him to come to his aid he would come to help him without hesitation or delay.

When O'Donnell read the letter he ordered his whole force to assemble from every place to him immediately, for it was not agreeable to him that O'Neill should be in such straits without giving him help. This was natural, for it was not usual that two such flames of mutual love and of affection should spring together from their stock as these two Hughs, who were lords and princes over their tribes at that time. O'Donnell went soon afterwards to where O'Neill was with a large body of his horse and of his foot-soldiers, and others of them followed, for he did not delay in his journey for them in his haste, fearing lest the English army might come to Tir Eoghain before he reached the place where O'Neill was.

As for the Lord Justice and the English of whom we have spoken, they came with a very large, powerful, numerous army to Drogheda, from

of the Anglo-Irish of Leinster, who was friendly to O'Neill. Young Barnwall was captured, and a great part of his forces slain. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 184.

³ *T. Mac Henry na ngarthadh.*—*i.e.*, of the cries. See p. 31, *antea*. Owing to his guidance the Lord Justice crossed the river in safety. *Annals F. M.*, vi. 2023.

հԱրտիաճա, ԵՈՒՐ ԵՄՐԱԵ ԵՍ ՄԱՆԶԱԵԱՐ ԵՍ ԽՍԻ ԱԾԱՆՆ ՄՈՒՄԵ. ԲՕ ԶԱԾԱԵ ԿԱ ՈՒՆԼ 7 ԿԱ ԾՈՄՆԱԿԼ ԵՍՆԱ ԲՆՈՂԱԻԾ ԲՈՒ ԱԿԿԻՄՈ ԱՆ ՍՈՒ ԲԻՆ. ՈՒՐ ԵՍ ԲՕՎԱՆԶ ԲԱԶԵԱԾ ԲՈՒ ԱՆ ԵՄՈՇԻԼԱ ԼԵՈՒՄԱՆ 7 ԲՈՒ ԱՆ ՈՒՄՈ ՆԶՄԵ ԵՍ ՄԱԼԱ ԵՄԼ 1 ԵՄԼ ԲԻՆ. ԱՒՐՐԻ ԵՆ ԽՐԵՒԻ ԵՍՆԱ ԲՆՈՂ Ե ԽՕ ԶԱԾ ԼՈՆԶՐՈՒԵ ԻՆ ԶԱՐԲՈՒՐ ՍՈՆ ԱԾԱՆՆ ԱՐ ԵՍ ԵՄԻԾ ԼԱՐ ՆԱՐ ԵՍ ՄԻՍՈ ՍՕ ՆԱԵ ՍԿԱ ԲՆՈՂ ԱՐԶՆԱՆ ԲՈՒ ԱՆԱԶԱՐՈ ԻՆ ԵՍՈ ԲԻՄԵ. ԵՍ ԲՍԼԵԱՇ, ԲԱԵԲՄԱԵ, ԵՐԵՇԽԱԵ, ԵՐՈՒԼՈՆՆԵԱՇ, ՎԵԲԵԽԱԵ, ՍԻԵՄԱԵՍԵՍՈՒՆ ԱՆ ԲԻԱԾԱԶԱԾ ԲՈՒՄԱՐ ԱՆ ԽՐԵՒԻ ԵՍՆԱ ՈՒՄՆԵԼԻ Օ ԲՆՈՂԱԻԾ ԿԻ ՈՒՆԼ 7 ԿԻ ՕԽՈՒՆՆԱԿԼ ԱԶ ԵՐՆԱՆ ԱԿԿԻՄԵ 7 ԱԿԿԱՄԲՈՒԵՄԱ ԲԻՆ. ՈՒՐ ԵՍ ՈՒ ԱՆ ՍՕ ՄՈՂԻՄԱԵ ՍՕ ՇԱԼՄԱ ՄԱՆՆ ՆԱ ԿԱՄՈՆ ՕՇԵ ԻՄՈՍԻՆ ԱՆ ԱԵԱՐՈՒՍ ԱՐ ԱՆ ԵԿԵՄԱԵԻԾ ԻՄԱԵՐԶԱԾ ԱՆ ՄՈՅԱ ՍՈՒՐ ՍՈՒԾ ԵՍ ՎԵՆՈՒՆ ՍԿԱ ԲԲԻՒԵԱՐ ԱՆ ԵԱՐԻՆ ՆԱ ԽԻԼԵ

fol. 42. a. ԻՍՄՈՒՍ ՍՕ ՄԱԼԱ ՍՈՒԾ ԵՐՈՒ ԿԱՐԱՆ ՄՈՅԱԾ ԵՄԻԼԵ ՎԱՐՄԵՐ ԱՆ ՕՒՐԱ. ԱԵԵ ԵԼՆԱ ԻՆ ՄՕ ԼԵԶԵԱԾ ԲԻԱՆ ՆԱ ԲԱԾԱԵԼԵ, ԵՍԼԱԾ ՆԱ ԵՈՒՆՆԱԾԵ, ԻՍՆՈՒՐՈՂԵԱԾ ՆԱ ԱՆԱԾ ՍՈՒԾ ԿԼԸ ՆԱ ԻՆ ՍՐՇԻՇԵ ԶԱՆ ՎԵԱԾԱՐ 7 ՍԻԱՍԻՍԵԲԱԶԱԾ ԲՈՒՄՈ ՍՕ ԶՄԵՐ Օ ՆԱ ԶՐՈՒԵԱԼԱԻԾ ԶՄԻ ԵՍ ՍԻՄՆ ԻՆ ՄՕ ՄԱՐԻՅԱԵ 7 ԻՆ ՄՕ ՄԱԾԱԶԻԵ ՍԿԱ ՄԱՐԵԲՆՈՂ ՄԵՐՈՒՍ ՄՈՒՄԵՆՆՈՒՆԱԶ 7 ՍԿԱ ՈՇԵԾԱՐՈՒ ԱՆՆԱՐ ԱՆՍԻՍՍ 7 ՍԿԱ ՆԵԱՇԽԱԻ ԱԿԼԵ ՏՄԻԱՐՈՒ.

ԱՐ ՍԻԼԵ ԼԱԵԵ ԻՆ ԵԵՄԱՆԶ ՆԱ ՄԵԵ ԵԱԵԱՐ ԱՆ ԵՄՇԵՐԻՆ, ՄՕ ԶԱԾ ԱԿՂԵՐ ԱՆ ԽՐԵՒԻ ՍՕ ԵՄԼ ԲՈՒ ԻՆՈ ՆԱ ԵԼՇԽԱ ՍՕ ՄԱԼԱ ԻՄԱ ԵՍՄԲՈՒՐ ԶՕ ՄՐՈՒԵԱՄԱՆ Ե ԵՍ ՈՒՍԻՄՈՂԵԱԾ ԱՆ ԵՐԻՄԵ ԻՄԱ ԵՄՇԵԼԼ, 7 ԵՍ ԲԲԻՐ ԿՕ ՆԱ ԵՐԵԱԾ ԱՆ ԵՐՈՂ ԵՄՈՇԽԱԾ ԿԱՐ ԵՍ ՄԵԶԱՆՆ ԱՐ ԱԿԼ ՍՈՆ ԶԱՐՄԱՐ ԶՐՈՒԵԱԼԱԶ ԵՄԼ ԽԻ ԵՄԼ ՍՕ ԿՐ ՄԱԶՄԻՐ 7 ԲԻԶԻԵ ԻՍՄԱԲԿԶ ԱՆՆԱՐ ԱՆՍՈՒՆՈՒՍ 7 ՎԵԱԾԱՐ ՍԱՆԱ ՍՈՒՍՄԱՆԱ ԲՄԱՐ ԱՆ ԽՐԵՒԻ 7 ԲՄ ԽԻԱՐԼԱ ԵԿԼԵ ՍԱՐԱ 7 ԲՄ ՆԱ ՄԱԵԻԾ ՍՕ ՄԱԼԱ ԻՄԱ ԵՍՈՒՄԵԵԵ ԶՄԻ ՄՕ ՄԱՐԻՅԱԾ ԼԵՕ ԱՐ ԱՆ ԼԱԽԱՐՄԻՆ ԱՐՈՒՄԱՐ ԱՆ ԵՐԼՈՂ ԵՍՈՒՄՈՆԶ ՈՒՍԻ ՍՕ ԵԱՐԵՄՈՒՆ Ե ԵՍ ՍԱԶՈՒՄՈՒՆ ՆԱԵ ԵԵԱԵԱՐՈՒ ԱՆ ԱՆՄԱՆՆԱ ԻՐՈՒԱԵՄԼԵ ՆԱԵ ԽԻ ԵՍՆՈՒՆԵ, ԵՆՄՈՇԱ ԻՆ ՄՕ ՄԱՐԻՅԱԾ ՍԿԱ ՈՍԱՐԵՐՈՒՄԼՈՂ. ՍՕ ՄԱՐԻՅԱԾ ԱՆՆ ՍԱՆ ԵՄԻՍԵԲԱԽԱՐ ՈՒՆԱ ԱՆ ԽՐԵՒԻ. ՔՕ ՄԱԾԱԶԿՆՈՒ ԵՍՐ ԱՐ ԱԿԼ ՍՕ ՄԱՆԵՐԻ ԿԱՐԼԱ ԵԿԼԵ ՍԱՐԱ 7 ՄՕ ԶՈՆԱԾ ԱՆ ԵԿԱՐԼԱ ԲԵՐԻՆ. ԶՐՈՒ ԱՆ ԽՐԵՒԻ ԵՐԱ ԻՆ ԵՐՄԱՐԻՍԵ ԶԱՆ ԵՐԵՇՆԱԶԱԾ ԱՐ ԱՆ ԻՍՄԱԲԿԶ ԲԻՆ. ՄԵԱԾԱՐ ՄԱՐՈՒՄ ԲՈՒՄԱ ԶՄԱՐ ԱՆ ԵԼՆՈՒ 7 ԶՄԱՐ ԱՆ ԵԱՐՄԻՈՆ ԵՍՈՒ ԼԵՕ ԶՄԱՐ ԱՆ ԵԵԱՄԲԱ, 7 ՄԱՆԱ ԵԱԾ ՏՐՈՒՇԵՐԻ ՍՈՒԾ ԵՍՈՒՐՈՒԵ ԻՆ ՄԱԶԱԾ ԲԵՍԼԱՆԶԱ ԿԱՍԻՆ ԻՆ Ա ԵԼՇԽԱԾ ՇՄԱԿԱ. ԿԱՐԼԱ ԵԿԼԵ ՍԱՐԱ ՍԱՆ ՄՈՅ ԵԿԶԻՆ ՍՕ ԵԿԼԵԱԾԱԾ ՍՈՆ ԽՐԵՒԻ ԲՕ ԵԻՇԻՆ Ա ԵՐԵՇՆԱԶԿԻ 7 ԵՐԱԿԼ ՍԿԱ ԵԻԶ, 7 Օ ՍՕ ՄԱԵԵ ԵՍ ՍՐՈՒՇԵԼԵ ԱԵԱ ԱԵԵԱԾ ԿՐ ՄԵԱԵԼԵ ԲԻՆ ՍՕ ՈՒՆՆ 7 ՍՕ ԵԻԱՇԱՐ ԱԶՈՆ.

¹ *He died.*—Wallop wrote from Dublin to Lord Burghley, August 3rd, 1597: 'Yesterday the Erle of Kildare coming some 12 or 13 days past from the camp, dyed at his

mother's house in Drogheda.' *The Earls of Kildare*, by the M. of Kildare, p. 234, and *Addenda*, p. 316. His mother was Mabel, daughter of Sir Anthony Brown.

that to Stradbally and to Armagh, and they did not stop till they came to the bank of the Blackwater. O'Neill and O'Donnell went with their forces to meet them there. It was not easy to attack the den of a lion and the nest of a griffin when face to face with them. The Lord Justice and his army halted and encamped close to the river, for he was sure it would not be easy for him or for his army to advance against them farther. The reception which the Lord Justice and his people met with from the armies of O'Neill and O'Donnell while defending their territory and lands against them was bloody, sharp, wounding, maiming, quick-shooting. Never before or after did they do anything heroic while defending their native land from their enemies to be compared with what they ought to do if they knew then the many evils that came on them afterwards, which it would be too tedious to relate now. However, neither the calm of delight nor the sleep of repose was allowed to come or abide with them day or night without attack and shooting at them continually by the Irish, so that numbers of their noble, magnanimous horsemen, of their destructive, impetuous youths, and of their beautiful foreign horses were killed and destroyed.

One day while they were thus engaged, a great desire seized on the Lord Justice to go to the summit of the hill that was near to view and survey the country all round, and it were better for him if he had not gone on that business he went on, for some of the Irish soldiers came face to face with him there, and they made a hard, fierce onset and a daring attack on the Lord Justice and on the Earl of Kildare and the nobles who were with him, so that the chief officer of the army was slain there, together with a large number of the captains and gentlemen whose names are not remembered or recorded, besides the common soldiers who were killed. The brother of the Lord Justice's wife too was slain. Some of the people of the Earl of Kildare also were slain, and the Earl himself was wounded. Even the Lord Justice himself did not escape without being wounded from that encounter. With all their valour and perseverance they were driven to the camp, and if it had not been near them, those of them who fled would not have returned alive. It was necessary for the Earl of Kildare to take leave of the Lord Justice, as he was wounded, and to return home. And when he reached Drogheda he died¹ in that town of the poison and the

soreness of the wound. His body was taken to Kildare to be shown to his friends, and was buried by them in the tomb¹ of his predecessors and ancestors with the honour and respect that were meet.

As for the Lord Justice, he set off on his return the next day and he reached Armagh, and he was carried on a litter or in a carriage by his faithful followers and his own people that day. He was carried after that to Iubhar Cinn Tragha, and he died² there of his wounds. The English army returned home with grief and shame in this way. The Cinel Conaill and the Cinel Eoghain set off to return to their family strongholds and castles cheerfully and gladly after that victory. O'Donnell took leave of O'Neill, and it was very painful to both of them to part from each other. Hugh O'Donnell thought it long that the English of the province of Oilíoll were at rest without any attack being made on them and on the people who had entered into friendship with them in the end, and had contracted friendship with him after separating from them at first. Of these was O'Conor Roe, Hugh, son of Turlough Roe. O'Donnell had a dislike to him since he entered into friendship with the English, though being his friend some time before. He reflected how he might ravage his country. This was difficult, since the dwelling of that O'Conor was very safe and hard to reach, and very near a place where he might put his cattle and treasures also beyond the reach of his enemies unless they came on him unawares. O'Rourke had promised him that he would not allow O'Donnell to plunder him without notice and help from him. Wherefore O'Donnell resolved to collect his army and to go into the province. He went on, therefore, until he halted to the south-west of Glendallan. He encamped there. This was the deception he practised on O'Rourke, in order to plunder O'Conor. He sent messengers to him to invite him to a meeting at the camp, and to tell him to come to him the next day without any delay whatever. Meantime O'Rourke did not think O'Donnell would leave the camp there until he would come to him. This was the plan adopted by O'Donnell after sending his messenger to invite O'Rourke. He left his camp after the middle of the day and went across the Sligeach, southwards, and he did not halt till he came to Corrsliabh of the Seghais. He made a short halt there, so that his soldiers might take some refresh-

fol. 43. a.

մեւածս ար ան յա լուրսիս, 7 եօ յօ Լեւոբիօս արբի 7 ար նա շիջէար ծար
 րան բիւս Խո՛ ծի Լա Եան րօրի ան Լաօի. Օ յօ քօրտանիւնք տօրիւտա
 տօրսն նա Խօրճե բլլի մԵատար օք բլլիմա՛ր քօր րօրի ան Լաօի, յօ քօրիւն
 ար տարրան բիւսն տար Տիջար տար Մուշկուրք ան Օւջճա Է տար մունքոս
 մուշքե հաօի յա մաճան. Օօ յեւքեւտ բօքսօւեւսն յա յօնմուտօսիս ար
 յօնօսիս քօ տիւրիւսիս 7 յօնիւտիս նա քիւիւ քօնա բարչաւիւտ միս ունիւ օ
 Ատի Տիւրնի քօ Եաճոնա. Խօքարիս արմօն մա բլլիւտիւնք քօ քօրչար 7 ջօ
 յճաԵաւիս յօնճիս անիս բա Եիւր յօնիս. Եա հաճօնար Լա հիւս Բաւիւ քօնօնիս նա
 Խօրչիւք ջան յաճիւսն յօնօ. Միս Եօ Լաճա Եա մեւա Է Եա հաճիւր Լար ան ջօն-
 Լիւնօրի Տար Եօնար Եօրօրի օրչար նա քիւիւ յօ Եաօի քօ անարմար ջան
 քաճիւսն տար Ե քօն ջեմսն Ե օրճեւտ յօնճա իրօւտա Լար Է տիւրիւսար տիւ
 տօնօնիսն սի Օմնաւիս յա յեւքեւսն ան օնան յօ.

Օ յա մունք օ Օմնաւիս քօնա բլօնք յա տիւնիս Եատար արքօր արԵաւօ 7
 արմիւ բլլի մե ան ջանիւսն օնք քօրքեւտ բլլի քօրչիւն ՄեւսԵա. Մի յօ քօւտար
 նաճ ջնօնիս նարճիւն Լտարմա անարիւտ յիւն Աճ նա մա յօնիւսար օ Բաւիւ Ե
 քարիւսն բլլի ան արմիւն յեմարիւտ Տար Եօնար տար Եիւն նա Խօրչիւք քարիւ-
 յարմար, 7 Լա հեւտ 7 յօնքօրմա բլլա Երաճար յարմար Տաճ յա Բաւիւ ար միս սօ
 յիւն քաճարմա տիւնիսն մի յօնիս արքօնա 7 Ե քիւիւ քիւիւտար քօնն քն քաճար.

1598, ան 7. Եւսճան.

Եա բի արմար մ յօ Լիւնօնիս օ Բաւիւ Աճօր բլլի ան ջօնիւսար արքօնա
 Խաւար, 1598. Միս սօ րօրիւն օ Օմնաւիս յօ քօրքեւտ արքօնիս սար Եա
 Լուիւտ քօնիսն ան քօնիւս տարմիս սա Բաւիւ տա յօնքարիսն օ քօնիս մար, Է Եա
 Երաճար յօն քօնիսն յարմար քօնսն ար նա բաճիսն յիւն նար Եօ միւնար Լար
 անարմար բար ոօնքեւսն Ե քիւիւ անիսն քաճ 7 յօ բլլիւս քօնա հիւքքն քօնիւս
 մունա րօնքն քօր քօնսն հի քօնիսն նա յճօրքեւսն սար յօ հիւտիւսիւքիւտ Ե
 քօրքարիսն բլլի ջաճ նաօն յօ նարճեւսն Ե քարիւսն բլլի նա ջալլիսն. Բօ
 ջաճարտար օնա սի 7 օնա Լարչիւսն քօ հիւքքիւտ ան քօրքեւսն քօնն միս քօնսն
 բլլիւտիւսն, օնք տօնիւսն 7 օնք Երաճար քօնն ան քօնն նալե յա նանքն արմ
 միս. ջաճար օ Բաւիւ օք քօրքեւտ բլլի քօ հիւտօրքիսն բարմիսն. Բօ

¹*Slieve Baune.* — A mountain in the south-east of Co. Roscommon, running parallel with the river Shannon.

²*Alliance.* — It lasted but a short time, for O'Rourke was on the side of the Irish

at the battle of the Curlews and took part in the forays made by O'Donnell into Thomond, Meath, and other places held by the English or their friends. See *Annals F. M.*, vi. 2035 and 2103.

ment and get rid of their fatigue, and not cross the mountain of the Seghais, southwards, in the full light of day. When darkness prevailed in the beginning of the night over the light of day while they were resting, they went forward through the mountain, over the Seghais, through Moylurg of the Daghda, and the level part of Magh Aoi before morning. They sent their marauding parties in the twilight to scatter over the wastes and remote parts of the territory; and they did not leave a single beast from Ath Slisean to Slieve Baune.¹ They returned after that in triumph with plentiful spoils, as was usual with them. O'Rourke was ashamed that the preying should have taken place without his knowledge. No less was the chagrin and confusion of the Governor, Sir Conyers Clifford, for the plundering of the country which was under his protection without fighting for it, for it was his special care, and he was anxious to go in pursuit of O'Donnell if fear allowed him.

When O'Donnell and his army came home they rested in merriment and pleasure during the winter time, hearing of the province of Meadhbh. No important fact was heard of between them during that time except that O'Rourke entered into a friendship with the Governor aforesaid, Sir Conyers, on account of the plundering of which we have spoken and the rivalry and jealousy of his own brother, Tadhg O'Rourke, for there was no accord between them on account of the division of their patrimony and territory, though they were the children of one father.

1598, the seventh year.

The time when O'Rourke made his alliance² with the Governor was at the end of January, 1598. O'Donnell was not pleased at hearing the news, for the family to which O'Rourke belonged were friends of his ancestors for a long time, and he was himself his relative. Wherefore for these reasons he was not eager to attack him or to prey his country like others, and he knew that would be necessary unless he returned to the confederacy of the Irish, for his friendship was withdrawn from every one who made friendship with the English. He proceeded to beg and entreat him, secretly at first, to return, and then to threaten and menace him for remaining in the condition in which he was. O'Rourke continued to listen to him to the

beginning of summer. He feared very much at that time the preying of his territory, for he saw that the English were not stronger than the Irish, and what he did was to come at the call of O'Donnell and do what he asked, and to make him such submission as he demanded from him. 1598.

As to O'Neill again, so numerous were his skirmishes and preyings on the English that he slew many of their soldiers and leaders of battle. He preyed the districts that were supporting them and under their power, so that he wasted the territories from Boffin¹ in the north to Stradbally, beside the fortresses and the strong castles which their soldiers and best men held to keep down the Cinel Conaill and the Cinel Eoghain and the Oirghialla² who happened to be near them. It is not to conceal or blot them out that we have not brought to light these great deeds and exploits, the great deeds and exploits of the Irish in general, and it is not through error or mistake in remembering them, but lest their educated doctors, their ollamhs, and their learned men also should be jealous of us and say that it was pride, presumption, and vanity that caused us to supersede them in relating the battles and skirmishes of their princes, leaders, and heroes, and also lest they should assert it was through contempt for their learned men that it was done. However, I will relate this little of the history of the Clann Eoghain as a subject for their poets, *i.e.*, the battle of the Yellow Ford,³ since the Cinel Conaill took part in it. It was thus it happened :

The English had a fortress to the north of Armagh, on the Blackwater. It was first erected⁴ in a time of peace and amity, and it was built a second time by the Lord Justice, Thomas Lord Borough, in expectation of the war, so that there was a strong impregnable earthen rampart, and war-towers on the battlements all round, in which were windows and loopholes to shoot out of. The English placed three hundred of their choice warriors in the fortress to hold it against the Cinel Conaill. O'Neill, too, placed the same number opposite them, that they might not come to prey the country anywhere around him. Later O'Donnell came to aid O'Neill

⁴ *Erected*.—Sidney in the 'Memoir of his Government,' says : 'I builded a tower for the gard of the bridge over the great ryver

called the Great or Black Water, in Tyrone ; the bridge being builded by the Earl of Essex.' *Ulster J. of Arch.*, viii. 195.

when he knew the straits in which he was. O'Neill complained to him of his hardships in consequence of the said fortress, and declared he was tired of being on the watch continually, as he always was.

O'Donnell said it would be far better to attack it, in order to pull it down and destroy it if they could, than that the districts should be injured and preyed by its means, and that it was not easy for the soldiers to be watching it for a long time. O'Neill agreed with that opinion. Both of them ordered their people to attack the fortress. Afterwards they made a fierce attack on it as they were bidden. A great number of them were wounded and killed, and they gained nothing¹ thereby. Then they retired from it and went to their homes. O'Neill heard after a while that they had consumed nearly all their provisions. When he found that they were in this condition he encamped opposite them, between them and Armagh, that no other force might come to relieve them from the pressing danger in which they were. When it became known to the Senate and Council that they were without food, and that O'Neill was about to attack them, as he was, they assembled a large body of the best soldiers of the English, so that they were five thousand horse and foot soldiers, with arms and armour, with regular supplies of everything that was needed.

Henry Bagnal² was given the command of them. He was a famous, daring knight, and one of the Council too. Iobhar³ Cinn choiche mic Nectainn was his dwelling. When O'Neill learned they were assembling he sent his messengers to invite O'Donnell, before the English were ready.

He came with a great body of his forces, both horse and foot, and some of the province of Olneccmacht also. The Irish of the province of Conor came very readily to that hosting. When the English were ready and prepared they went the first day's march to Drogheda, from that to Stradbally of Dundalk, after that to Newry and Armagh. They remained there till they got rid of their fatigue. The Irish on the other side came near them, between them and the aforesaid fortress. They proceeded to watch and prepare against each other, and to threaten and bluster. When it seemed to the English full time to assist their people they rose up at

² *Bagnal*.—See *Introd.*, p. lv.

³ *Iobhar*.—*i.e.*, Newry, which has its name from the yew planted by St. Patrick at the

head of the strand. The above is the more ancient name. See *Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 276.

the dawn of day and proceeded to clothe themselves with strange armour of iron, and high-crested, shining helmets, and foreign shields of well tempered, refined iron.

They seized their broad-shouldered, firmly rivetted spears, their wide-edged axes, smooth and bright, and their straight sharp-edged swords, and their long-bladed, broad-edged claymores, and their loud-voiced shot-firing guns, so that it would be very hard to recognise their leaders if they were not known by their speech, owing to the size of the shields, helmets, and armour on them, concealing and covering their features and their faces, and to the quality of arms also concealing them. Their captains of battle and chiefs of combat proceeded then to place the soldiers and champions in fit array, so that the foot were in three bodies, back to back, behind each other. They placed their provisions and supplies also in the middle between them.

They made battle-wings of their cavalry in dense bodies placed on both flanks. They put active bodies of their light soldiers and of their marksmen outside the cavalry to defend and protect them. In truth it was not easy to go through them together to the secure position where their champions and chiefs, their heroes in battle, and leaders in the fight were, and if one did at all go through, it was not easy to attack the nest of griffins and the lion's den in which the soldiers of London were, owing to the outlandish and strange weapons and armour, and the variety and vast number of themselves, for it did not enter the mind or occur to the memory of learned men nor to the old for a long time past that the English had assembled a host like that to fight against the Irish since first they took the island from them. They proceeded to march slowly along the road in that way to meet the Irish. These advanced with their war-weapons very quickly to oppose them. The weapons and dress of these were different, for the Irish did not wear armour like them, except a few, and they were unarmed in comparison with the English, but yet they had plenty of broad-shouldered darts and broad, green spears¹ with strong handles of good ash. They had straight keen swords and light shining axes for defeating the champions, but there were neither rings nor chains on them, as there were on the axes of the English.

The implements for shooting which they had were darts made of wood and elastic bows, with sharp-pointed arrows, and lock-guns, as was usual with the English. O'Neill and O'Donnell proceeded to harangue the champions, and exhort the soldiers, and instruct the heroes, and this was what they said to them: 'Brave men,' said they, 'be not dismayed or frightened by the English on account of their strange weapons, their unusual armour and arms, and the thundering sound of their trumpets and tabours and war-instruments, and of their own great numbers, for it is absolutely certain that they shall be defeated over this day's fight. Of this, in truth, we are convinced, for you are on the side of truth and the others on the side of falsehood, confining you in prisons and beheading you, in order to rob you of your patrimonies. Moreover, we are quite sure that this day will distinguish between truth and falsehood, as Morann,¹ son of Maen, said in the well known proverb: "There has not been found, nor will there be found, a more truthful judge than the battlefield." We have heard this from our poets, and they have long since taught it to us. Besides, it is easier for you to defend your fatherland against a foreign race of strangers than to wrest their property from others² after being driven from your own lands, which have been in your possession from the year 3500³ of the age of the world to this day.'

The nobles and chiefs said that what their princes asserted was true. The address which they made to the brave men produced an effect on them, for the minds of the heroes and the courage of the soldiers were roused, so that fury, and vigour, and a great desire to use their arms filled the Cinel Conaill, the Cinel Eoghain, the Hy Eachdach⁴ of Ulster, owing to the harangue of their princes and true lords, and they promised them that they would not yield a foot, but would suffer death on the spot rather than be defeated.

Another reason too for which the spirits of the soldiers were roused. It was told them that St. Berchan,⁵ the prophet of God, had foretold that a battle would take place there against the English of Dublin by Hugh

⁵ *Berchan*.—'Bishop and prophet of God, of Cluainsosta in Hy Failghe. He was of the race of Heremon. Ferdaleithe was another name for him; *i.e.*, he spent half his

life in Alba and the other half in Erin. He was one of the four prophets of the Gaels.' His feast is on 4th of December. *Martyrology of Donegal*, p. 327.

O'Neill and the province also, for he promised that they would come to his aid, and especially the Cinel Conaill. The heroes believed that the holy prophet would not tell a lie. He who first made known the prophecy of the Saint was a certain famous poet of O'Donnell's own people, who happened to be with him on this expedition, to gratify him. His name was Ferfesa O'Clery. He asked what was the name of that place. It was told him. He said that St. Berchan had foretold a defeat of the English there by Hugh O'Neill, as we have said, and that he had in mind for a long time past the prophecy which the holy man had made, and he proceeded to excite and exhort the soldiers, as was meet for one like him. He said, therefore, 'In the battle¹ of the Yellow Ford it is by him the foreigners shall fall. After the destruction of the foreigners the men from Tory will be glad.'

When the chiefs had ended instructing and exhorting the people they placed them then in suitable positions opposite the foreigners, and a peremptory order was given them by the princes that they should not go forward to meet the English until they came to the rampart where the ditches and trenches and a deep pit of earth were, which the Irish army had made against the English in the road they were sure to take. As the English drew near them they sounded their trumpets and horns and their martial instruments, so that to hear the martial instruments of the strange forces was a cause of terror and dismay to the weak and feeble camp-followers and to the timid and cowardly. When the English army had crossed the first broad, deep trench which had been made in front of them, the Irish advanced against them, and shouted at them boldly and fiercely. The van was obliged to halt, owing to their numerous wounds, and stop on account of the many shots. They poured showers of very slender, light darts on them, and of sharp-pointed arrows, and of heavy leaden balls. The English proceeded to shoot in the same manner from their slender, straight-aiming guns and from their loud-sounding muskets, so that the report and noise of their discharge was heard in the woods and forests and hollows of the rocks, and in the fortresses of the neighbouring territory. Many were wounded and hurt in both armies by the many shots, but yet the shots of the English reached farther. This was the manner of fighting which the Irish adopted in consequence. They spread themselves about the

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¹ *Bagnal*.—A short distance to the north of the marsh where the fight took place, is a whitethorn bush still called 'the great man's thorn,' which is said to have been planted over Bagnal's grave.

² *Slain*.—Sir Richard Bingham, formerly President of Connaught, was recalled and appointed to succeed Sir Henry Bagnal as Marshal of the Army. But he died soon after landing in Dublin.

English all round, and they closed on them and engaged the English at close quarters, so that they drove the wings which were on the outside, and the sharpshooters and soldiers beyond them, into their midst, and the English were weakened by that and by the shots of the Irish, by their number, and by the closeness of the compact order in which their leaders of battle and captains of the fight had placed them. Anger and wrath seized on the soldiers on both sides in consequence of the killing, the slaughtering, and the wounding of their friends, their companions, and those dear to them before their faces. They were skirmishing and fighting with each other in this way for a good while and a long time, until the closeness and compactness of the English army were weakened and their leaders and nobles were gapped.

As the providence of God and the mighty Lord ordained victory and triumph for the Irish that day, he allowed a certain English soldier who had spent all the powder he had to go to the nearest of the barrels of powder carried by them, in the very middle of the army, to refill his pouch once more, and when he stretched out his hand to the powder a spark that was not large fell from the match which he had lighting into the barrel, and from that to each of the barrels in succession, so that whatever was near the place where they were standing, men and horses, arms and armour, and everything which they needed to have by them, was blown up into the regions and clouds of the air. The great gun which they carried with them was moved from where it was to another place by the force and conflagration of the dry powder, when it blazed up fiercely to the wall of the heavens. The hill too all round was one mass of dark, blinding fog for a while after, so that it was not easy for any one to distinguish exactly who were his own people from one of his enemies. However, the General of the English army and their champion of battle, Henry Bagnal,¹ and with him very many of the nobles and leaders were slain.² The English were defeated, as is usual with an army whose leader in battle and defenders and advisers have been scattered. The Irish proceeded to mangle and hack, to kill and destroy by twos and threes, by scores and thirties and fifties and hundreds until they came within the walls in the

meodoncharib in Arromacha. Imyarite an zlarlarē & a ngiollanjarō & mo žabrat az rođbaō an fianlaō atpochajirite im ceatē, & occ vīclnōaō na vrumge robtari beođaōite ann. Batarī vīrime anēvāla veppiaōaib anaichlnta exaīla.

fol. 47. a. Aipiric žaōivl ož romfirōe Arromacha ino žach aipō vo chečeoipaiō aipōib an baile, conari leicceite neaō munn no alleē ppu me teopia noivōhe con a laib. In eacmaiņ na pēepm mo larat na žaill a tteēta vo řaiživō na nžaoivōel via čuņgeaō čuca acomaipieccaō vōib veppach an puipe pēmepepctari ambatarī a munitpī ipōpibari ppu iē řova 7 conaipieccēi via luche iomčoniēva toēt řlān via řaiživōrum co hArromacha iari břāžbaīl an baile la hīa nēill 7 a čloužāō vōib vīblimib roaō ma řpūēlņg a hArromacha. Vo čotari na maicē vo čpūō accōmaiipile im on ceamžlņ řm. Ačlřitřat řoipilno vīb cori bo hiomaiipivōe a ležāō vona žallaibh imčēēt ari vāiž řāžbala an puipe, ari ba čpēimivōe vo pāla řtoppā 7 mo čhupirite an caē mo žonca & mo maipbēa ihiomat via munitpī, 7 ba coricari mōri leō a čpāřcaripe & ačopi vāri člno. Vo batarī ari oile vīb oža čaiipmřcēpivōe 7 occa pāō nari bo čōpī na žaill vo telžāō ař na hiomčūmžaiō ambatarī 7 na řuižbiche in ēpīlř vo pūōpī, via neppāčitř ūaivōib an čanřm. Ari a aoi řm ař řaipe vēipivō lar na maivōib řo vōvōō a ležāō ūaivōib. Ro narōmeaō pācha řtoppā vōpū 7 anaill im čomāll vāipōile. Ačt namā m mo čēačvāižirite žaōivl nach nřmnoaīl bivō ari člna, ařm nā ořoanar, pūvāri na lvaivōe vo ležāō la haon ař an bropit řm člno mothā a čhponc 7 a ařm vo ležāō lāř an čcāiptm buī ann. řop řāžaiōirite na žaill la řođam an ropit & vo pōnaō ařpāořaiō 7 a čcomaipivōe žo pāčtatčopi co hArromacha. Čotari žaill vīblimib ariabariāō a hArromacha žup an iobari 7 via čtiživō ařlnoaō & mo lāřat aipōmīlř řopi ařlvaž vup via liōn vo řřta řoppā o čvōčatarī řopi a ččipup. Bapevō a liōnřarōe řeb atpimīlč an eolvaž vī mīle ari čōic čēvaib im an ženeppail con ocht čcāiptmib vecc imāille řpup vūaivōib 7 vo vāžvōaomib. Ačt ačā nī člna atpūlčatarī vōpōņ mōpī vībivōe žan vīvōeāō vo pāivō itiečt čpēčtvaighčēi 7 atpimīlč vīa ččepřarivō aīaīl na hī mo hořta. An veačmāvō lā vo Aužupit in vupōřač

¹ *Battle*.—For a more detailed account of this very important battle by English writers see *Introd.*, p. xciii., *antea*, and

Gilbert's Facsimiles, pt. iv., p. xliii. A contemporary plan of the battle will be found *Ibid.*, plate xxiv.

middle of Armagh. The soldiers and their attendants returned and proceeded to strip the people who had fallen in battle and to behead the crowd who were severely wounded. The booty of unusual, strange clothing was great.

The Irish remained to besiege Armagh at each of the four quarters of the town, so that they did not allow anyone in or out for a space of three days and three nights. After that time the English sent messengers to the Irish to ask them to confer with them about leaving the fortress we have mentioned, where their people had been in garrison for a long time, and about allowing the warders to go safe to Armagh after giving up the place to Hugh O'Neill, and both being permitted to retire from Armagh. The nobles went to take counsel on the proposal. Some of them said that it would be right to allow the English to go away after they had surrendered the fortress, since it was on account of it they had fought and the battle had taken place, in which many of their people were wounded and slain, and their defeat and expulsion was a great triumph to them. Others of them opposed this, and said it was not right to let the English escape from the great straits in which they were, and they would not be found careless a second time if they escaped from them then. However, it was decided by the chiefs at last to let them go away. Terms were agreed on between them on this side and on that to be observed by both. However, the Irish did not allow any supplies of food, guns, or ordnance, powder, or lead to be taken away by anyone out of the fortress except his trunk and his arms which were allowed to the captain who was there. The English thereupon left the fort, and protection and quarter was given them till they came to Armagh. The next day the two bodies of English went from Armagh to Newry and to their own homes, and they showed great anxiety as regards their army, what number had fallen since they went on the expedition. The number, as the well informed reckoned, was two thousand five hundred, besides their General and eighteen captains also, with nobles and gentlemen. But all the same, a great number of them escaped without being slain on the spot, though they were wounded, and they reckoned the missing as well as those who were slain. The battle¹ took place on the tenth day of August, in the very beginning of harvest.

Meantime O'Neill, O'Donnell, and the Irish also returned to their homes after that victory, and the minds of the nobles were satisfied though their losses were many, and they did not show great sorrow or distress for those who were slain, for a battle for right is not remembered with regret, as the proverb says. As for O'Donnell, he was at rest with his army, getting rid of his fatigue after that battle of the Yellow Ford.

There was a strong, very secure fortress in the province of Oilioll, at Corran precisely, named Ballymote. The English were in garrison in that castle continuously for the space of thirteen years, to see if they could get an opportunity of seizing on the neighbouring territory by means of it, and it could not be taken from them during that time. Some of the nobles who claimed the town and lands near it found the place unguarded and took it by force from the English. Those by whom it was taken were of the Clann Donough of Corran, Cathal Dubh and Tolmaltach Oge, the two sons of Cathal MacDonough; to them the castle belonged by inheritance. It was a great affliction to the Governor of the province, Sir Conyers Clifford, that the place should be taken from his people, and he set to beseech the Clann Donough to restore the castle to him, and he promised large rewards for it, together with the possession of the land for themselves and their posterity. When this was told to O'Donnell he assembled his forces in the month of September, and he did not halt until he came to Ballymote, and he set to besiege the place, at one time blustering and threatening the Clann Donough if they did not deliver up the place to himself rather than to anyone else. At another time he begged and prayed them to give it up to him for the price they would themselves put on it. Wherefore it was decided by Cathal and Tomaltach, of whom we have spoken, to surrender the place to O'Donnell and his family for ever for four hundred pounds and three hundred cows. When they had concluded the agreement with each other in this way, O'Donnell went immediately with his forces to lower Hy Many. What was under the power of Sir Theobald Dillon¹ was plundered and preyed by them, so that his army took away with them a plenty of every kind of treasure together to Ballymote, and he gave the four hundred pounds of which we have spoken and the three hundred cows to the sons of Donough,

Տօ Եկի օ Վօժարայճ Տօան օճ յաօ քիչիւ բոնտա յօն արչարիւ սՅա Վօմնալլ Խի Եօոցնալլ. Տօ յատթօ ան Եալե իարօն սՅա Վօմնալլ 7 արիւր ան իկեան.

Խի Եաճմանց յա յքքրիւ յօ Եօլէ Մաճ Ալլիամ Տօաօիտտ մաճ Աաէրի Եօտայճ յօ իարչիւ սի Վօմնալլ յօ շիւմցօթ Եօոցնաճա իօճարօճ քարի յաճկեաթ մ աճարօ Ե ԵԵճար. Իօ քաօրօրօն յիճիճա յկնՅայա սՅա միւմտիկի Լար սՅա ամբայն Ե սՅա օկի տարարտալ մ սՅա յՎօժարայճ Տօան օճ 7 մ Մաճ ՏսիԵնե մԵօճան, Վօնժաթ մաճ Մաօլմարիե Մկիցիճ. Տօ յճաճարօ իարօն Մաճ Ալլիամ յիարան իօճ իմ ճօ տօլէ՛նաճի ճան արիւցթ ճան քօքլօրիտէճ (Եճ մաթ Եկճ) քի քաճ քի իարա քտօճաճարի Եօ յաճիճաճարի յա Խիմալլ, ար Եր Եմիքիճ Ես քիթօ 7 Եկէրիա, մուլե 7 արիւրի յամոն մաճ Ալլիամ սիլե սիւմնօր. Իօ Լեաճթ քրքրեօթ 7 իճաօլեթ յա քք՛նաճարն յիճարիե սօճօրքԵ ար իսօ ան քիքիե մա քտիմճլլ ճօ յօ քլճլալմքլէ Եմա 7 արիւրի Եսար 7 Եօճիքթօ յա քիճի Եիւճա յօ նօճի յաճ Ես քօրի մքլօնիճ սիքքիճ քօ քօրի օլէնիճ մարա ԵօմԵաճարի Եօրիճօճան Լեօ յա քաճ Ենէլ քիւրօ ար Եկնա. Ճքր Եօ քօճանց Եքօճիւմ ար քիւմե ԵքքրեթճԵալ յանճարի ճան ճիւմ ճան ճաԵաթ Եօնա յարքԵիճ 7 Եօնա յեօճալիճ Եօ քի յաճմալճաթօ 7 Մաճ ՏսիԵնե Եօ քի յօճանե 7 սՅա Վօժարայճ Եօ Խիւր Եօճան.

Իօ Աէճ քիա ան Եօմճօլ Եօճարօ քօ քիճի յԵրմոն իկեան 7 յօ ճօրեթօ իարա Վկրմիւնան ան յօնԵարօ իմ Լա յկի ճաօրԵալ յօ Տօմար մաճ Եօմար Իւսիթ յար յիքիճթօ ճալլ 7 Երաճիճ քիւմ Եօճթօ Եմալ Եիճի. Տօ ճիւալտաճարն Ե իօնօճարիճ Եար մԵսնաթար իկի յճաԵալ Եմմուքիճ Եօ ճիւալտ քարիլթօ օ յօ ԵԵճարիւմիճ Ե Ենէլ. Ե քիւճարն Տարան յօ յճօճարի ճիւր ան մարի սՅա ճաԵալ Եմալ Ե ԵԵլիւ, 7 յօ ԵրքեաԵրաճ Խի Եքքիւճարն քկի մօքի քի Տիօնաճ մօկի. Իօ յարիւքլէ Եքքարաճարթօ քի մաճօն Միլեթ իկի քիւլլ 7 քօճնաճտ սՅա յարիկիք Եիթ 7 Եքրտաթօ 7 Եաճօր լան յԵմեալճ 7 յաօրեաճարիե քօն յօնքրամալքիւմ. Տար քիճքիճ Լօճիքաթ Լօնօան ար սՅար

¹ *Thomas Roe*.—He was the eldest son of James, sixteenth Earl of Desmond, but he was set aside by his father's will, and Gerald, his second son by another marriage, succeeded to the title and estates. He was slain in 1583. At his death the title was claimed by James, Thomas' eldest son. He is known in history as the 'Sugan Earl.' He was betrayed by his relative, the White Knight, in 1601, to Carew, President of

Munster, and imprisoned in the Tower of London, where he died in 1608. We have given his history at length in the *Irish Monthly* of 1877.

² *Gerald*.—The first of the family who came to Ireland was Maurice, the son of Gerald (hence FitzGerald and Geraldine). He is the common ancestor of the Earls of Kildare and of Desmond. His eldest son became Baron of Offaly. From his third

as they had arranged with him. Shane Oge O'Doherty gave nine score pounds of that money to O'Donnell to aid him. The place was given over to O'Donnell then, and he remained there. 1598.

At that time Mac William, Theobald, son of Walter Ciotach, came to O'Donnell to ask him for aid in men to strengthen him against his enemies. He sent with him strong bodies of his people, of his soldiers and mercenaries, with Shane Oge O'Doherty and MacSwiny Banagh, Donough, son of Maolmuire Mergach. Mac William went with that army silently and without being noticed or heard, except by a few, through every territory through which they passed, until they came to the Owles, for it was there the greater part of the herds and flocks and property of the whole of Mac William's territory had gone. He sent his marauders, fierce and wrathful, to spread and scatter through the country all round, and they gathered the herds and droves of oxen and cattle which were not in the islands of the lakes and in those of the sea, so that they had full and plenty of every kind of cattle then. Though it was easy to follow them owing to the quantity of plunder, they came without wound or danger with their plunder and treasures to Tirawley, and MacSwiny to Tir Boghaine, and O'Doherty to Inishowen.

In the meantime the miseries of war spread throughout the extent of Ireland, and James, son of Thomas Roe,¹ was made Earl of Desmond by the authority of the Irish, without the permission of the English, and he rose in war like the rest. His family was of the Geraldines by descent, having taken the name by which they were called from a certain Gerald² from whom this family is descended. They came from the English territory to the island to seize it like the rest, and they dwelt in the territory of Fermorc,³ south of the Shannon. They contracted friendship with the descendants of Milesius after a time, and conformed to their manner of life and habits, and were full of generosity and hospitality like them. The soldiers of London came then to the island by order of their

son Thomas, the Earls of Desmond are descended. *The Earls of Kildare*, p. 10.

³ *Fermorc*.—This family, soon after the arrival of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland

acquired large estates in Cork, Limerick, and Kerry. In 1329 Maurice FitzThomas was created Earl of Desmond. See Lynch's *Feudal Dignities*, p. 231.

f. 48. b. 577 an mri la foicéonra a Ríog do follaimnaét na ttauá óia ccongáil
 ppi ólígéó co tparat na 577alraig atpúppomoi fo óoime 7 tapicpal
 amial 577oóeala. Atpau577e na 577alraig i ccongáó ma na577oó fo óeóó.
 Ro toipneáó la 577allaib iatpóó apan ceppich 7 mo oiobaóait uile do maé
 áét maó bl577. Oen oibpúe an Semur mac Tomair Rúaró mo maóófm, 7
 do muimh577e na tpeaóóóó ppiú apan oim577ó 7 apan tapicpal imboi aca,
 & do moipatc b577ó mbice de, úaip mo bui mac na pioipflaéa ingiallunur hi
 caépaó London .i. Semur mac an 577hoitc do muipcaim an coccaó ceitpur
 mic Semur mic Seasin. Apan aoirin do 577ó an taom Óia maí don óhicaim
 7 bpeóéaécha don aoirib 7 apan aile óia pamilaghéaó. Ro óóóiparó beóó
 cenéla iap na noibóeáó pecht muamh. Imtha pamilaró níu bo cóip do 577allaib
 Duiblinne ion577aró de óia do 577neé iapla do Shemur mac Tomair Rúaró 7
 óia no éipeáó ppiúóóó óaiche a ceppaitip foipia.

Tia577aitc ópion577a mópa chuga foip aihpame 7 do congnaí laip a coizeáó
 Meaóba 7 a coiceaó Conóóóóip mic Neppa. Atpachatapan éim 577aoóóó
 coiceóó 577óóiaim ipin ceccaó ón muó ceéna. Léón píóó Cathaoip móip mic
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 óeabéaib 7 oioimap577alaib foip 577allaib oipip577óib 7 óaóóantaib 7 do 577abalaib
 cpuró 7 innile foipina tuaéaib batop fo amamur 7 fo apanacé mo buó
 emiile óaipneip no do tpuum.

Íomthupa uí Domnaill ó mo pcaich laip 577leóó 577aéa cam577ne mo
 pemapneóóóó ba hann baóó apanpóóó 7 a comuip577e in baile an Mhoíraig.
 Óa foóa laip mo batapan Spainnóiz 577an teacht hi toipúém píu píne peó
 mo éin577eallpáat, conaó aipie pin mo foíó a teéca don Spáin deccaóóime innóó 7
 apanpóóóó na n577aoíóel ppiur an Rí577 píóó. In mo September imléóón
 fochoimapim do púpparó mo foíóó na teéca. Ro thachamapim an tí píóó mo
 píú do muonpauipé. In maíbe ipin chpimne péél ba mó am úaip mo Uéth
 a aóóelof fon uile óóóman. Ma mo bui a aith577éin óia eip ipin mbioé apan

¹ *Son of the true prince.*— He was sent over to Ireland at the suggestion of Carew, president of Munster. The account of the way in which he was treated in Kilmallock when the people found he had gone to the Protestant Church is given in *Pac. Hib.*, p. 162. He was taken back to the Tower of London, and died there about

the end of 1601. See *Life of F. MacCarthy Mor*, p. 486.

² *F. Firurglas.*— He was King of Leinster. See Todd's *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 253.

³ *Irish.*— Fénus Farsa, from whom the name *Fir Feine*, given sometimes to the Irish, is taken, was the grandfather of Gaidelus (a quo Gaidhel), and ancestor of Milesius.

King to subdue the country and put it under law, and they brought the Geraldines, of whom we have spoken, into subjection and contempt, like the Irish. The Geraldines rose in arms against them at last. They were driven from their territory by the English, and soon all but a few were slain. One of these was James, son of Thomas Roë, of whom we have spoken, and they thought he would not oppose them, owing to the disrespect and contempt they had for him, and they set little store by him, because the son of the true prince,¹ James, son of Gerald, who first began the war, son of James, son of John, was in prison in the Tower of London. However, the one God made an oak of the acorn and a consuming fire of the spark and other things in the same way. He raised up too families after their ruin before this. Since it was so, it was not right for the English of Dublin to wonder that James, son of Thomas Roe, should be made Earl, and that he should be able to vent his enmity on them.

Great numbers came to him to serve under and assist him from the province of Meadhbh and the province of Conor Mac Nessa. The Irish of the province of Leinster too rose in arms in the same way, *i.e.*, the race of Cathaoir Mor, son of Fedhlim Firurglas.² The contentions and victories of both were many in disputes and struggles against the English, in plunderings, taking droves and preys of cattle and flocks, in the countries which were under their power and obedience, which it would be tedious to relate or describe.

As for O'Donnell, when he had concluded all the business mentioned above, his dwelling and abode was at Ballymote. He thought it long that the Spaniards did not come to aid the Irish as they had promised. Wherefore he sent his messengers to Spain to complain of the sufferings and hardships of the Irish³ to King Philip. In the month of September, in the middle of harvest, the messengers were sent. Philip died⁴ before they set out. There was not in the world more important news, for his fame was spread over the whole earth. If one like him followed him in

Ogygia, p. 349, and Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 99.

¹ *Died*.—Philip II. died 15th September, 1598, after a reign of 43 years, at the age of 72. His successor, Philip III., was of a

character in many respects different from that of his father, though not less anxious than he to aid the Irish both at home and abroad in their efforts for their faith and country.

uaóá feiriú mo ghnáim. Baol tina ó Donnall i fórr imbaile an Moctáig
 co féil gline an comhóe, & ó thairnic lair an tpollamain do aghníomhúgáó
 aínail mo buó vóim, mo tglomait a fíoligh dia fáigíó do vól irin ceoicceuch,
 fol. 49. a. 7 ó do maichteatar cō haon máigim fo a tōghairim, mo arceadā co hincell-
 the gan aghúgáó gan uifōgria do mochtain maím go cloinn Riocairio (zeptari
 oínnáig imfzlaig áitneabairg na cuche penim) go maime gan maóó gan
 maéugáó hi cpepupcul na maime miche co eill Colgan. Agh mochtain
 vó an vú rin mo pccaoilit arclimealta uairóib va zach leit imon tíri ma
 timéall tina climefóón cloinne Riocairte riar go maicht oimig vóib
 mo iompoctair vóimeēt Remainn, 7 arioile go vún Guaire hi cóill ó
 bfiacrác. Do maibad & do muidaróó ile do vóiclénaib 7 do vóic-
 lénaib leoráde. Tait moctair aghfzóa vóna vóicénélaib do mochtairim ann
 Toimrédalbac buíde & brian vā mac Rora me Uaíne me Maíleachloinn
 uí Lochloinn. Ro maibad van lair an ttoimrédalbac rin occa iméoriam
 buíóeim agh oile do cloinn nDonnall galloclac baol ipfáimáó me Uílliam
 fori an fíoligéó rin, deó buíde óg mac deóá buíde me Maólmuirie a
 éoimaimuirie. Do maibad beóir la vóimig oile do muintiri uí Ohoimóill
 vā mac Uílliam me Seadan o Rinnmíl 7 mac Teaboite me Dabóg o vóime
 uí Ohoimóill 7 mac a me. Ro bad ile fotha brioim 7 baygairie hi cloinn
 Riocairio fo bié atpóimáir uíaróib cen mo that na maíte rin. Eirgádeair
 Mac Hoiblíro ó vóirte ceallairg (.i. Uíllie mac Uíllie maíó me Uíllie
 óig) la Maígnur óg mac deóha me Maígnura vóibmaithair uí Donnall.
 Ro leimúionóleáó cmoó 7 cpeáairgche na cuche ma tairtib troma
 toimclmá, 7 éóála aóible oile cénmóáé lá muintiri uí Ohoimóill gur an
 maígin a tairairairie é buíóeim, & zeptari iomóá aínair 7 oígbáó lairle
 cloinne Riocairio irin cuch, 7 zeirbo vóimig vón tíri an aínmaíde vóimairg
 agh vóig an imóim fori an eccraíóib muí ó Donnall cona fíolg na cpeáde

¹ *Kilcolgan*.—A village nine miles south-west of Athenry.

² *Oireacht Redmond*.—A district in the barony of Kiltartan, Co. Galway, which takes its name from a family of the Burkes of Clanricarde.

³ *Dungory*.—A townland near Kinvarra, in which is a ruined castle said to have been built on the site of the palace of Guaire,

king of Connaught in the 7th century. See p. 133, *antea*.

⁴ *Hy Fiachrach*.—*i.e.*, the inhabitants of the district now comprised in the diocese of Kilmacduagh. They went by the name of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, to distinguish them from another tribe inhabiting the present barony of Tireragh, Co. Sligo. See *Tribes, &c. of Hy Fiachrach*, pp. 3 and 33.

the world it was from him he sprang. Meantime O'Donnell was resting at Ballymote up to the feast of the Nativity of the Lord, and when he had finished celebrating the feast in a fitting way he gathered his forces to go into the neighbouring territory, and they came together at his summons. He marched secretly without being perceived, without any warning preceding him, into Clanricarde (though the inhabitants of the territory were in fear and terror of his coming), until he came unnoticed, unperceived in the twilight of the early morning to Kilcolgan.¹ On coming there his marauders were sent out on every side into the country all round, right through the middle of Clanricarde, westwards, until a body of them came to the confines of Oireacht Redmond² and more to Dungory,³ in the wood of Hy Fiachrach.⁴ Many of the common people and of the gentlemen were killed and massacred by them. The principal men of the nobility who fell there were Turlough Buidhe and Brian, two sons of Rossa, son of Antony, son of Malachy O'Loughlin.⁵ There was slain also by that Turlough, when defending himself, a certain one of the Clann Donnell Galloglach, who was with Mac William on that excursion; Hugh Burke Oge, son of Hugh Buidhe, son of Maclmuire, was his name. There were also killed by another body of O'Donnell's people two sons of William, son of John of Rinville, and a son of Theobald, the son of Davock, from Derry O'Donnell,⁶ and his son's son. There were many causes of woe and lamentation in Clanricarde for those of them who were slain beside these nobles. MacHubert⁷ of Disert Kelly, *i.e.*, Ulick, son of Ulick Roe, son of Ulick Oge, was seized by Manus Oge, son of Hugh, son of Manus, O'Donnell's brother. The flocks and herds of the country were gathered in large, plentiful droves, and the other different treasures besides, by O'Donnell's people to the place where he himself remained, and though the troops and soldiers of the Earl of Clanricarde were numerous in the district, and though it was hard for the territory to endure the hardships, not being protected from its enemies, O'Donnell

¹ *O'Loughlin*.—They were chiefs of Burren about the time of the Anglo-Norman invasion. O'Donovan says their pedigree has not been made out with anything like certainty. *Top. Poems.*, lxxii.

² *D. O'Donnell*.—A townland in the parish of Athenry, three miles east of Oranmore.

³ *MacHubert*.—A sept of the Burkes. Isertkelly is 5 miles south-west of Loughrea.

léo ʒan tmoio ʒan tachar ʒo mancatar ma nuroheoáib ionmalla imteaéta ʒo baile an Mhótaig. In mo tíomairgeao coibear¹ na curiomuʒao² vo na creachairbirin vo búar bioúbad³ inn doimpecht maíi ʒo rin ʒur an mbaile rin ó comhoctacht céouir eiríde. Tifʒaitt rluag uí Doimnaill oia tciʒib iar tann.

An tan tra vo mac Damriogain Saxan oia huro an comheirge cogaró vo monrac ʒaoiróil 7 ariall vo rionnʒallaib Eireann ma haʒaró 7 in mo hoiraó oia húaib 7 oia haromairib oia hóʒbaró 7 oia haimoirib i ceath an Athaburó 7 in ʒad maigim ar éina in mo muóairge a muncler pechnón Eirenn mo la hi rionóil 7 hi toirir nollmair iróe, conao fair veiró le & la comairle Saxan iarla of Eirreac vo éoi co hEirinn irin mbeltine ar ceim ʒur an lion ceó 7 caé buirín ba mo am inniric luidair vo toct in Eirinn a Saxaib maíi ʒo rin. Hirioirer Februar mo truaíad mo rin, 1599. Ar aipe éin mo éinseoá léo an iarla of Eirreac acuibramoir o'raoíreao ʒo hEirinn tar aon oile our anbaó rliir achonaó caéa olóar conach na foime our fanʒatar in te ó mbairmuogain pecht maíi, úair ba heiróe éinn ionairbaʒa na Saxan 7 a iunn aʒa 7 ionairce, 7 ba tuairgeao catha oia rhuonra in ʒach maigim i rroicongmaó fair oul irin Eoirar.

1599, an 8. blaóam.

Óala Aoða Ruaró uí Doimnaill ba róa luirion mo batar arluag occ leceao aróir rru mé aoin míoia na má, ar a aoi in fitirir rainreao carthe an tionao iragao, úair in fairʒairbirion airo no aircno nait ionta inille hi coiceao náillioíla na mo innuirtar no na taro ʒeill 7 airtin úairóib cennoá an mbloir éire rru an lunnreao acúairó mo talíla von coiceao ó éin, lohón ʒairbriann lúʒóeao meinn mic Aíriurá tíuʒ oia nʒairir tíadómuia ann tanra. ʒró iróe ona ba fairʒó uʒma 7 seabta fairʒó for na rairclannair rru airtreab .i. Óal Cair mic Conaill Eachluid mic lúʒóeao meinn ríomtar ó brian boimua mac Ceimlíʒ annú. Robtar

¹ *May*.—*Beltine*, so called from the fires lighted by the pagan Irish on the first of that month in honour of their god Beal.

² *Powers*.—See p. xcix., antea.

³ *D. of Cas*.—Oilioll Olum, king of Munster in the 2nd century, had seven sons, of

whom Eoghan, ancestor of the M'Carthys, was the eldest; Cormac Cas, ancestor of the O'Briens, the second. Oilioll made a law that the senior of their descendants should be king. If he was of the race of Eoghan, then the tanist should be of the

and his army took the prey with them without strife or skirmish till they came by slow marches to Ballymote. Never before was there collected a spoil of enemy's cattle equal to or like it in that place since it was first built. O'Donnell's army then returned to their homes.

As soon as the Queen of England observed the general rising in arms which the Irish and also some of the old English of Ireland engaged in against her, and the number of her nobles and chiefs, youths and soldiers, who were slain at Atha Buidhe and in every other battlefield where her people were massacred throughout Ireland, she showed grief and violent sorrow, wherefore she and the English Council resolved to send the Earl of Essex to Ireland in the following May¹ with the fullest powers² and the largest army, as books state, that came to Ireland from England up to that. This was decided in the beginning of February, 1599. The reason why the Earl of Essex, of whom we have spoken, was selected to be sent to Ireland rather than anyone else was because his success in war was greater than that of any of those who had come hither from the Queen before, for he was the commander in battle of the English and the front of conflict and contention and the leader in the fight of his Queen in every battlefield where he was ordered to go in Europe.

1599, the eight year.

As for Hugh Roe O'Donnell, he thought it long his army was taking rest, though it was only for the space of one month. Yet he did not know precisely to what place he should go, for he had not left a quarter or a border or a garrisoned place in the province of Oilioll which he did not prey or take hostages or pledges from, except the portion of territory to the north of Limerick, which had been separated from the province long before, *i.e.*, the rough district of Lughaidh Mean, son of Oenghus Tirech, which is now called Thomond. It was to engage in fighting and contention to attack the noble tribe who inhabited it, *i.e.*, the descendants of Cas,³ son of Conall Eachluaith, son of Lughaidh Mean, who have their

family of Cormac Cas; if of the race of Cormac Cas, the tannist should be of Eoghan's family. See *The Battle of Magh Leana*,

xiv., and *War of the Gaedhil, &c.*, p. 160. Cas mentioned in the text was sixth in descent from Cormac Cas.

name from Brian¹ Borumha,² son of Kennedy.³ The race from which they sprung was valiant and warlike.⁴ The prince ruling over them then was a man of great power, *i.e.*, Donough, son of Conor, son of Donough O'Brien, Earl of Thomond. His voice and influence were powerful among the English of Dublin, and though it was a great crime that his tribe should be with the English troops, he himself being of the Irish, he was the one man most active, violent, full of hatred who was in Irish territory in taking part in and carrying on the war against the Irish by the order and command of the English. The desire and longing of O'Donnell to prey his territory was the greater for this conduct of his. This was not an easy thing for him, on account of their strong places, of their thick woods and unknown deserts, their very long crooked passes, and the roughness and intricacy of their roads. Another reason also why the preying was difficult, though their borders and their interior parts were neglected, was the multitude of their heroes and warlike⁴ champions, and the pride and vigour of him who was their ruler, *i.e.*, the Earl of Thomond. Yet O'Donnell could not refrain from going to prey the territory in some way. He assembled his forces in one place, at Ballymote, for this was his residence since he had bought it on the feast of Holy Mary, mother of the Lord, in the preceding year, as we have said.

The first that came there to the hosting were the Cinel Conaill, *i.e.*, his own brothers, Rury, Manus, and Caffir, with their forces, and Hugh Oge, son of Hugh Dubh, son of Hugh Roe, son of Niall Garbh, son of Turlough of the Wine; Niall Garbh, son of Conn, son of Calvach, son of Manus, son of Hugh Dubh; O'Boyle, Tadhg Oge, son of Tadhg, son of Turlough; O'Doherty of Inishowen, Shane Oge, son of Shane, son of Felim, son of Conor Caragh; MacSwiny Fanad, Donnell, son of Turlough, son of Maelmuire; and MacSwiny Banagh, Donough, son of Maelmuire Meirgach, son of Maelmuire, son of Niall. There came also to that hosting, Maguire, Hugh, son of Conconnacht, son of Conconnacht, son of Conconnacht, son of Brian, son of Philip, son of Thomas, and the son of

damna) of Cashel. See *War of the Gaedhil*, &c., p. 45.

⁴ *Warlike*. — See the encomium passed

on 'the gracious, noble, highborn, beautiful Dalcassians,' *Ibid.*, p. 55, and in Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 59.

Tomair & mac uí Ruairc Tadó mac Úrman na mírthadó mic Úrman ballaig mic Eoghan, iaroiríde uile co lion a ttionóil. Tanzaatarí ann om na hi po hoimneadó laimíom i tziglmar an athairda hi coizeadó Meadóba Mac Uiliam Úrre Teaboite mac Uairei chioctag mic Seadam mic Oilneimair, úa Dubda tíre maébach Tadó mac Taróg maabag, Mac Donncharó an coraimn Rúróige mac Alóa, Mac Donncharó tíre hoilealla Muirgíle caó mac Taróg, 7 úa hegma maabá Felim mac Conéairil, íltoim uile co lion a míumtíre. Tamice irim toichlíreál cletna ó Concobairí Rúadó Aóó mac Toimproéalbagí míaró mic Taróg buróe, 7 o Ceallagí Flírooichea mac Ceallagí mic Doimnoill, 7 Mac Dairmasa míuge Luig Conéobairí mac Taróg mic Eoghan, & rocharoe oile cenmoctátoim robadó eimelt dairnéir.

fol. 50. b. O do maclitatarí na maithéirí con a roémaróe in aen doil chuzaróim zo baile an Moctagí ba fairí deiró lair plúag do lézadó úadó i mann mic Uiliam an ahlíe no biaó buró óem cona plúag írim túasohmuíam 7 po oiróagí Mac Uiliam & Miall zarb ó Doimnoill i cfinnar úairtib. An talaróim céoammar lotarí ma ttuimtib ttiomplóig on cefim éoirí do zoireadbachaib co huíall cloinne Sibun. Ro zábrat forí muiradó & aiccam anecceat 7 aneimídeala in záe tíri tmará ttiúchatarí cona ruairíle ttiroo no tacharí deadó no oiobragadó mo bad ní doib ari oiamtarí foladó lucht an tíre do éoirí fíuú oía bflíreair zuri bo hiaó na má batarí ann. Do deachatarí muicmaile móimíman, 7 mo benrat ceill oía ecormaní zo comíleirí fíuú fo bíe mo buró oíg leó ó Doimnoill do bíe ítoimra ari mlóón, úairí ba ulíib deimín lá a bioóbaóabí ciambaó rocaróe doib in aomionadó na bflíreair a corzaróim cemberé aét úadadó ma rocharí la haróhble an adóada 7 na huiríamne an uiríglá 7 an íomóimam mo lá forí a eairéiróib in zách ariim in batarí. Do maét moirío Mac Uiliam & Miall zarb cona ploé co hoiléin leatáimom 7 moirí ruabairíle an baile zo oigairí oáradtach 7 eia mo tmualladó a íoméormaní co flíroa fíuú nri bó toimda von lucht mo tmuall, úairí mo lungeadó da záe airo 7 da záe aicfíno írim mbairíe foríra. Ro maríadó 7 mo muóagadó ocht fíuú óecc do maithib cloinne Sibun con oimng móimí oile zénmoctátoim. Ro cireadairígeadó an baile leó ílíream.

¹ *Clangibbon*.—This tribe inhabited the district to the west of Croaghpatrick. O'Daly, *Tribes of Ireland*, p. 42, n.

² *Leathardan*.—A lough in the townland of Ballyballinan, parish of Aghagower, Co. Mayo.

O'Rourke, Tadhg, son of Brian na murtha, son of Brian Ballach, son of Eoghán, all these with the whole of their forces. There came also those who had been appointed by him to the chieftaincy of their patrimonies in the province of Meadhbh, Mac William Burke, Theobald, son of Walter Ciotach, son of Shane, son of Oliver, O'Dowd of HyFiachrach, Tadhg, son of Tadhg Reagh, MacDonough of Corran, Rury, son of Hugh, MacDonough of Tirerill, Maurice Caoch, son of Tadhg, and O'Hara Reagh, Felim, son of Conchaisil; all these, with all their forces. O'Connor Roe came to the same hosting, Hugh, son of Turlough Roe, son of Tadhg Buidhe, and O'Kelly, Ferdorcha, son of Ceallach, son of Donnell, and MacDermot of Moylurg, Conor, son of Tadhg, son of Owen, and other forces besides those which it would be tedious to enumerate.

When these chiefs and their forces came together to him at Ballymote, he determined to send away a party to Mac William's district, whilst he himself should be with his army in Thomond, and he put Mac William and Niall Garbh O'Donnell in command of them. As for these, first they went in waves of a great host from the eastern extremity of Costellos to the Owles of Clangibbon.¹ They set to prey and plunder their enemies and foes in every territory they passed through, and they found neither contention nor fight, dispute nor shooting, which they set any store by, though the people of the district were able to oppose them if they knew they were alone. They advanced in great exultation of mind, and these laid aside all thought of defending themselves vigorously against them, as they thought O'Donnell was in their midst, for his enemies were absolutely certain that whatever forces they had assembled they could not obtain a victory though he had with him but a few, on account of the great dread and abhorrence, fear and terror, which he spread among his enemies wherever they were. Mac William and Niall Garbh arrived with their forces at the island of Leathardan,² and they attacked the place boldly and fiercely, and though the defence was made against them bravely it did not profit those who made it, for they leaped from every side and quarter into the place among them. Eighteen of the chief men of Clangibbon were slain and slaughtered, and a great number of others besides. The place was plundered by them then.

fol. 51. a. 10mēypa uí Dóimnail, mo argná ma peimim ionmáll iméleeta gan rlinm
 ptuic gan comhghaim caipmlit 7 ba rúail má mo maéaiglé itip (zeip bó
 vóochumhainz vo náe flait oile tionéorɣ na noionɣburólin nouu nooipróa
 noiumpach nooiforána batay laip, m mo clop zué ná glop, reipelbé na
 rlytan úaróib i conaip tmuara tpuócaatay) zo manɣatay zo cloimn Riocaipe.
 Ni haiplytay anuroheada zó ym. Dó gmlt aipuroin im tpaénoána ay an
 Ruaróbeiteig eitip cill colɣan & Apomacham. Av annat tlince & tlinóala,
 & mo gábrat occ upɣnain anaiplta bit 7 oc etpomuɣadó amlnbolɣ iay na
 naray iméian 7 ma tpeaét iclno mópfaotaiy. Ba veébyi gemitay reitig
 occa nimpfoam m baó yna an lucht von anɣatoy a hoiply Topaighe íly
 ttiáipelit, & ó rnyb hupam m moip Eoghain. Ro baon beop ay ail vo
 fion 7 coymaim na Spaine occa váil foipyna flathab batay ipuroe
 conɣábrat occ pamól foip ay oile gan náe nmlɣla mo iméian ó an
 aáipoa hi cyuch ambioóbaó. Contuilyt iayoin bucc zo mómlyóón oróche.

Atmachatay iayoin ámail bit eipge naom fip la foipéonɣya na fláca, &
 vo véachatay hi clno tpeoa 7 imééca tpe móoab maomoiyge na cyuche zo
 manɣatay imucholvoil na maone ipm clno toip vo choil ó pflannchaóa
 vo tpuochat évo cenéoil pflimáic i Túaómuían. Ro mannaó úa Dóimnail
 apcliméalta oía legeaó úaóa ay an maigim ym. Dó leiz vponɣ oía
 imleadaib tpaigheacé m Thadóɣ úa Ruaipe & m Mac Suibne mbóɣameacé
 ipreach butéúaró imboipmo Connaét cona helaity epeacha na tpaómuían
 taimy fo úitpeabab na vainglybhoyne, 7 mo válaratay co heitymlyóón
 na cyuche chucca íat. Ro leicc an vponɣ naile von taoó ély ipreach co
 baile uí Oɣam na coille móipe, vo Thulaid uí ólvhaiɣ, zo voipay baile
 uí ɣpuobtha. Imfáilyt ay ym butéúaró zo vpuum pionnɣlaiy zo coipac
 finto 7 zo cill mɣine báoit hi ecomóail uí Dhoimnail. Ro ymachepoin
 foip na vponɣabipm mo fáoit úaó gan mnyac na oipɣam neimeacé eccailly

¹ *Roevehagh*.—A townland in the parish of Killeely, barony of Dunkellin, Co. Galway.

² *Ardrahan*.—A village seven miles north of Gort.

³ *C. O'Flannchadha*.—A woody district in the parish of Kilkeedy, in the north-east of the barony of Inchiquin, Co. Clare.

⁴ *C. Fermac*.—The tribe name of the O'Deas and of their territory. This is now

included in the barony of Inchiquin. The name is derived from Deadhaigh, 20th in descent from Cormac Cas.

⁵ *Burren*.—O'Heeren speaks of it as 'ruggedly fenced, of white stone fields and active men.' *Top. Poems.*, p. 83.

⁶ *Ballyhogan*.—A townland in the parish of Dysert. Coillmor was a district near Ballyhogan.

As for O'Donnell, he went on his way, marching slowly, without sound of trumpet or shouting of troops, and he was hardly perceived at all (though the direction of the vast, fierce, contentious, proud, unruly multitude which was with him would be very difficult for any other prince, neither the sound of speech nor the noise of shouting was heard from them on the road by which they marched) until they came to Clauricarde. His marches are not reported up to that. He made a halt in the evening at Roevehagh,¹ between Kilcolgan and Ardrahan.² They lighted fires and brands and proceeded to prepare their supply of food and to lighten their pouches after such a long march and before they came to face the great labour. It was natural that the people who had come from the confines of Tory in the north-west and from Srub Brian in Inishowen, should be tired by their very long march. They had also some wine and strong drink of Spain to give to the chiefs who were there. They set to drink to each other without any fear far away from their own country in the territory of their enemies. They slept there for a short time till midnight.

They rose up then as if it was the rising of one man, at the order of their chief, and they proceeded on their way and march by the straight roads of the country till they came at the early dawn of the next day to the eastern extremity of Coill O'Flannchadha³ in the cantred of the Cinel Fermaic⁴ in Thomond. O'Donnell formed his marauding parties to send them out from that place. He sent a party of his foot-soldiers with Tadhg O'Rourke and MacSwiny Banagh northwards into Burren⁵ of Connaught, lest the preys of Thomond might escape through it to the deserts of strong Burren, and he told them to meet him in the middle of the country. He sent off the other body in a southern direction into Ballyhogan⁶ of Coillmor to Tully O'Dea,⁷ and to the gate of Bally O'Griffy.⁸ They went from that northwards to Drumfinglas,⁹ to Corofin,¹⁰ to Kilnaboy,¹¹ to meet O'Donnell. He ordered the parties whom he sent away not to plunder or

⁷ *T. O'Dea.*—A townland three miles N. of Dysert church.

⁸ *B. O'Griffy.*—A townland in the parish of Dysert, where there is a ruined castle.

⁹ *Drumfinglas.*—Between Corofin and Dysert. The name is now obsolete.

¹⁰ *Corofin.*—A village six miles north-west of Ennis.

¹¹ *Kilnaboy.*—*i.e.*, the church of the daughter of Baeth, who was of the royal line of Cornac Cas. The church is a short distance to the north of Corofin.

na eláðan cipri aít attoðmatðari chuea. ʒo éaot tpa ó ʒoimnaill buð óem co ttauð 7 co ttothacht anq'lois ma fárruá tpa lárí coille ó bplanchaða tpe bealaiz an fuoðfai ʒó cill mʒline ʒaoit m úachtari ʒálcceap ma mtoimfoón laoi an feachtiaú la tóce co mi febma co foimmað.

ʒo mattað chucee cpeacha cemeoil ffíumaic uile ʒuimóir on ʒipeit co ʒleann Colaimbeille 7 ʒo tulaið cumann 7 ó cluam foilélíumaiz co leim an eich. ʒi maimec la taðð ó Ruairé na la Mac Suibne cpeacha 7 caomaipeche ʒoime co éabairt leó iccentó uí ʒhoimnaill an aohaið ʒu ar na ttiomaiceað & ar na ttiompuðað oóib la an aóble 7 la an iomaite lionmaipe.

fol. 51. ʒ. ʒo maia tona co mhaðuóiri con ʒuimng vía muniti ma fárruá ʒoíl co éor chíuarta ʒu ccoicepuch. ʒo peccaim tó foim a chinn aoiile ʒuime úaral co fáoimélanʒaib ʒal ceap ʒo moir ʒon 7 mo ʒab ílʒeitan, Conéobari ó ʒuam a ammuioe. ʒlíuʒ Maðuóiri lair é ʒo tóinað Conéobari buð óem ʒo hluir uí chunn, & baoi an caipéail foim commur Meðuóiri 7 mo an mo ʒo ar a ʒapach. Ro ʒab úa ʒoimnaill lonðpoit m aóaið ʒu hi cill mʒline ʒaliteh, & ba heitipéian líppaioite ó ar oile mo ʒatai tinte 7 tinoala a plóiz, ʒponð tóob m ʒoimno éomacet 7 ʒponð oile i tmoéait céo ó ffíumaic, 7 aiaill m cill mʒline ʒaoit cen moá an luche naile mo ʒatai m Mac Ulliam 7 m Miall ʒapib úa nʒoimnaill m Uinall. O moir foimtaimlaið foilri an laoi foimna penʒaib arochíoe, aipachit úa ʒoimnaill 7 co blit a agharó foim tmochaic céo Coimcoóiuáð ʒo maimec ʒo Cill Fhionnabpaé. Ro leice ʒaóileáð ʒa ʒeimealʒaib buðóilr co heitioiz, foim mbilimti ffíumaicaið, 7 ccoicumaiz, ʒo ʒoim ʒuioiomann, ʒo cill Eppreic lonam, ʒo baile paioin, 7 ʒai naip foim ʒo

¹ *B. Feabal.*—*i.e.*, the road of Feadfal, six miles west of Kilnaboy.

² *Dysert.*—Five miles N. W. of Ennis. St. Tola founded a hermitage here in the 8th century. See Colgan's *Acta SS.* p. 703. Later it was called Dysert O'Dea, a chief of the Cinel Fermaic having fixed his residence here. A print of the beautiful doorway of the church will be found in Lord Dunraven's *Irish Architecture*, ii. 112; London, 1877.

³ *Glencolumbkille.*—In the parish of Carran. See Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 238.

⁴ *T.comann.*—In the parish of Kilnaboy.

⁵ *Cloonselherny.*—A townland in the parish of Kilnaboy, where there are remains of a castle.

⁶ *Leimeneach.*—Two miles N. W. of Corofin. There are here the remains of a fine Elizabethan castle. See Ludlow's *Memoirs*, ii. 327; Edinburgh, 1751.

⁷ *Conor.*—This was probably Conor O'Brien of Leimeneach, son of Morrough, first Earl of Thomond. See Archdall's *Peerage*, ii. 42.

Inchiquin.—An Elizabethan castle on

prey the lands of the churches or of the learned men, wherever they met with them. O'Donnell himself went with the body and flower of his army through the plain of Coill O'Flannchadha through Ballyfeabal¹ to Kilnaboy in upper Dalcas, before mid-day of the seventeenth day of the month of February exactly.

There was brought to him a great booty of the whole of Cinel Fearmaic from Dysert² to Glencolumbkille³ and Tullycomann,⁴ and from Cloonselherny⁵ to Leimeneach.⁶ It was not possible for Tadhg O'Rourke or MacSwiny to bring the plunder and spoils of Burren with them to O'Donnell that night, for they were not collected and brought together by them owing to their extent and great number.

It happened also that Maguire with a body of his people went to make a circuit in the neighbourhood. A certain nobleman of the noble race of the Dalcassians met him, whom he wounded and captured afterwards. Conor⁷ O'Brien was his name. Maguire brought him to Conor's own castle at Inchiquin,⁸ and the castle was given over to Maguire, and he stayed there till the next day. O'Donnell encamped that night at Kilnaboy, and the fires and conflagrations of his army were far separated from each other, some of them being in Burren of Connaught and another party in the cantred of Hy Fermaic,⁹ and some in Kilnaboy, besides the other forces which were with Mac William and Niall Garbh O'Donnell in the Owles. As soon as the light of day prevailed over the stars of the night, O'Donnell rose and turned his face to the cantred of Corcomroe¹⁰ until he came to Kilfenora.¹¹ He allowed his marauders to scatter southwards to Inagh¹² through Brentir¹³ of the Fearnacaigh, to Corcamaigh, to the gates of Ennistymon,¹⁴ to Killeasbuighlonain,¹⁵ to Ballypaidin,¹⁶ and back eastwards towards Kilfenora again,

the lake of the same name, near Corofin. From this place the O'Brien family have taken the title.

⁹ *Hy Fermaic*.—This district is included in the present barony of Inchiquin, Co. Clare.

¹⁰ *Corcomroe*.—This territory formerly included not only the present barony of the same name, but also the whole barony of Burren. It was coextensive with the diocese of Kilfenora.

¹¹ *Kilfenora*.—12 miles N.W. of Ennis.

¹² *Inagh*.—A village 9 miles W. of Ennis.

¹³ *Brentir*.—*i.e.*, the fetid district, perhaps from the sulphur springs in which it abounds. It lies N. E. of Mount Callan.

¹⁴ *Ennistymon*.—18 miles N.W. of Ennis.

¹⁵ *Killeasbuighlonain*.—*i.e.*, the church of Bishop Flannan, the patron of the diocese of Killaloe.

¹⁶ *Ballypaidin*.—A townland in the parish of Kilmacreehy.

Cill fionnabhíac do mhóirí airm imboi ó **Doimnaill**. Tainic Taógh úa Ruairic 7 mac Suibne boǵameac 50 cepeachaiḃ boirme leó via fáigir 5ur an ionad cclona. An tan tria ac connairic ó **Doimnaill** 5ac tealach 7 5ac uinn via mbui ina uirimehell occa mionpolaó do crioḃ 7 do cepeachaiḃ (conair bo leir an taloinn triosha ar a ólur mo thaingnuimzigir hi cno aróile lár an laeairiḃ ngruamóa ngruithoioḃa batari ina mionéacmairg ina ceuaric) aread mo éinn aige road arabhíac tria belgib bioḃfoosa baoglacha na boirme binnghairbe. Airuir úa **Doimnaill** cona rloǵaib in adairg rin i ccill fionnabhíach, imbaile Eomgabann, & hi ceathair **Beneoin**, ar in éomnaccatarí lonzpoir do 5abail in doimnaó, ar mohtarí lionnairia accpeacǵabala crioḃ 7 éirua, bhoirve 7 bualaia, 7 oan beor moḃ ionóa

fol. 52. a. tighairna tíre & tairiuch tíairche, cno óeḃ 7 cuiric (mo ba tairicgria bhoig 7 boirpáó, úail 7 ionnoǵbail, ionéolca 7 ainuimur, & lar ar óuiliró uúila no airóve do éabairic do nach náon naile) batari for an rloigeadó rin.

Do 5ruac urgnairí affeirí 7 a bpoimve íarí ttair 7 5eirice ó5 cnaimcombach for buair ambioḃbáó irin ceuch aineoil 5an úairan 5an mifgla acé airíail bíó ina tíri noúir buó vein no beiric. Acé chlna mo batari thionga rairiḃóacá iróe lár ar óuiliró an míoiaé & an mionbairic do bíricar for alnairí aneircairac do éabairic forran ceuró baol leó ma nairicib bunairó buó vein.

Ro éuiricé an rluag írri rpoimioigadó óoir 5ur bo riel lanfoirí an láol ar a bairich. Oiréairí úa **Doimnaill** ara rían, 7 mo oiróairg 5an fúiricach na rloig do argnairí árin ceuch. Ro oiróairg an 5iolanairó, an 5larlaré, 7 an ár óairim i riericur na conairic con a cepeachaiḃ 7 cona nairiccib 7 cona nevalairí ar élna. Ro ching rlin co marib 7 5o moigrib an rpoimfoig ina fáiríad in eiririmóón na conairic cletna i luirg na thionzburóean mo oiróairg lar na cepeachaiḃ. Ro forcongarí for a airíairí for a oǵbaró 7 for a doir thubairicé airiríoin fo óuiró do véabáó tar accéann via tírta ina llnair. Lotari íairíoin i mucha do ló irfoirigiréib na rlnboirme rairi 5o rairicbe míoir 7 5o monzair náóbal. Ba forad ionmall a mionéacé 5an eiríonóó 5an rionnair a5 ionair angróiré 7 anǵabal, úairi in mo chumairgicé mrim an ead tria chairigib éairichumigá coguarca corrainzgera na crioaró-

¹ *Smithstown*.—This castle is still standing in the parish of Kilshanny.

² *Cahermenan*.—In the parish of Killelagh, barony of Corcomroe.

where O'Donnell was. Tadhg O'Rourke and MacSwiny Banagh came with the plunder of Burren to the same place. Meantime, when O'Donnell saw every hill and mound all round completely covered with flocks and herds (so that the ground could not be seen between them owing to the closeness with which they were pressed together by the surly, dark-faced soldiers who were round about them), what he determined on was to go the next day by the long dangerous roads of rough-hilled Burren. O'Donnell stopped with his forces that night at Kilfenora, Smithstown,¹ and Caher-menan,² since they could not encamp in one place, for their preys of herds and flocks, of captives and oxen were very abundant, and besides there were on that expedition many lords of territories and chiefs of districts, heads of hundreds and of divisions, whose violence and anger, vanity and pride, self-will and arrogance were intolerable, and who could ill brook to render submission and obedience to any one else.

They made preparations for their feast and meal after a while, and proceeded to slaughter the enemies' cattle in that strange territory without fear or terror, but just as if they were in their own country. And indeed there were certain parties who would find it hard to ill-treat and injure the cattle which they had in their own family-dwellings as they did those of their enemies.

After their meal the army slept until it was broad daylight on the following day. O'Donnell awoke from his sleep, and ordered the army to march away without delay from the territory. He placed the attendants, the recruits, and the people without arms in the front on the road with the preys and herds and booty also. He himself marched with the nobles and the chosen men of his great host in the middle of the same road in the track of the party which he placed over the prey. He ordered his soldiers, his youths, and his shooters to remain in the rear to skirmish in defence of them against anyone who should come in pursuit of them. They went then in the early part of the day by the roads of ancient Burren eastwards with much noise and great shouting. Their march was calm and slow without haste or hurry in driving their steeds and their prey, for they could not ride the horses through the crooked, narrow, perilous, sharp-pointed rocks of

stony Burren, so that their foot-soldiers were mixed up with their horsemen till they came to the end of their road and journey from Killfenora to Noughaval,¹ to Turlach,² by the monastery of Corcomroe,³ by Carcair na cclereach,⁴ and they came at the end of the day to the district called Maree to the north-east of Burren at Roo⁵ exactly in the west of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne. They encamped there that night, and lighted fires and beacons, and prepared their food, and then slept soundly till morning. When the day shone on the soldiers they rose from their encampment and proceeded to march along the road north-eastwards in parties and in companies separately without concern or fear.

The reason why the bodies kept thus apart was in order that their prey would not mix together, for the forces had each their own share since they passed through Burren to the north-east. There was no need of guides or persons acquainted with the roads for the army after that, for it would be truly wonderful that there should be a mistake about the road on the part of O'Donnell's people from that to Ballymote, as their visits to the neighbouring territory were many. The next day they went through upper Clanricarde and to the gate of Athenry. Their marches from thenceforward are not related, only that Mac William and Niall Garbh met them with the prey at the borders of Hy Many, and each of them went to his home wealthy and rich, cheerful and in high spirits.

There was at that time in Thomond a certain learned poet of much knowledge. He was a historian and a poet of the ollamhs of that country. His name was Mailin Oge, son of Maolin, son of Conor MacBriody.⁶ A party of O'Donnell's army had taken some of the poet's cattle also as a prey. However, the poet followed after the prey to the place where O'Donnell was, for he was sure to get back his cattle from him. The poet proceeded to display his knowledge and talent in presence of the prince before whom he had come and to compliment him, and he said it was no disgrace to the Dalcassians or to the Queen's people that

⁶ *Mac Briody*.—*The Annals F. M.* say, 'there was not in Ireland one who was a better historian poet and rhymist than he.' vi. 2321. He died in 1602. A list of his

poems is given in O'Reilly's *Irish Writers*, clxiv.; Dublin, 1820. The Mac Briodys were the hereditary bards of the O'Briens. See O'Curry's *MS. Materials*, p. 22.

munntri na bannuogain úa Domnail cona fíloí do bheir na ceireach rin
 leo gan tioro gan tachaí gan sunn vime os a nomócorraí, úair no
 thairngir an naoí eilain Colam cille mac Felim co tiorrao dóo do
 éneíl conaill no oigéilí foí Thail ceair viorccaioleao zmanain Oilí, 7
 ar aill sía cloáib do bheir co lumneac la Muiréilíac úa mbríam
 mac Toirreabhaí mic Taró mic brian bóraíne, 7 acbhrí an file zui bo
 sois lar zui bo heíoní an tadó hírín. Ro záb ífictam bloró von
 fol. 53. a. tairngiríe conebríe mío.

Mó úoirie, mó úoirígan, máis 7 máirígan, ar máis
 a óe tolaib fíí, va bfuil an sunn aínleaoí
 Ar nairgan mó úoirie síl, & ar peccaioleao mOilí
 o rin amaó zo bíaó mbinn m zéboair óalceair Eíunn
 E oigéolur mOilíac ós, an taeó zhoiúeao von zairí sío
 an coirp íleamíam elu gan zois an foitcleabair a fanois
 buó é rin an taeó ínzac va nziállíair tairí na tñmíac
 ar e fúiríí monar nziunn síl zac cuicoíó m Eíunn, 7 aríole.

ba von aínleat aómolta do mizne an Maolin céona sía Domnail an
 íannra.

Do baí an óán an oigheal Oilí, a dóo Rúaí, do peac an fáíó
 Tocht do íluisí co íaíé máz náóair. a tuaró íaríair cabair caígh.

Do maíac íaríon oghairí 7 a émuí 7 a cteíra cona foíreíomach von fííó
 7 tíomnar ceileabíac sía Domnail 7 fagbaró bñsoátoim occa.

Baí tra úa Domnail mbairí an Moíac, í foí gan feét gan íloígeao
 ó veíreao febríuarí zo míoínlóón Saímaró. Rugrac a tēcta fairí on Spain
 m upiofac lunn & lonz leó mbaoí arim sí ímle laech do mánáoirí

¹ *Grianan*.—The word means nothing more than a place for enjoying the light and warmth of the sun, a chamber, a balcony. See *The Battle of Magh Leana*, p. 50, n.

² *Aileach*.—This was the residence of the northern Hy Neill up to the Anglo-Norman invasion. It is on a hill five miles N. W. of Derry. For a minute description of the fort and the details of its history, see *The*

Memoir of the Parish of Templemore, pp. 217-234.

³ *The stones*.—Under the date 1101, *The Annals F. M.* say: 'A great army was led by Murtough O'Brien, king of Munster, into Inishowen, and he demolished Grianan Oligh in revenge of Cencora, razed by Donnell O'Loughlin some time before. And Murtough commanded his army to carry from Oileach to Limerick a stone for

O'Donnell with his army should take away that prey with them without a contest or battle, without any one being wounded in defending them, for the holy patron Columkille, son of Felim, had of old prophecied that a Hugh of the Cinel Conaill would come to revenge on the Dalcassians the destruction of Grianan¹ Aileach,² and the carrying off of some of the stones³ by Murtough O'Brien, son of Turlough, son of Tadhg, son of Brian Borumha, and the poet said he thought it was this Hugh. He then recited a part of the prophecy, and said as follows :

My Derry,⁴ my little oak-grove, my dwelling, and my little cell, ah ! woe.

O God ! a multitude of men who are destroying the fort !

On the destruction of my dear Derry, on the scattering of my Aileach

From henceforth till final doom the Dalcassians shall not possess Erin.

He who will avenge my Aileach, Hugh Oge of steeds of rough roads,

The polished body, fame without deceit, the long hair in ringlets.

He is the clamorous Hugh, to whom the lords of Tara shall give pledges.

He will obtain a pleasant portion from every province in Erin, &c.

Of the hymn of praise which the same Maolin composed in honour of O'Donnell this was a stanza :

It was fated that in revenge for Aileach, Hugh Roe, the prophet announced

Your army's coming to Magh Adhair,⁵ from the north all aid is sought.⁶

His herds and flocks were afterwards restored to the poet by the chief with an addition, and he took his leave of O'Donnell and left him his blessing.

O'Donnell was in the castle of Ballymote resting, without any expedition or hosting from the end of February to the middle of summer. His messengers returned to him from Spain in the beginning of June, and with them

every sack of provisions which they had. These stones were used by O'Brien in the building of his palace at Limerick. See O'Curry's *MS. Materials*, p. 401.

⁴ *My Derry*.—St. Columkille's love for his monastery of Derry is often spoken in his *Life* by Adaman.

⁵ *Magh Adhair*.—Now Park Myra, 4 miles south-west of Tulla, Co. Clare. Here the

O'Briens were inaugurated. See *The Battle of Magh Leana*, p. 156, and *The Circuit of Ireland*, p. 47.

⁶ *Is sought*.—O'Donovan remarks that this line was so constructed as to please O'Donnell, and yet not to offend the Earl of Thomond, for the last three words separated from what goes before would refer only to help in general. *Annals F.M.*, vi. 2105.

μοιρλεάβρια & το ζύμμασθαιβ ζλεροιβνε cona naróilze 7 cona naróimib teecta. Ro μαντα in vé, 7 vo ματταó an μανν ταναρε ούα Néill aμαιλ ba hioμαρζιόε ar ar vé ποινη no βίσο φορ ζach narcectó τυρ picceó οία φαζιό on Spain, 7 ba ρέο μο ba teecta οόίβ ó μί na ρην, ar ní μο óλιζιρτε cenél cconailл ιμφορεπαó ó chenél nEozham aét teact ma ττιονόλ an tan buó la cenél cconailл μζε nEμunn 7 cenél cconailл vo óúl ma ττιονόλpoim an tan buó la cenél nEozham an μζε.

f. 53. b. Όαλα an αιμζ μο βαοι ρμ λάμí an τρínaró φορ óοiceaó Olnéccmaét Σεμ Coneur Clioφορτ, μο ζαιβρúε occ βαιζ 7 buρeáó hμααταρ φορ úa n'Omínnailл ιαρ ιμπορεαó na Tιαóμumíhan ταμρ, 7 μο éιηζεall τυρúeacht ζυρ an Slíceeac co ορηονζαιβ ομηmie vo laechμαró Lonθan λαρ conour παρceβαró ó Concóβαρμ Slιζιζ ιμο θαμúεοοιη uí O'homínnailл 7 naé ar μeлccαρ areim óποοιη ηι buó ρμú. Όειéβηι on úaμι ταμicc ó Concóβαρμ Slιζιζ a Saαaιβ ιη epμaιζ na βλιαóνα μeíμaηηη 7 βαοιρúε ιρφαμιαó λαρla of Eppea ταμic ιη Eμunn ιη beltaime na βλιαóνα ρρεcμαρice ρeb μο comáμι-leιζεαó λάρ an mbairμoζam 7 λαρ an ccomáμιle a óοι co hEμunn ιη ρeíl hμρghoe aμαιл ac μυbραμαρ μeáμaηηη. Oe éuaλαó ó Όomínnailл an τοιμαίctíη 7 an ταρeυραλ vo éaoc ρο ceлtoιμ οιομμα μαρeφλοιζ ó βαιle an Moéaιζ zo μaηaic ζan anaó ζan oμμρlíη co hác Seanaιζ ιμο αιμlρ a ρλοιζ ar vaιζ acτιονóλ chucca ζan οiéell ζan lρéοιττmíó zo mbeie ιρpoichil an ζοιbλμoμa Σεμ Coneur Clioφορτ 7 an τρlóιζ μeíμιατμ. O éanζaταρ cenél cconailл ζυρ an Saμáοιμ αιμμ ambui ó Όomínnailл τιlζaιττ ταμρ ιη eιτερμlúóη ρaμíμαró. ζabaιττ aζ maλλαρμαíη na conaμe ταμ Όpοbαοιρ ταρ Oυib ταρ Mαιζ ceлттeηe na b'omapaé. Mι bui cúóηoó no τinnlμay ρομμa aét beie óz τορann φορ aιζηib allta oc αιμμρ 7 cluíte conuy ταμρló ρccéla an τρlóιζ ectpiono. Mηι bo eian οóιβpιoíη ρaμlαró an tan ac éúρ οúa O'homínnailл zo τταμicc úa Concóβαρμ zo hincleite úaéaó vaοime zo caρταιall Cυrlmaoile μο bui φορ eoéaμμlηib abann móμpe ló ζομμττ ó lρ vaρμa ρaμρóλρ 7 zo μυζ ζabail bó ó ομμμμζ vo μμμμτμ uí O'homínnailл

¹ *Division*.—See the extract from O'Donnell's will in *Introd.*, p. cliii.

² *Hosting*.—This was the rule laid down in *The Book of Rights* to determine the mutual obligations of these two neighbouring tribes in time of war.

³ *Fomorians*.—These were pirates, who ravaged the country when in the possession of the Nemedians. Their chief stronghold was in Tory island. For an account of them see Keating, *H. of Ireland*, p. 77, and *Annals F. M.*, l. 11.

a ship in which there were arms for two thousand men, very long spears and lock guns, with the necessary and proper implements. They were divided into two parts, and the second part was given to O'Neill, as was meet, for this division¹ into two parts was made of every gift which came to him from Spain, and that was the custom from the time of their ancestors, for the Cinel Conaill had no right to submission from the Cinel Eoghain, but only that they should go to their hosting² when the sovereignty of Ireland belonged to the Cinel Conaill, and the Cinel Conaill should go to their hosting when the sovereignty belonged to the Cinel Eoghain.

As for the President who was placed by the Council over the province of Olneccmacht, Sir Conyers Clifford, he proceeded to boast and bluster against O'Donnell for preying Thomond in spite of him, and he asserted he would go to Sligo with large bodies of the soldiers of London, in order to restore O'Conor Sligo in spite of O'Donnell, and he would not allow him to act as he liked any longer. This was natural, for O'Conor Sligo had come from England in the spring of the preceding year, and he was then with the Earl of Essex, who had come in May of the present year, as it was decided by the Queen and Council on the feast of Brigid that he should come to Ireland, as we have said already. When O'Donnell heard of the threat and insult, he set off immediately with a body of horse from Ballymote and he came without stop or stay to Ballyshannon where his troops were, in order to assemble them to him without delay or loss, to be in readiness for the Governor, Sir Conyers Clifford, and the afore-said army. When the Cinel Conaill came to the Saimer where O'Donnell was, they went across it in the middle of summer. They proceeded by slow marches along the route, across the Drowes, the Dubh, through Magh Ccetne of the Fomorians.³ They made no hurry or haste, but were pursuing the wild deer, sporting and gaming, until news of the foreign army should come. They were not long so when news reached O'Donnell that O'Conor had come secretly with a small body of men to the castle of Collooney, which was on the bank of the Owenmore, a short distance south-east of Ballysadare, and that he had taken into that castle a prey of cows from some of O'Donnell's people,

which were on the pastures and grazing throughout the country. There was not a fortress or strong, secure castle in the whole country that was not in his possession except that one castle. O'Donnell, without waiting for his foot-soldiers ordered his cavalry to go to the castle, that O'Conor might not effect an escape from the castle before the army came. Thereupon the horsemen jumped on their horses speedily and actively, for no one dared to disobey his words.

They marched after that as fast as they could together, and set to spur and whip their horses until they reached the place. The army came after them to the castle. That place was an impregnable stronghold, and its position was secure, because a river was on every side of it and there was a thick wood on the other side of the river extending to the north of it, so that it was not easy to seize on any one who desired to leave the fortress. However, O'Donnell encamped opposite the wood, and he declared he would not give up the siege until O'Conor and Collooney were in his power. The army made tents and huts. Guards and sentinels were set night and day round the castle on every side. They made mounds of earth and stones and very large trenches between them and the archers and shooters of the castle. They enclosed it on every side in this way. There were large strong bodies of his horse on horseback on the watch from the dusk of evening¹ till morning, lest O'Conor might escape from them under cover of the darkness of the night, for they were thankful to the one God who had brought him into the strait in which he was. It spread universally through Ireland that O'Donnell was besieging O'Conor in his castle. When the Earl of Essex heard that O'Conor was in that difficulty and strait in which he was, he was vexed that his friend² and companion in war should be shut in as he was without help coming to him. Wherefore, he sent his messengers to summon the Governor to meet him at Fercall,³ that they might take counsel there in order to see what he should do to go to O'Conor. The Governor set off immediately in consequence of the order of the Earl to him, and he incurred great danger and

Essex's Instructions for Lord Dunkellin, August 10th, 1599. *C.C. MSS.*, iii. 318.

³*Fercall*.—This territory is now included

in the baronies of Eglisli, Ballcowan, and Ballybritt, King's Co. The O'Molloys were chiefs of it. *Book of Rights*, p. 189.

risk in going through Fercall until he came to the place where the Earl was. He was two days and two nights with him taking counsel. The Earl gave more soldiers to the Governor and ordered him, when he should come to Athlone, to bring together all the soldiers, warriors, and mercenaries in the service of the Queen of England within the province of Olneccmacht and also whosoever of the Irish were submissive and obedient to him in the same way and to go to the aid of O'Connor against O'Donnell. He then issued a command to Theobald na long, son of Richard an Iarainn, son of Edmund, son of Ulick, and to Morrrough na maor,¹ son of Donnell an chogaidh, son of Gilla Dubh O'Flaherty, and the auxiliaries from Galway, to carry in ships, north-eastwards having the coast of Ireland on the right, to Sligo, the stores of food and everything needful, and implements for making castles which had come from England to Galway. The Governor himself with the army we have spoken of should go by land, and Theobald na long with the ships from Galway should come by sea, that they might meet at Sligo, after helping O'Connor at Collooney. Moreover, the Earl commanded the Governor not to return until there was built by him a castle and dwelling of stone and mortar at Sligo, which would be a boundary and wall of defence against the Ulstermen always. When the Governor undertook to carry out these arrangements, he took leave of the Earl and returned to Athlone, and he ordered Theobald na long to go on the aforesaid expedition, as he was ordered to do himself.

He came afterwards to Roscommon, and it was a great grief and confusion to him that O'Connor should be in such a great strait and so long without aid from him, for it was he who had persuaded him to go spy and reconnoitre the country and get news of O'Donnell. But yet he thought it would be of no use to go to his relief weak and unprepared, for he dreaded very much the fierceness and bravery, the perseverance and subtlety of the man opposed to him. It was arranged after that by the Governor to assemble and bring together all the English and Irish submissive to the Queen in the province of Connaught from Hechtgha to the Drowes in her pay. These were the old English and the Irish who came to the army of the Governor: the sons of the Earl of Clanricarde, *i.e.*, Richard, baron of

Riocardro i. Riccardro bairiún súime éoilín 7 Tomar cona focairde, Teaboitec
 Oioláin co lion aéionoil, ó Concobaru donn, Adú mac Diarmada, mic
 Cairpre cona toichlétal, 7 mac Suibne na ttauá, Maolmuire mac Muiréaró
 moill mic Eođain óis baol foim fođail 7 uibeis ó úa n'Doimnaill i rairiáó
 fol. 55. a. an žoiblénoia. O rianzataru an luchtin uile co Rorcommain combatar
 rlođ vómóru danaróá súiméioróeach comba raimalta lar an airz Sej Coneur
 nac baol acimairz iphlétail nac affreazairtha vo óaoimib az úa n'Doimnaill.
 Lotaru iaróim a Rorcommain oét mbriatacha ríchlé co rianzataru co Tuillrei.
 Airróde óóib žo maruirtiu ná buille 7 io žabrac longróic hiriuioiu.
 Óala Teaboitec na long 7 Muircharó na maori 7 an loingiu rímeierietmar,
 io feolratfaióde laim veaf riu hoim nEjunn feb io hribad riu, žo rianzataru
 io iontoimáim an chúan riu an Sligead anáru. Airrit amuiróe amáil
 vo monóoiržead óóib co rplétail ríela an ríloiz oile io óail chuca
 an súrim.

Tuirééeta uí Doimnaill ríelal narle ó raimicc lairioim an riuóiužáó vo
 ómuo 7 vo óluéužáó riu an vúnad amáil ba mlmairic lair žo na leicci
 neach anonn no ille aca 7 na bu conairu no ríruir elúóá az ó cconcobaru
 airu ccairtíall, vo fazaib Miall žárib ó Doimnaill i turizheét an
 coiméda, & io tioncoirž é im žach ní ba vóim vó 7 ba rairílic lairioim
 vo óenoim vó. Luro ríruin cona rlođ co Coirírliaó na Sléira 7 žabair
 longróic riuóde air óairž na ríreád an ríluaz žall éairu žan ríeúžáó.
 Bairioim riu vúnad hiriu on céona ríchlé ac chualad an žoiblénoiu vo
 beit az tionól chuga riu mé vó imoir co coiz .x. Auguir. Ro mrfamílaiz-
 létailruioim é buóóem on muórim riu Iuliu Caerari an tan foiržadúib
 Decuir bpuur mo ionfúóde foim chachairu na Mairli, 7 vo éoíoh ríruin
 cona rlođ vo tocharu riu an vó airiuž io bataru riu laimh Poimp foiržan
 Eirraim, Pectun 7 Airfjun an anmannna. Robtaru ríubairž rífoiržaoiló
 muirli uí Doimnaill riu ríimlí an vó imoir acruóruamoir io bataru riu
 vúnad ríimáite riu Coirírliaó na Sléira adúaró, 7 žer uó heitirichian
 úaróib imfóam 7 taruó a loimléó ni bu nac rírbaró bró foirža riuin

¹ *Encamped there.*—His camp was in the extremity of Bealach Buidhe, now Bellaghiboy, near Ballinafad, Co. Sligo. *Annals F. M.*, vi., 2124.

² *Julius Caesar.*—For an account of the

battle of Lerida, in which these two lieutenants of Pompey were defeated, and of the subsequent surrender of Marseilles to Cæsar, and his generosity to the inhabitants, see his *De Bello Civili*, i. 34.

Dunkellin, and Thomas with his forces, Theobald Dillon with all his troops, O'Connor Don, Hugh, son of Dermot, son of Cairbre, with his party, and MacSwiny na dtuath, Maelmuire, son of Morrough Moll, son of Owen Oge, who was then at variance with and in rebellion against O'Donnell and with the Governor. When all these people came to Roscommon, they formed a strong, cruel, hard-hearted army, so that it seemed to the leader Sir Conyers that O'Donnell had not a body of men to meet or encounter them. They went away after that from Roscommon with twenty-eight standards, until they came to Tulsk; from that to the monastery of Boyle, and they encamped there. As for Theobald na long and Morrough na maor and the ships of which we have spoken, they set sail, keeping the shore of Ireland on the right, as was commanded them, until they came to the deep part of the harbour west of Sligo. They remained there, as they were instructed, till they should get news of the other army which he sent to them there.

As for O'Donnell, some time after he succeeded in closing and securing the position before the fortress as he wished, so that no one was allowed in or out of it, and there was no way or means of escape for O'Connor out of the castle, he left Niall Garbh O'Donnell in command of the guard, and instructed him in everything he needed and he specially desired he should do. He himself went with his army to Corrsliabh of the Seaghais, and encamped there¹ lest the English army might cross it without being noticed. He was in the fortified place then from the first time he heard the Governor was collecting his forces against him for the space of two months to the fifteenth of August. In that way he resembled Julius Cæsar² when he left Decius Brutus besieging the city of Marseilles and he went himself with his army to fight against the two generals who were Pompey's lieutenants in Spain; Petronius and Afranius were their names. O'Donnell's people were glad and delighted during the space of the two months they were in the aforesaid strong place to the north of Corrsliabh of the Seaghais, for they had no lack of provisions during that time, though the carriage and bringing of supplies was very long for them

fol. 55. b. mé rui, úairi nri bo lúga oluat céo nile cennno imecuiritir ar aill oia loimtib fori ghuoib 7 eochairb a hnuir Eoigan mic Néill, a fanoit tíre Conaill, a goll, a htorigol, a ruiric toiraiḡhe ílri ttiáirceclir. Nri bo heiccln laochairb na laireḡairle rri ḡairceob maic óicc arneta rri huirélaige oar clno amogad no ameanbolg, acé arfoh ba ríáuaó & comairce óóib ḡille 7 aráoa & oaoime oiaim 7 lucht mḡairḡiú 7 mioslachair, 7 ni lamta bein rriú la huaihan uí Ohoimnail ar na foribuirce armaóccain riosánuil.

O vo machtatairceéla ḡo húa n'Ohioimnail Teaboite na long cona longlir vo éeacé irin ecúan rriur in Sligeac acúair, no fáoir ar aill oia amirairb na rriurthairgead na tirtair fori tíri ḡombatair irin poric fo anriúoimair eneach in ionchairb rriú. Nir rairḡairbriom oar rirhri maic conairfoha náio earuira eludá ó loch Cé rriur an Slḡhair anair ḡo loch Techlir ailla thíair ḡan lucht riréime & forairce forria na tircad an rliuag rcaáa ḡan maúḡad ciruour. Ac blirrac a éoirig 7 a éreabainn a conrail 7 achoimairig ar ceana ba tlrbaró móri oia mileadairb 7 ba tanaoite acchaéḡabala rri ḡallairó anraoilead 7 an tairriéad vo maic fori a muiurir .i. oirong móri óioib in ionruiré an chairtéoil ambui ó Conóobair 7 ar aill fori huché ḡruinne an loingir imoiráiriom, ar oile oioib acc couilic forria conairub acúadairai.

fol. 56. a. Oo maicróm foruail mbice 7 fori nlrin ruiḡle na nuáral 7 na naircead 7 acblir rriú ḡur bó heiccln moirin, 7 no maró beor ḡur bo rreimbair ó chlín mári nac ar líon óḡ buirclir caé acé tui nlrir an choimreó 7 rreir neach tairuiriglir irin tmuoite aré ar corḡmac 7 crieoir ḡur ab é an taom Oia roar fori an rocharóe bioir fori ḡáoi ruarar úacáó bioir fori ríoir. Ar imne acamaoime in ar níacáó fori ríoir an oar linn buóeim, 7 acac ḡail ina rocharóe móri fori ḡói ag ḡoir bair naáairóa 7 bair nairblirca bir forairb, 7 ar ura óaoib comóri caúḡad calma rlrnuḡ rirerac vo venom tair cln bair naáairóa 7 buirnanma an tan acairch ar buirccomur radein 7 buir nairim in buir lamairb, ná an tan no bair berca hi carirairb 7 hi cumuirḡclhíb íair ngoir bair nairim forairb ílri ccomélnḡal bair mball la caólaóairb cmuaróruḡmónb enairce & íair mbuircead 7 íair mbairórebaó ar

¹ *Goll*.—A promontory in the barony of Kilmacrenan, Co. Donegal, on the eastern side of Sheephaven, now Rosguill. The

limits of Ross Irguill are not determined. It adjoined Ros Guill on the west. *Top. Poems*, xxxi.

during that period, for they brought some of their provisions not less than a hundred miles on mares and steeds from Inishowen Mic Neill, from Fanad of Tyrconnell, from Goll¹ and West Goll, from Port Tory in the north-west. Soldiers and armed men were not necessary, nor armed youths, to protect their servants or flour-sacks, but their protection and guards were servants and peasants, and people without arms, and persons not fit for war and cowardly, and no one dared to harm them through fear of O'Donnell, that his peaceful rule might not be broken through.

When the news reached O'Donnell that Theobald na long with the ships had come to the mouth of the harbour of Sligo, he sent some of his soldiers to prevent them from landing, so that they were in the harbour face to face with them. Besides, he did not leave the roads or passes or means of escape from Lough Ce of the Seghais to Lough Techet on the west without guards and watches on them, lest the army should pass by without being observed in some way. His chiefs and captains, and his counsellors too said they were very short of soldiers, and that their attack on the English would be weaker on account of the scattering and dispersion which he had made of his forces, *i.e.*, a large body of them was besieging the castle in which O'Connor was, and some confronting the fleet of which we have spoken, some of them keeping watch on the roads we have mentioned.

He made little or no account of the words of the nobles and chiefs, and he said to them that this was necessary, and he declared moreover that there was an old saying from long ago, that it was not by the number of soldiers the battle is decided but by the power of God, and that he is victorious whosoever trusts in the Trinity and believes that the one God is against the crowd that is on the side of cheating and with the few who are on the side of right. 'We, though a small number, are on the side of right, as it seems to us, and the English, whose number is large, are on the side of robbery, in order to rob you of your native land and your means of living, and it is far casier for you to make a brave, stout, strong fight for your native land and your lives whilst you are your own masters and your weapons are in your hands than when you are put into prison and in chains

after being robbed of your weapons and when your limbs are bound with hard, tough cords of hemp, after being broken and torn, some of you half dead after you are chained and taken in crowds on waggons and carts through the streets of the English towns through contempt and mockery of you. My blessing on you, true men ; bear in your minds the firm resolution that you had when such insults and violence were offered to you (as was done to many of your race), that to-day is the day of battle which you have needed to make a vigorous fight in defence of your liberty by the strength of your arms and the courage of your hearts, while you have your bodies under your control and your weapons in your hands, as it is not a necessity that the English should be your conquerors. Have no dread or fear of the great number of the soldiers of London or of the strangeness of their weapons and arms, but put your hope and confidence in the God of glory. I am certain if you take into your minds what I say to you, that the English will be defeated and that victory will be with you.' The troops listened to the words of the prince. It was not difficult for them to hear, though they were not very close, on account of the loudness of his voice and speech. They promised all together that they would do as he ordered and requested them.

As for the commander Conyers Clifford, he was for the space of a week preparing and getting ready for the journey, which he made at last. He was blustering and showing his contempt for and reviling the men of the north each day, and saying that he would go in spite of them over the mountain northwards. He was thus until the feast¹ of Mary the Mother of God, on the 15th day of August. He promised that he would be in O'Donnell's camp before night that day after defeating his forces. The occupation of O'Donnell's forces during the time that he² was in the monastery was exercising themselves and preparing for the fight and for the encounter which they were called to engage in. They were cleaning and getting ready their guns, and drying and exposing to the sun their grain powder and filling their pouches and casting their leaden bullets and heavy spherical balls, sharpening their strong-handled spears and their war-pikes, polishing their long broadswords and their bright-shining axes, and preparing their arms

and armour and implements of war also. A prudent pious cleric and a comely psalm-singing priest were with O'Donnell continually offering Mass and the pure, mysterious sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ, and it was his usual practice whenever he went on a journey or a hosting, or whenever he was threatened with any kind of danger, to observe a fast and confess his transgressions to his confessor,¹ after he had grieved for his sins before God, and to receive the Body of Christ himself. He requested his army to fast on the eve of the feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The Mass was offered for him on the next day, and for everyone of the army also who was in that encampment, and he recommended the chiefs of the army to receive with him the Body of Christ with great reverence for the Lord Jesus Christ and his holy Mother on her feast that occurred then. When he heard of the boasting of the proud leader the Governor, who promised to come to his encampment that night, he besought the Son of the Virgin, who had lain on her breast, and the Virgin herself, in whose honour he had fasted the day before, to pray to the blessed Father and to her loving Son, first for his soul, and afterwards if God did not grant that he should be victorious, that he should be left on the field of battle and that he should never return, but that he should be beheaded by his enemies rather than be disgraced, as was the wish of the Governor. After hearing Mass, the army went to their tents and prepared to take their food and their meal before engaging in the great labour, and then they were hungry and thirsty after the fast of the preceding day in honour of holy Mary. After taking their meal they came from their tents very readily with great delight and gladness, owing to the great hope they had of obtaining a victory and triumph over their enemies.

They proceeded over the level part of the plain in order to review their forces together. O'Donnell then divided his forces into two parts. He placed his swift energetic youths and his nimble athletic men and his shooters apart, with their loud-sounding straight-shooting guns and their strong bows and their bloody venomous javelins, and their missile instruments also. He appointed leaders of battle and champions of the fight and generals for sustaining the battle with them, with command to the youths to press and urge and close them to the battle, so that they may

not be defeated, and to hew down and wound after them as soon as their missile weapons were ready. His nobles and chief men and veterans¹ were placed in the other division, his leaders and his chiefs, his trusty brave men, and his leaders of battle, with their strong, keen-edged swords and polished, thin-edged battleaxes, with large-headed, smooth, narrow lances, their long, smooth spears, to support the conflict and maintain the fight and battle. The place was not one for galloping and riding, wherefore he made foot-soldiers of his cavalry in the midst of his soldiers. After dividing his forces in two, O'Donnell ordered the second division, with whom the shooters² were, to advance as far as the foreign army to engage them, and they should be the chief men of the fight and battle to wound and cut down before they came over the difficult and rough part³ of the mountain, for it would be easier to defeat them in the end if they were wounded by them in beginning, and he himself with the main body of the army would wait near to engage them where he was sure they would pass. There were strong bodies of O'Donnell's people day and night by turns watching on the summit of the mountain lest the foreign army should go through without being noticed.

There were parties of them that very day there, and they were reconnoitering and watching the monastery at a distance and the party which was in it. When the sun was in full brilliancy as they were reconnoitering, they saw the army taking their arms and raising their standards and colours and sounding their trumpets and tabors and war instruments. They sent word to O'Donnell in all speed. After hearing the news, he told the party whom he had ordered to take the van in the pass, that they should march forward rapidly to engage the army before it crossed the rugged parts of the mountain slope. They advanced then as they were commanded with the magnanimity and courage of soldiers all of them, till they speedily came to the summit of the mountain before the English. O'Donnell set out after them steadily, firmly, with the steady troops and faithful heroes whom he had collected round him, and they came to the appointed place and to the spot where they were sure the English would come up to them. They remained there to meet them.

As for the van of the army which O'Donnell had ordered to the front

7abaitt occ arznám na conaire hi ccoimóial na ceac neétpionn combatai
 ucht fpu ucht. O mo éomífoiceirígríe oia apóile oo mēlece na 7aioúil
 fpuora fuitēacha foitnib úfozáoab alceholíma unnpionn 7 paithe
 fūighíe fpuibzēp fiamlíteacá a fúóbacab foosa fēiúmmearpimāma 7 capair-
 ceacá ceppunéaoi ceppioúhígr & ubailmēal luairé a 7unnaoáb ceipioiríge
 caolmāoairc. Fpupmmlēthar ó o7baró na Saaxan oia famlāigceacó fon
 ceumma cēna oo 7manaoibnib 7mōi7ioirēa 7lanluairé a 7unnaoáb
 7lēpōibne 7 a epāoimūpceoetab coguarta cianfo7maáa combatāi fūimāigēi na
 himtelecēi lēoipma oepiú 7 anall 7o clop a ppúamanna 7 affpūl7arēa 7
 affpōgharēoimēacó i fpoirēpūb 7 affpōóbaóab a ceaptriallab 7 a ceum-
 oairgib clochóa na ceppoch ceomfoccep. Úa macēnacó mói na oirpōot aep
 oipmīta 7 apāóa fopi oipemū 7 oapraéc la ceipceéc fpu na ceipmearēab
 caáa 7 fpu mac allā 7 toipman an epēmōiubmāicēe. Ro epēacnāigēit
 cepiarió 7 mo loititē lolechmāiú fopi oib lēitēib leó combot lip bomanna l7ha
 matan 7amūmúo mo aē fopipra tēacot oioipma a7 oiammipm lamā 7 lēitēhmo
 7 la ap7a na loechmāiúe fopi 7ac lēit na mbpūipmū7 bloóta 7 na ceenamēpēbaró
 fol. 58. a. combpūite ó charapmāig ceapfoigēen ceipēl7ēhta ceppumluairé & la
 fpoipchēthab fo7acó flannpūiáó foibpūghēi 7 fūighíete fpuibfoosa flann-
 ceipmānacó 7 7ach apm imteilecēe ap cēna. Ac blēpēra a ceoipig epōoa &
 a naipmū7 ion7ona fpu mūmēti uí Ohoimoiū 7an apipioim fopi ionchab na
 nalāmāiach acē 7o tapmēacallōap iacó fopi 7ac toib oo thochar fpuú.
 Lapóamū mo iacópa ionpab fopi 7ac lēit amāil mo fopiceon7māó fopipra, 7
 7abaitt o7 an oibmāaccaó 7 occ oēabacó fpuú 7o oēimnēoac oícoimipicil
 oo mo laipē anlētēáa caáa mētib ap mlōón la oúip 7 oēime na oēabēa.
 Cio fūl ann epā acē mo úlirígríe na 7ail fa oēoio a noipomanna oo
 epēmflēpab an epāpēit.

Oo ma la ó Ruairc (ti7ēlma Úpēipne Connacht) an tapipm allā anap
 oon ceipmflēpab ilon7pōit fopi lēit. Ro timgeallpāiúe oúā Ohoimoiūl beit
 mo upfoichill na nalāmāiac oia ppúapbairc a ceumma chāig fēcib tan mo
 foibepāóipm cona mūmēti iacó. Oe chualāóipōe buipēacó beicēo na
 epipmāacó 7 na tapipm, ceipmēac & talāmēhūipceuzacó an epēmōiubmāicthe
 apmācht apā lon7pōit cona loechmāiú laip 7 epāp7abipōit an ioona caáa

¹ *O'Rourke*.—Some writers give him the whole credit of this victory. See *O'Rourke's H. of Sligo*, ii. 297. Not so our author and

O'Sullivan. *O'Rourke* had but 120 foot; they could hardly resist the 2,500 foot of the English. See *Hist. Cath.*, p. 209.

they proceeded to march along the road to meet the foreign army until they were face to face. When they came near each other, the Irish discharged against them terrible showers of beautiful ash-handled javelins and swarms of sharp-pointed, whizzing arrows from their long elastic bows, and volleys of blood-red spherical balls and leaden bullets from their straight-shooting, sharp-sighted guns. They were responded to by the English soldiers in the same way exactly with sharp-wounding leaden balls from their iron lock-guns and their far-sounding muskets, so that the missiles were re-doubled between them from one side and the other, and the reports and echoes and thundering noise were heard in the woods and groves, from the castles and stone fortresses of the neighbouring country. It was a great wonder that the timid people and the camp-followers did not run away through panic and frenzy on hearing the blasts of martial music and the echo and loud reports of the great shooting. Heroes were wounded and champions were hurt by them on both sides, so that at the place where the division came to a close hand-to-hand encounter on that wintry morning there was many a death-sound from the slaughter of the heroes on every side, whose flesh was shattered into fragments and whose bones were broken by the lightning flames of the well directed circular leaden bullets, and from the showers of blood-red, well aimed javelins, the long-pointed, flat-barbed arrows, and every sort of missile besides. Their battle leaders and chiefs in the combat told O'Donnell's men not to remain opposite the foreigners, but to surround them completely in the fight. Thereupon they closed in on them on every side as they were commanded, and they proceeded to shoot and to fight against them rapidly, unsparingly so that they drove the wings of their army into their centre by the pressure and rapidity of the attack. However, the English turned their backs at last to the brave men of the north.

O'Rourke,¹ lord of Brefny Connaught, was then to the east of Corrsliabh in a separate camp. He promised O'Donnell to be ready to attack the foreigners like the others, whenever he encountered them with his forces. When he heard the loud noise of the trumpets and tabors, and the thundering and earth-shaking of the great firing, he rose from his encampment with his soldiers, and they put on their battle-

armour, and they did not halt on their road until they came to the place where O'Donnell's people were carrying on the fight. They proceeded to cut down the heroes like the rest and to shoot, till those who were able to go away with their lives ran off defeated to the aforesaid monastery. They did not retreat negligently, for not one of them looked for friend or companion behind him, and he who was the first of them thought he was the last of the whole army. O'Donnell's forces did not succeed in killing every one they might, owing to the great number of those who fled and the small number of the force who were in pursuit, for they did not come to the body of the army where O'Donnell was when they were defeated by the first body which had been ordered by him to the front in the road. However, the English left behind many a head and weapon with the soldiers. The Governor, too, Sir Conyers Clifford, was mortally hurt in the beginning of the fight, and he was left in a feeble state lying on the mountain severely wounded, and the soldiers did not know who gave him the first wound, but only that a leaden ball had gone through him,¹ and the soldiers did not heed him until O'Rourke at last came where he was, and he knew that it was the Governor, and he ordered him to be beheaded. This was done then, so that he was a maimed, naked trunk after his head was cut off and he was mutilated.

There was great grief for the person who fell there ; the fate that befel him was sad, and the Irish of the province were not pleased at his death, for he never told them a lie and he was a bestower of treasures and wealth among them. After the defeated had fled to the monastery, O'Donnell's forces went back and proceeded to cut down those whom they had mortally wounded and to slay the wounded whom they met with on the battlefield and to behead them. They then went to their camp with great exultation and gladness, and they made a thank-offering for their victory to the Lord, and they expressed their joy aloud for having defeated the English, and their great pride and their exultation at the issue of the battle, and they proceeded to bluster and threaten them. The unanimous voice of the army was, as if spoken from one mouth, that it was not by force of arms they had gained the victory but by the prayers of O'Donnell to God that he obtained it after receiving the pure mystery of the Body and Blood of Christ in the

fol. 59. a

naoine mo onoiri na hi naoim Maire an Lá maí. Ro bas oleaét oimflin an traoghail aolad an zoiβhínópa ar do beirthe aétuioima sóri 7 oarizat ar matam an laoi hirin oiambad hieimbróect no beiré, & an coip eirad ara tiubairé an hmoail ionmmura rin ni oalonleiré no zabad lairde im nóim an láoi piemraite, oóiz mugad a éoip oia aónacal co hoilen na tpuonoite for loch cé imbaruntaét Muige luice hi contae Rora comman 7 a éno zó cuilmaoile imbaruntaét éipe hOilealla i contae Slieiré hi tpairebad oia énoéobair. Ionéura na ngall iar millead úaroir do munter uí Ohoínnaill, do leiceit hi éno tpea zó tinnlínach for teicheó in do iúarad ooir zó mangatari oia tpeiz fo mela 7 meabail. Foraitte muntear uí Ohoínnaill ma puirib, 7 ba ram contairle an aóiz rin iar mbreiré coizari oia mbioóbaob 7 iar maibad accuinzó eatha con oimuz móri do aipead 7 do úairib maioin iur cen mochá i tpoiepatari do miltóib 7 oóceab ma fárrad. Aónaite munter hi hui Ohoínnaill in no hoitad uaróib & do bfiat leize zó an oir zonta & ot chualatar foad oona Gallab pmoéioice tiazhate zó cairtial Cuilemaoile bail ipari-ccairle in mo infuóe for úa Conéobair.

Ro harmeroad oóraiúe cathmaoiead coimfléibe for Seri Coneur Cluioice 7 a thuitim la húa nOhoínnaill, ba oieieoiead lair moim zó no tairéalbad éno an zoiβhínópa oó. Ba ooghailpeadrom de rin 7 no bfi ceill oia comfutaét ar an ceairai mbui, coné do oime teét for hnead uí Ohoínnaill 7 a oizhuar ó zác moó do éabairé oó. Ba oazairle oórom ón a cooach 7 a charaomad oepiraróm fju húa nOhoínnaill, ar no bfi mline achuapra iccoizepmochab 7 zó ramnifadé i cepmochab Saxon our an bpingbead eabair no comfutaét oia nfiuzaó in aóaró a hpeairate an tan rin, nó an ceoimact ionatocht nó aipeb a chuide no acompoiba, aét éna in charomnaccairiom moim co ionlhairz aímuntearour fju húa nOhoínnaill oon chupra. Ba peimpe oórom on 7 no éhaimnaiz ní oó & oia épe hi ceoitinne an caiprad hirin, ar do beairé úa Ohoínnaill oíumie do buab, oechab, 7 oimrib & oia zác cenél epuró 7 aiba ar éna

¹ *Trinity Island*.—In 1215, Clarus O'Mulchonry, archdeacon of Elphin, founded an abbey for Præmonstratensians here under the invocation of the most Holy Trinity.

Monast. Hib., 615. It is in Lough Ce, a short distance N. E. of the town of Boyle.

² *Soldiers*.—Fynes Moryson gives the number of the English slain as only 120,

beginning of that day, and after fasting in honour of the Blessed Mary the day before. The spoiling of the Governor was a proof of the vanity of the world, for his treasures of gold and silver were taken away on the morning of that day, having been seized, and his body of clay from which all his treasure was taken away was not carried in one direction on the evening of the aforesaid day, for his trunk was carried for burial to Trinity Island¹ in Lough Ce in the barony of Moylurg in the county of Roscommon, and his head to Collooney in the barony of Tirerrill in the county of Sligo, to be shown to O'Conor. As for the English, after the departure of O'Donnell's people from them, those who survived went their way, flying in haste until they came to their homes in sorrow and disgrace. O'Donnell's people remained in their tents, and they slept soundly that night, having obtained a victory over their enemies and slain their leader in the battle with a great multitude of the chiefs and nobles also, besides those of the heroes and soldiers² who fell with them. O'Donnell's people buried those of them who were slain, and brought physicians to the wounded, and when they heard that the English had turned back they proceeded to the castle of Collooney, where they had left O'Conor in a state of blockade.

The defeat of Sir Conyers Clifford at Corrsliabh and his death were made known to him by O'Donnell. He was incredulous about it until the head of the Governor was shown to him. He was perplexed thereat, and he gave up all hope of release from the prison in which he was, and what he did was to come into O'Donnell's presence and to make a full submission in every way to him. It was a good plan for him to enter into amity and friendship with O'Donnell, for though he made frequent incursions into the neighbouring territories and especially into the lands of the English, that he might get help and aid to strengthen him against his enemies then, or protection to dwell in or inhabit his territory or his patrimony, yet he could not do that until he made friendship with O'Donnell then. He was the better of it, and that friendship was of use to

'besides many more hurt,' O'Sullivan says 1,400 of the Queen's forces were killed, nearly all English. All the arms,

standards, and baggage of the English were taken. He gives the number of Irish slain as 140. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 211.

1 congnam uia Concobairi, conad fhuirde iur céobairiab a éirí cró
 ílreccam. Tuirteéta Teaboirt na long, ac cuar tóiraró fon ceumma éctina
 rraimeasó roppna Gallair 7 toiritim an aigis, & ó Concobairi do éabairt
 arim cairtiall ac coádamar, mo éinnirioim oca ina mhniaman gan fhuéblit
 fhu huá nDomnall ni bas rhuí, 7 mo nbnairce a charairasó fhu ílreccam, 7
 do moine aríe 7 conairleice von longir íéimairte iompuó for ceulairb
 sur an nGailinn do muir. Ro rai ó Doimnall cona muirteir oia ttiáib
 fol. 59. b. íar. mbúair ccorzair 7 ccomnairóime. Robtar mhnmaris ccoráois
 zairóil von cur rin. & robtar mifhu mhnreimóe muirteir na bainríozan.

Osala uí Doimnall baoríde iffor íarpan ceairtgleorin atharó imbaile
 an Mhoirg 7 atharó oile 1 Leitbir 1 nDún na ngall 7 imbaile Aca Seanairg
 oz airpas toile 7 occ ainur gan rnoim gan deitroce gan uaiman gan uirigla do
 muir naé do éirí rair an tarí lair. Amem tóroim ó toras rózanair zo mír De-
 cembei. In eacmairg na mee rin do maétatarí teéta oia rairgí co rrior rcel
 leó combui raíma deabta 7 iomairis eirir Mac Miliam Teaboirt mac
 Haireir éioairg 7 Teaboirt na long mac Riróirio an íarpan. Ni mo fóam
 úa Doimnall gan uil do ríóirgáó rtoirra co lion rlois & róairóe, & ó do
 ólcharó do uéairg Cloinne hMiliam mo zairmuir na maíte ríemairte ina
 óacim, 7 íar neirteadé ró éamh an imirina úó mo marairg rtoirra combtar
 ríosaé fhu aróile ar a roríconzmaróim. O thairme lair hmaróm an ríosa
 mo zair aigirí do éorí chuarra 1 cloinn Ríocair, 7 ó mo arzra for airioncharb
 ni uéachair tarí úarpan mói rreacé von uil rin. Bair fhu me éloria noróche
 cona láir 1 ceampa irin machairie maabac 7 hi comrócharb na Gailine.
 Do maabó imbaio do rreachair ó comláairb an baile móirí amaé oia
 rairgí ó ra míoem luchta na cathmach radeim. Ro uolbairt rceoil
 iomra ar a loir von chur rin sur mo lionrat ambaio ó zhairlinn co leim
 Conceulaimn raíman 7 uairigla, do comíeruoénuzad & do curóeanbar uí
 Doimnall, ar an tarí la zair noimng úob 7 la zair tairreac ríochair ééto
 bair a éuac buó ríerín cena no oirzreac 7 ba ríe a únamar mo baó longróir
 do úa Ohoimnall cona rlozairb íar na oirzair leó. Acé éina nri bo

¹ *Loophead*.—Properly Leap Head, a promontory in the south-west of Co. Clare. Cuchullin flying from a woman made his way here. He leaped on to the promontory, a distance of twenty-five feet. His pursuer

did the like. He leaped back to the mainland; the woman, nothing daunted by the danger, attempted to follow him, and fell into the sea and was drowned. See *The Battle of Magh Leana*, p. 92, n.

him and his territory universally, for O'Donnell gave O'Connor oxen, horses, and cattle, and every kind of beast and of corn too, to help him, so that with these he dwelt in his territory after a while. As for Theobald na long, he heard in the same way of the defeat of the English and the death of the Governor, and that O'Connor had been let out of the castle, as we have said. He determined in his mind not to oppose O'Donnell any longer, and he confirmed his friendship with him afterwards and made his peace, and allowed the aforementioned ships to go back to Galway. O'Donnell and his forces returned to their homes with the joy and exultation of victors. The Irish were in high spirits and full of courage then, and the Queen's people were weak and feeble.

As for O'Donnell, he rested after this victory, sometimes at Ballymote, and other times at Lifford, at Donegal, and at Ballyshannon, enjoying himself in security, without anxiety or care, fear or terror from sea or land as he thought. He was so from the beginning of harvest to the month of December. At that time messengers came to him to say that there was a subject of contention and dispute between Theobald, son of Walter Ciotach, and Theobald na long, son of Richard an Iarainn. O'Donnell could not but go to make peace between them with his full force and army. and when he came to the territory of Clanwilliam he summoned the aforesaid chiefs before him, and after hearing the cause of their dispute, he arranged between them, so that they were peaceful towards each other by his command. When he had concluded the making of the peace between them, he had a desire to make a raid into Clanricarde, and when he came into it he did not go farther than Oranmore on that expedition. He was for three days and three nights encamped in Machaire Riabach and in the neighbourhood of Galway. A prey was brought to him from the gates of the great town in spite of the people of the town itself. Many a tale was invented about him then, so that from Galway to Loophead¹ was filled with the fear and dread, with quaking and terror² of O'Donnell, for it seemed to every portion of them and to each chief that it was his own territory which was the first to be invaded and his castle that would be the encampment of O'Donnell and his army after they had plundered it. But

² *Terror*.—The Irish word means properly the trembling or shivering of death.

hainlaró rin do mala doib, doig mo fill ó Doimnaill óia éirí afeetpa. Batapi
 tpa ambui hiccorigeadó Ulaó uile an tairpa ma linn lam ma ttopari techt, 7
 ma ttuinn éhigle zan zuaip zona ná zabala eighne na porpizne epieice na
 caēa porpa a haon aipó oEipunn, 7 eagla an éoiztó por zác en éirí itcip. Ro
 fol. 60. a. thochairtílrtoipi ó Doimnaill ino aipipi ara haéle i ráthaire & hi pormínghe
 co topad raímhais ari ceimó zan raizead por neach zan neac do raizead páip.

1600, an 9. blaóain.

Inn eacmang na mee baopioim ipor, mo éfzlomaó plógh lanmóir la húa
 Néill do óul do choi chuapra ipin Munáin. Do mala Maguóipi Aóo por
 an rloicchead hipin. Ni huirteari amméleca co muachtacari tairi Corcaiz
 & tairi laoi buró ólr, zup mo zábpat longpóip eicpi laoi & banóain i
 coiccpicé Muiccpaiz & Cairipreac. Aon óona láib (zari beaz ma ppeil
 Patraicc) óia mo zabli iontóolta & accobari Maguóipi doo do inoiaó na
 ceipoc ecoimóceup pēb mo ba bér óó do zpér tan no éhigheo in eétaipemoéaib,
 zo mo thairuiclinneó óipim maicac & tpaizhteac aipin longpóip, & ni mo
 hanaó leó co mangacari topup Corcaiz, & aiprúe co Rinn éopriain óúnaip
 an Baipiaiz óig hi cenél Aótha. Soiaet ma ppuéling ipin lo éftna co
 ceipreachaib 7 zabalaib ionóaib cona mo chuimangciput muicéirí Mezúóipi
 mochtain zup an longpóip an aóhaiz rin ari aóble anéóala, conaó bo heizip
 doib aipioim in zác aipin aetapupari topéata topaiz na hoitóce. Maguóipi
 oan baipé mo eipóipóe raizead an longpóip an aóhaiz rin eipinóup. I
 maóain an laoi rin in mo fázaib Maguóipi longpóip ní Néill, manaicc ppor
 peel co Corcaiz zo Sip Uapam Salenóepi (baoi ino ionaó Ppripóepi óa

¹ *Munster*.—See his proclamation to the Catholics of the towns of Ireland, dated Dungannon, Nov. 11th, 1599, in *The Flight of the Earls*, p. 21. It was intended chiefly for the southern parts of Ireland.

² *Hosting*.—A detailed account of it will be found in *Annals F. M.*, vi. 2147.

³ *Lee*.—The river rises in Gougane Barra. After a course of forty miles due east, it discharges into the sea in Cork harbour.

⁴ *Bandon River*.—It rises on Owen hill, five miles W. of Dunmanway, and flowing though that town, Bandon, and Inishannon, falls into the sea at Kinsale.

⁵ *Muskerry*.—There were formerly six districts in Munster bearing this name, the inhabitants deriving their descent from Cairbre Musc, son of Conaire Mor, ardrigh A.D. 158. The district referred to here is that now included in the baronies of E. and W. Muskerry, Co. Cork. *The Book of Rights*, p. 42.

⁶ *Rincorran*.—See p. cxxxiv., antea.

⁷ *Barry Oge*.—See p. cx., antea.

⁸ *Kinclea*.—A barony in the south east of Co. Cork.

⁹ *St. Leger*.—The first of the family who settled in Ireland was Anthony; he came

yet nothing of the kind happened to them, for O'Donnell returned to his territory then. While he was in the province all Ulster was a still pool, a gentle spring, a haven of repose, without dread of wound or capture, of shout, violence, plunder, or battle from any quarter of Ireland, and there was a dread of the province in every other territory. O'Donnell passed the time that followed in delight and prosperity till the beginning of the following summer without attacking anyone, without anyone attacking him.

1599

1600, the 9th year.

During the time he was resting, a very large army was collected by Hugh O'Neill to go and visit Munster.¹ Hugh Maguire happened to be in that hosting.² Their marches are not told of until they passed Cork and the Lee³ southwards and encamped between the Lee and the Bandon river,⁴ on the confines of Muskerry⁵ and Carbery. One day, just before the feast of St. Patrick, a desire and longing seized on Maguire to go and plunder the neighbouring country, as was always his custom when he came to strange districts. A body of horse and foot set off from the camp, and they did not stop until they came to the gate of Cork, then to Rincorran,⁶ a castle of Barry Oge,⁷ in Kinelea.⁸ He set out to return the same day with much prey and booty, but Maguire's people could not reach the encampment that night, owing to the quantity of the booty, hence it was necessary for them to remain where there was shelter, owing to the darkness in the beginning of the night. However, Maguire determined to reach the camp that night somehow. On the morning of the day that Maguire had left O'Neill's camp, the news came to Cork to Sir Warham St. Leger⁹ (he was then Deputy¹⁰ of the two provinces¹¹ of Munster), that

1600.

over in 1537 as Commissioner, to set the lands upon the marches of the Pale then lying waste. He was Lord Deputy from 1540 to 1556. His son Warham was appointed Governor of Munster in 1566. A list of the lands given for his services will be found in Archdall's *Peerage*, vi. 112.

¹⁰Deputy.—Sir Thomas Norris, the President, was mortally wounded in an encounter with Thomas Burke near Limerick

the year before. He died at Kilmallock soon after of his wounds. *Annals F. N.*, vi. 2115. St. Leger and Sir Henry Power were appointed Commissioners for the government of Munster until a President should be appointed.

¹¹Two provinces.—i.e., Ormond and Desmond, East and South Munster. Thomond originally belonged to Connaught. See p. 164, antea.

Maguire had left the camp as he had, and the direction in which he had gone. The news was not responded to negligently by Sir Warham, for he set out immediately with a sour-faced, active troop of foolhardy, odious, evil-intentioned cavalry, and they were stopped and placed as a line of concealed watches in a safe secure place where they were certain that Maguire would come to them. They remained there till they saw Hugh coming towards them as they desired. He did not set about making his escape, though they were seen by him in front before he came up to them, but he attacked them swiftly, fiercely, as a wolf does sheep or a lion bears. So it happened to him and Warham, and they proceeded to wound each other with their strong, firmly made, sharp-angled darts so that they pierced each other with great wounds, until at last Sir Warham St. Leger was slain¹ by Maguire, for it was usual with him up to that to obtain the victory over his enemies whenever they fought with him. Five of the other leaders and gentlemen also fell by his single hand, besides the common soldiers and the waggon-drivers. However, the many were victorious over the few in the end, and it was necessary for Maguire to quit the place of battle, for he was pierced quite through, owing to the dropping and flowing of his blood in pools out from his wounds, through want of strength and vigour and the failing of his activity and dexterity in arms. He did not go far after that when he was obliged to come down off his horse through torpor and weakness, and they took him in their arms and laid him on the ground. The rigours of dissolution and the darkness of death came on the hero after that, so that he died very soon, March 13th.²

The loss of this nobleman who died then was a cause of lamentation throughout the whole of Ulster, and his praises were very great on account of his natural qualities. He was pleasant, stately, free-spoken; he was generous, hospitable, profuse, mild, kindly to his friends, stern and aggressive to his enemies; he did not retreat a step before few or many of his enemies since he took up warlike³ arms to those days, a man who did not go

mention of his bravery. So too Mooney, who was probably on the expedition. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 213. The English version of the

encounter, in many essential points different from that given by Irish writers, will be found in *Pac. Hib.*, p. 39.

& cinn-teach ar eccinn-teach von anffine each-taircemeol fpu ambaoi ag cor-naid & ag caúgáó ag mór-oln a iyye & a athair-óa co tpoicéair leó von chuyra. Ba har a baiaó ílí moctam pccél oia faizíó puairret a muntlí búr óem & muntlí uí Néill corp an éaonííyí zyri mo haónaiecló leo é íay tcam i ccoicéayh co maóáó móponoyiaíí amul mo baó óioy.

Soair úa Néill oia tiz & ba flíy óó rém & oo choiccló Ulaoh ar élna na veacharó iyyi tuyuy yin ero fo óayí oiohíóa an aoimíyí yin oo fzyay fpuú von chuy yin. Ro fáy imyírayn & lrayonta anffoill iyyi ramíayó ar cino hi flíayb Monach eittiy Concoóay Rúao mac Concoóay Mezyóyí, 7 vrbíayéayí an Mezyóyí iya hecc mo ionyayórlm Cuconnaéht ócc mac Conconacht mic Conconacht im élnuy na cyche. Concoóay tya ba toich vó aipeachuy & aipóélnay flí Monach ar aoí naoyí & yinníyieáéta cíoó yia ran Alóh Mhazyrohiy faóem oo mochayí amíayl atyubíayayí, & an tan ba voiz lá Concoóay (an vay lay) ná baoy fpuéblíy imon ccennuy íay necc

fol. 61. a. Conconnaét aóay mo Alóha ar ann mo zyaymeáó a zhayim flácha oo Alóh la Doimnoill mac Aoóa mic Mazyra uí Doimnaill (moíí vamána éneoil cconail) aóaró fova mayan tanym. Robaó lanfayoleáétam lay an Concoóay Ruao yemíayí zyombáó lay élvay von chuyra allop a yinníyieáéta, a aoíy, & a oiyblíyayí, a caryayóáó & a choimíaylaya fpu híá Néill, ar ba lyaohayí óó eiyóe iyyann a maóay voiz moctayí vó fíayí vó ayoye a mayíe voblyonb, & moe lóh an cclona doimneéem mlynan & ayglnta baoy ag úa Néill feiyin cona éomíaylyzíb ar élna. Oo éoyóoyom oo faizíó uí Néill oo chuygáó foylamíayí a aóayóa. Oo éolct om Cuconacht ócc on myó cctna ayim imboí ó Doimnaill vacyome a eccumíayíí fpu.

Q mayacc Concoóay zyri an vó imboí ó Néill, mo faoyóit litye & teéta oo tozyayim uí Ohoimnaill oia élvayóáó vó Concoóay Mazyóyí oo oiyoneáó iyyi fflayély, úayí moe omán lay bayann & flíyglunni na hayéon anglon-vayí oo byoyóáó fpu muna comayíeiccló an camzln híyí vó & Cuconacht ócc no neach oile oia éenél oo oiyonéáó icclíoyuy cyche Monach vayí

¹*Cuconnacht Oge*.—He left Ireland secretly in 1607, and provided the ship in which the Earls and their families fled from this country. He died of fever at Genoa, and is buried there in the Church of the Annunziata. *Flight of the Earls*, p. 175. Cu,

a dog, is often prefixed to names of places to form names of persons. *Top. Poems*, p. 56.

²*Relationship*.—*The Annals F. M.*, under the date 1600, speak of the death of Joan, the daughter of Maguire (Cuconnacht, son of Cuconnacht, son of Brian,

away from the place of fight or battle without wounding or killing some one, a man that had killed and defeated many parties both of gentle and simple of foreign race with whom he contested and fought to protect his faith and native land until he fell by them then. The day after the news came his own people and O'Neill's found the body of the hero, and it was buried by them at Cork after a while with great respect and honour, as was fitting.

O'Neill returned home, and it was better for himself and for the province of Ulster also if he had not gone on that expedition, on account of the death of that one man who parted from them then. There arose a great dispute and disagreement in the following summer in Fermanagh between Conor Roe, son of Conor Maguire, and the brother of Maguire, whose death we have spoken of, Cuconnacht Oge,¹ son of Conconnacht, son of Conconnacht, for the chieftainship of the territory. Conor had a right to the dignity and headship of Fermanagh on account of his age and seniority even before Maguire himself who fell as we have said, and when it seemed to Conor (as he thought) that there would be no opposition as regards the chieftaincy after the death of Conconnacht, father of Hugh, the title of chief was given to Hugh by Donnell, son of Hugh, son of Manus, the rigdamna of the Cinel Conaill, long before that time. The aforesaid Conor Roe was quite sure that the chieftaincy would come to him now by reason of his ancestry, his age, his dignity, his friendship, and his relationship² to O'Neill, whose cousin he was by his mother's side, as the mothers of both were sisters, and this was the same purpose of mind and thought which O'Neill himself had and his advisers also. He went to O'Neill to ask for possession of his patrimony. Cuconnacht also went for the same purpose to where O'Donnell was to complain of his powerlessness to him.

When Conor came where O'Neill was he sent letters and messengers to ask O'Donnell to allow him to inaugurate Conor Maguire in the chieftaincy, for he was afraid to rouse the anger and wrath of the powerful war-dog against him if he did not grant his demand and appointed Cuconnacht Oge or any one else of his tribe to the chieftaincy of the territory of Fermanagh contrary to his prohibition. When the messengers came

&c.) and the wife of the Baron O'Neill, *i.e.*, mother of Hugh O'Neill and of his brother Ferdoragh, son of Conn, &c. She was the Cormac.

εργασμεριοι. Ο μαγδαταρ να τεαχταττα βαρ ιμαρθε υα Οομναιλλ νι ταρτο
 ιφοιλλ α πορρεα, ατ το τεαχατο οηυμ ιμαρεαδ & τραιοεχτεαδ το μοιζομβ
 α μιντιρε ιμό ολριβραταρ Ρυτομαζε & ιμ Κοινονοατ οεε, & νι μο ηαναδ
 λεο ζο μοεταμ τοιβ ζυρ αν ού ιμβαιο ο Νείλλ cona μαρειβ ιμβε οζ εμυδ α
 εκοιμαρλε ιμοη εεαηζλη ελτονα. Ο μο εαριβληηζρυνι φομοιορλαμν αν ούνηε,
 μο ηιβ φορ α ελαοιμτεεταιβ οηυρυνι ινα ναοηβροη αιζητοε φορ λειτη
 υαοηα. Ρο φαοιη ο Νείλλ α ραν ιμιντιρ & α ελαιμρζ το ριαοηυζαδ
 να ρλαθα τυρ ραιμρε, 7 οια εοελμρβδ chucca το ηελαδ α εκοιμαρλε το
 τυρ αν εαοηραδ αεαλζφρομι τμα εαοηζαοιθειλζ φορ αοη αιρε ηυρ ρειρην.
 Τορ ριεερυνι ρο εεοοιρ, & ηοδταρ ρυβαζ ροροιρβραοιλιζ εεεταρναε τοβ ηυ
 αροιε. Ο μο οειρδ υα Οομναιλλ ι ραηραδ υι Νείλλ ζειβτορροε φορ
 fol.61. b. ρυηραοαδ 7 ροιλλρυζαδ το Οομναιλλ να εηητα & να εαηζνε ρορ-
 εαοιηναζαηι & αζ ταβαηε ρορ αιηο ζαε τυεεαοε μο βαοι ρορ ιμνηαμ οδ
 ιμ μο βα εομαδαιρ λαρ τιζλημα το ζαημ οδ Κοηεοβαρ Μηαζυροηι. Ιαη
 ιμβειτ οδφομ ρεατα ινα εαοι αζ εοητεετ ηυ ρυηζεαδ να ρλαα υι Νείλλ,
 αεβληε ρο οεοιδ ηαη βο τολ οδ εημτουρ οημνεαδ Κοηεοβαρ ιρην ελμυρ,
 τοιζ βα οαοιη λειτ & οαοη ηαμν λα ζαλλαιβ Ουιβλιννε & λαρ αν αιηρμνε
 εεταρηενηεοιλ ηο βιοδ το βυνη ιμ αζαδ ζαοιθεαλ αν εοιεετο & να βιαδ
 αεαιμρην αρα οηρι τμα βιεηυ. Ηηυ βο ρλαν λα ηυα Νείλλ αμλημνα οοη
 ηρνεζα ηρην το βληε ο Οομναιλλ ραηι, αη μο ριτερην ηαη βο ροδαιηζ ρυεβληε
 να ρυεεταζηα ηυρ ιμ nach εαηζλη ρο τεαρταδ λαμν.

Το τεαχαταρ να ρλαηθε το ριλδουζαδ, το ρανολ, & το αιηζ τοιε αρα
 ηαιελε. Ρο ρυηδζεαδ αν ελζηηοηα ιαη ηυηρο, υα Οομναιλλ εμεαδ, ιμ
 ιοηεηαιβ ηυ ηυα Νείλλ & Κοηεοβαρ Μηαζυροηι φορ α λαμρροε & να μαητε
 ιλρ να τεεετα αη ελνα. Ζειβιττα να οαίλληαμ οεεα ρρμιοεαηεαηη & ρυηρταλ
 ιαηρτεαμ. Αν ταν τμα μο ζαβ υα Νείλλ αν αιηοιζ ζο ρρην ιμα λαμν, ιβρο
 υιζ φορ ο ΝΟομναιλλ. Ζειβτο υα Οομναιλλ αν εαυιζ α λαμν αν οαίλεαμιαμ
 7 μο ριλλ ρεαχα, το βληε λυαηι εαυηε οια μοζμροηζ ρεαχνοηι να ελζδαιρ
 ιμα εεαυηε, & ιμ εοηραεα εεεεαετ οεε ηρην τιζ, & ο να ραεα μο ρορλεοηζαηι
 αζαημν chucca ρο εεοοηι. Το ηοηηαδ ραηρρομ ιμτορην & ιαη τορμιαεταμ
 το μο ηιβ ραηι ρυροε φορ λαμν αδριβραταρ Ρυτομαζε φορ ιμοδρβιορ να

¹ *Castle*.—In the margin is : *Dunceanain*,
 Dungannon. This was Hugh O'Neill's
 usual place of residence. See p. 31, antea.

² *Conor*.—He joined the English later and

was called the English Maguire. Many of his
 clan went over with him. But that did not
 prevent their lands from being confiscated.
 O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, pp. 233, 281.

where O'Donnell was he did not delay the business, but he went with a body of horse and foot of the choicest of his people together with his brother Rury and Cuconnacht Oge, and they did not halt until they came to the place where O'Neill was with his chief men round him taking counsel on the same subject. When he dismounted at the lawn of the castle ¹ he ordered his attendants to remain in one close group apart from them. O'Neill sent his people and his trusty men to entertain the prince who had come and to invite him to make known to him his opinion, to see if he could succeed in alluring him craftily to one opinion with himself. He came immediately, and they were merry and confiding one in the other. When O'Donnell was seated in the company of O'Neill, he proceeded to declare and make known to O'Donnell the question and the business as well as he could, and to set out distinctly every reason which he had occurred to his mind why it was right to give to Conor Maguire the title of chief. After listening for some time in silence to the statement of the Prince O'Neill, he said at last that it was not his wish at all to appoint Conor ² to the chieftaincy, for he was on the side and of the party of the English of Dublin and with the foreign race who were by nature opposed to the Irish of the province, and he would not be a party to its subjugation so long as he lived. O'Neill's mind was not pleased with the answer which O'Donnell gave him, for he knew it was not easy to oppose or contradict him in whatever subject he set his hand to.

The princes proceeded to feast, to drink, and to make merry after that. They seated themselves in the banqueting-hall according to their dignity, O'Donnell face to face with O'Neill, and Conor Maguire next him, and the chief men in their due order also. The butlers proceeded to attend and serve them after a while. Meantime, when O'Neill took the goblet with wine in his hand, he drank a draught to O'Donnell. O'Donnell took the cup from the butler's hand, and looked aside, and gave a quick glance of his keen eye through the hall all round. He did not see Cuconnacht Oge in the house, and as he did not see him he ordered him to be called to him immediately. This was done for him, and when he came he bade him sit by the side of his brother Rury in the place of honour of the palace in the

fol.62. a. bhuighe meirimeóón a múmteipe. O mo úeiríó Cuconnaét mo íbrymh an ceúais co tonzais ma duym mo airtet rin fary, & do zara an anmair ar Maguiríó úe fiaó maírib an coicció hi coitémoe zan ceauuccaó zan comairlececaó do naé don lar ar íhoiearí a oihomó in ionaó a úlribiaáarí & a áarí maímh. Ruzmat ar an aóais rín rocharóe uioó zó rubac romí-
 lnmnuch & ar aill mo múic meanman & rozailrí fo úeiz an oihomó ac rubriamoi. O mo zle an lá cona lanjoiarí ar a bariac tiomnarí úa Doimnaill ceileabmaó úa Néill 7 do na maírib ar chfna. & do éolt feirín & Maguiríó cona múmteip oia tzighib coínlmnach móraizeantaó ara haíle.

Ot eiaó ríhaó Duiblinne na mo cumairzifce cornaímh coicció Míóba fpu húa nDoimnaill írí pmaímeaó caáa an belaisz úuioe & íarí maíbaó an zoió. Íhoma amáil ac eúáóomari, & íarí nnoipaó úoioim na ttiáac ríle fpu in Luimnech 7 fpuin eéteze aúaió zaa tan ba tol úó, & ó mo acainzifce na harilaóa batari foipna tuáaib írim in imnló fpu an reanaó, arló arpuochte leóiróe úofoptaó uí Ohoimnaill in a éhi a comairle na níarilaó meíhante tarceari muicoblaiz móirí do éochari foirí muirí imbatari ré míle ríli uoccebarí ariméa eioizéte zup na haríomib batari toiceiróe uóib eipri bhuó 7 arim. Ba la úamuzóam Saxan 7 lar an ceomairí arí chfna do puomuzganta an coblaé rin do éoi co hípunn in fel Paipaice do íomniacó an tan mo hoimuzgeaó loipó Montzoy ma luparí of Ejuó. O do puachtatari an coblaé meíhante a Saxaib co haé eiaé i mu Arpuí do íomniacó, mo faoióite arpuóe íarí ttiáim zup mo íeolrae lam éli fpu hoir hípílm anoiptuarí fpu heóáarimlíb eíche úpílz & Míóe allátoip do tpuan Congaíl eiaimuzneamz mic Rurómaize co puáctatari limg in limg i lupz áon luince co loch feabail mic Uoan co mo zábpae moip in lup eozám mic Néill do rocharí co cenel ceonail ó élm máirí, & ar uoib muótarí foimamaizéte an tan rin. An io. Man do puachtatari an uúrim. O Uochairtaiz an taohiué no bioó foipnan lup fpu lam uí Ohoimnaill do zupé, 7 ba ré anm a taohiuz an ionbaíó rin Seaan óz mac Seaan mic Felim uí Uhoáarítaiz. Ba tuip

¹ *The Earls.*—*i.e.*, of Clanricarde and of Thomond.

² *Mountjoy.*—He was Lord Deputy from February 24th, 1600, to May 26th, 1603. See *Pac. Hib.*, p. 3.

³ *Bregia.*—The plain lying between the

Liffey and the Boyne. Its precise boundaries are not known. See *The B. of Rights*,

⁴ *Territory.*—The south-east of Antrim and the north-east of Co. Down. Here it means the province of Ulster, of which Congal's father Rury was hereditary king.

middle of his people. When Cuconnacht was seated he then drank to him the bowl that was in his hand to the bottom, and gave him the title of Maguire in presence of the chief men of the province universally, without the permission or advice of anyone who did not like that he should be appointed in the place of his brother and his father before. They passed that night some of them merrily and pleasantly and others with sad thoughts and doubts in consequence of the appointment we have mentioned. When the day shone out with full light on the morrow, O'Donnell took leave of O'Neill and his chief men also, and he and Maguire with their people went to their homes glad and in high spirits.

When the Council in Dublin saw that they could not defend the province of Meadhbh against O'Donnell, after the defeat in the battle of Beal Atha Buidhe and the slaying of the Governor as we have said, and after he plundered the territories to the north of Limerick and Slieve Baughy whenever he wished, and as the Earls¹ who ruled over these districts complained of their sufferings to the Council, they came to the resolution, in order to keep O'Donnell in his own territory, by the advice of the said Earls to launch a large fleet of ships on the sea in which were six thousand men, with arms and armour, with the necessary supplies of food and weapons. It was the Queen of England and the Council also who planned to send this fleet to Ireland on Patrick's Day exactly, when Lord Mountjoy² was appointed Lord Justice over Ireland. When the above mentioned ships came from England to Dublin in the month of April, they were sent away after a while, and they sailed, keeping the coast of Ireland on the left, to the north-east by the shores of the territory of Bregia³ and Meath to the east of the territory⁴ of Congal Claireneach,⁵ son of Rury, till they came step by step, as the track of one ship, to the Lough of Feabal, son of Lodan, and they landed in Inishowen MicNeill, which had fallen to the Cinel Conaill long before and was subject to them then. On the 10th of May they came there. O'Doherty was the chieftain who ruled over the island, subject to O'Donnell always, and the name of its chieftain at that time was Shane Oge, son of Shane, son of Phelim O'Doherty; he was a

⁵ *Congal Claireneach*.—*i.e.*, the flat-faced. He was ardrigh from A.M. 5017 to 5031.

catha ar calmataf eiríde, & nri bo rannoiri forba do necé atocraó ma
 éiri oia noaméa fírfíri no comílion úó. Ro baor cairtiall blé nari uó
 móri la húa n'Doócarraig fori ur an loéa in noméumige an éusan .i. an
 éuilíohi. Ba fárf eiríde an tan riu úairi ba heirimill riu forugaó in aghaó
 naímat. Aírur na Fáil anníróe 7 tuarraigírfé níri oamglin titeóglaróe
 imon cairtiall 7 forraigírfé ar aill ann oia ríoz. Do óeacátoir oíon
 fol. 62. b. oile oíob go mo gábrac in Dún na long hi noúeáig uí Chathain. Do
 ífghat anríohi cen móéat inórin gur an Doíre nairíofíe in no blíoad an
 Colaim élnóar & an céle De Cíoméann mac Félim mic Flíghura mic
 ceonail. Ro ócearírfé na Fáil sunclaró oíohópa 7 oamngéanmíur
 eíuáó imon mainírtíur 7 imon oamblíag an céona féét. Do gíuátt ríthíur
 & rothíull talman ír na níuáib 7 tuir tíoada úairtib coífeinairíub 7
 foríeráib foríura riu oíubíragáóib. Ro cláírfé claracha coírooimne
 ina ceuaríe ina níuítíméaill oia neétairi. Ba oamngin comóri 7 ba hinnille
 oléátt na cuíre cloóaoíe, 7 na caéíacha ríurí ceáiríe íe íoáa & íaotharí
 oíríuáirí oca noíoní. Ara haríle riu mo blóírac an ímáírírfí & an
 oíomblíag, 7 in éarírac oíoní no aíríúírtíon oon íoíuáoíí gán aóomíleáó
 ambaorí oobairí eclaríeáa írín mbáile, conoeríglírac cubachla & coóáil-
 tíeche oíob & ar aill riu ríuáíoníuáó inntíob. HENRI DOCUR ba hannm
 do oíuríth baorí leó. Ríuríe aíríofíe eiríde go tuaríche & tíoéabáiríe
 con aímáíríe aicéntó. Ba ríun agha & íorígáile.

Batarí na Fáil íe íoáa náé ar íeíeac oíman uí Doínnáil oíob téeé
 tarí na níuáib íeéatáirí aét íoh mbíé, & no bírtíur oíoníga oíríuáíra oíob hi
 ceárfírfí gach noíóche ar ná taríe amíurí foríura co mo líonáítt do íoíth 7
 galíuáib la íomchúíge an íonáíro ímbatáirí & la íeíeac 7 la írfí na

¹ *Culmore*.—See *Introđ.*, p. cxiv., antea. It has not been occupied as a military station for the last two hundred years, yet the tower, earthen ramparts, and ditch are still in existence. The original plan of the fort is given in *The Ordnance Memoir of Templemore*, p. 231.

² *Dunalong*.—On the east side of the Foyle, five miles S.W. of Derry. A plan of the fort will be found *Ibid.*, p. 236. Hardly a trace of it exists now.

³ *Derry*.—It had been taken possession of in 1565 by a Colonel Randolph and a

considerable body of English; they came ostensibly to aid O'Donnell against Shane O'Neill, but in reality to form a settlement there. Two years later, owing to a fire, which happened by accident, and the igniting of their gunpowder, many of the party lost their lives; the rest took to their ships. O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, p. 95, and Cox, *Hib. Angl.*, i. 321.

⁴ *Criomthann*.—The name given to Columba in baptism. See p. 70, antea.

⁵ *Monastery*.—Docwra says of Derry, that 'it was a place in the manner of an

pillar of battle in courage, and the subjugation of his territory was not an easy thing for any one who came into it, when opposed by the brave men who were in his service, as he would be. There was a small castle which O'Doherty thought little of on the shore of the Lough in the narrowest part of the harbour, *i.e.*, Culmore.¹ It was deserted then, for it was not safe to hold against an enemy. The English stopped there, and built a strong, very secure wall round the castle, and left in it some of their forces. Another body of them went and took Dunalong,² in O'Kane's country. The greater number remaining went to the famous Derry,³ which Colum the gentle, the servant of God, Criomthann,⁴ son of Phelim, son of Fergus, son of Conall, blessed. The English made very large mounds and strong ramparts of earth round the monastery and church first. They made passages and covered ways of earth under the walls and war-towers upon them with windows and loopholes in them for shooting from. They dug deep trenches all round on the outside. They were much stronger and more secure than the dwellings of stone and mortar and the castles, in the making of which much time and great labour were spent. Then they tore down the monastery⁵ and the church,⁶ and they showed neither honour nor respect to the great Saint, for they destroyed all the ecclesiastical edifices in the place, and made rooms and sleeping apartments of them, and used some of them to eat in them. Henry Docwra⁷ was the name of their commander. He was a famous knight, prudent and skilful, with profundity of knowledge. He was a pillar of battle and fight.

For a long time the English were so afraid of O'Donnell that they went but a short distance outside the walls, and large bodies of them were on the watch every night lest an attack might be made on them, so that they were full of distemper and diseases, owing to the narrowness of the place in which they were, and their wants, and the heat of the summer season. Very

island, comprehending within it 40 acres of ground, wherein were the ruins of an old abbey, of a bishop's house, of two churches, and at one of the ends of it an old castle, and that when he came there 'he used the stones and rubbage of the old buildings to fortify and set up houses to live in.' *Narration*, p. 238.

⁶ *Church*.—Properly a church which is built of stone. See Petrie's *Eccl. Arch. of Ireland*, p. 141.

⁷ *Docwra*.—He was appointed chief commander of all her Majesty's forces of horse and foot assigned for Lough Foyle in March 1599. In 1621 he was made Baron of Culmore. See *Introd.*, p. cxiv., *antea*.

rine paimmata. Ro éatamairi iolburóne úioib fo úeoió eíó ma riu mo heituirpóelighitc arólthu riuú. O mo aihuzheirtairi ó Doimnail ierion foir an abaireriri & anlméatúoiǵlú ar na rccorairib reatáirir la homan & iomparitélir do muimen occa cionur no beiaó taéaroiri & tarieuiral foirrio 7 do ǵenadó foúair 7 buech mbicc úioib úur an foirerir foir ceúla 7 an bpaicebatarir an roiric ambatarir, conadó é aipicc aipaimiceirion úia noimuzmuǵadó úol ar rloicceadó in úerreceiric úoiǵiú Meadóba úinúreadó na túáath batair foir ǵad táob úon Eéteǵi 7 na Tuadómuúian raimúó. Úeitébirí ón, iobtarir iad na hiarlaúá aipuibramair úiari bo hatáirúá an úú rín (aímaíl iemebleritmarir) iorfoirconǵairir foir an Slnadó & foir mbaimúoiǵain an toichlírtal tpiomúloirǵh rín do tpiall & do toéarir chuzarúoiú úia fóirtadó 7 úia iomúuiriead ina tǵir, & ba hias mo thairceél 7 mo bpaicé úon úaimúoiǵhain 7 úo úómaipile Saxon ǵuir bo henadó 7 lírruir ǵabala eirir cenél Conaíl & Eoǵhain an coblaé iemúairte do éochair ǵo loé Feabhair.

fol. 63 a.

Ro chinneirtairi ó Doimnail a cómaipile raimúarú úul do aite a eecúairerir foirriua hiarlaúáib iemereirerimarir 7 foirpacáib toiruirúé na hiniuiri fá úein riu hucht bpaunne na nállúmaric (i. ó Úochairerir), 7 i foichíll foirria na úoirerir úimúú na eirúce. Ro fáǵairib úan beor níall ǵairib úia Doimnail 7 aipail úia rúóǵ ino iomúuirúoiú foirria riuir an inri allamair lcarúia 7 tpiucha ééú Enna mic Néill. Ro foiróhleririr a ééúta muúú ǵo ǵaoirúealáib coicciú Meadóba úia foirail foirria imbeiré foir a eirú imbaile an Mhoúaiǵ.

Úon anǵatarir connáctairǵ uile ó Súca co Úriobair 7 ó íairerir éirre hAmalǵadó co Úreirre úi Raǵallairǵh ǵombatarir occa ruiuarúe riu mbairle riu in mo úalarerir riuú. Irirte iobtarir aipúǵhúá úur rúceúe riu toirúerir tal huir. Táimicc ann ó Rúairic ǵo mbreirre Connáct .i. Úuan óǵ úiari bo hatáirir an Úman mo hoirerú i Luroain. Táimicc an ó Conúóbarir Slicciú Doimchadó mac Caúail óir ǵuir na túatáib rúúte riuir an eoirriúliab a túarú ǵo muir na fóúair, & mac Úilrímarúa Muirǵe Luirǵ .i. Conúóbarir mac Tarúǵ mic Eoǵain mic Tarúǵ ǵo maione Maóilríuanarú na fáirriadó. Táimicc ann ó Conúóbarir Rúadó .i. Aóú mac Toirriúealúairǵ muúarú mic Tarúǵ úurúe mic Caúail Rúarú. Muir melicc an omáan úona húairlíb batuir hi cóimúerairib na nǵall túirúeéú riu toichlírtal rín, ar ba heiccln úoiúbirúe aipuirúoiú occ inúúúoln a náthairúá

¹ *C. of Enna.*—i.e., the territory which Swilly. Enna got possession of it. See lies between Lough Foyle and Lough Colgan's *Acta SS.*, p. 370.

many of them died in the end before the diseases left them. When O'Donnell perceived that they were in that condition and that they did not go outside the camp through fear and apprehension, he reflected with himself how he might bring contempt and contumely on them, and he made little or no account of them, in order that they would retire and leave the camp in which they were. Wherefore the plan which he adopted in order to show his contempt was to go on an expedition to the southern part of the province of Meadhbh, to plunder the districts on both sides of Slieve Baughty, and especially Thomond. The reason was because the Earls of whom we have spoken, whose patrimony these were as we have said, had recommended the Council and the Queen that the great force should set out and come to them to keep and retain him within his own territory, and they had told and informed the Queen and the English Council that there was a passage and a way of entrance between the Cinel Conaill and the Cinel Eoghain for the above mentioned fleet to come to Lough Foyle.

O'Donnell adopted this plan of going to wreak his enmity on the Earls of whom we have spoken, and he left the chief of the island, O'Doherty, to confront the strangers and prepared to prevent them from coming to plunder the territory. He left Niall Garbh O'Donnell and some of the forces blockading them on the island to the west between them and the cantred of Enna,¹ son of Niall. He sent on his messengers to the Irish of the province of Meadhbh to order them to meet him at Ballymote.

All the Connaughtmen came, from the Suck to the Drowes and from the west of Tyrawley to Brefny O'Reilly, and they were waiting for him in that place which he had appointed for them. The chief of those who came to that hosting were these. There came O'Rourke with the people of Brefny in Connaught, *i.e.*, Brian Oge, whose father Brian had been put to death in London. Then came O'Conor Sligo, Donough, son of Cathal Oge, with the people north of Corrsliabh as far as the opposite sea, and MacDermot of Moylurg, *i.e.*, Conor, son of Tadhg, son of Owen, son of Tadhg, with the people of Maelruanadh. O'Conor Roe came, *i.e.*, Hugh, son of Turlough Roe, son of Tadhg Buidhe, son of Cathal Roe. Fear did not allow the nobles who were in the neighbourhood of the English to come to that hosting, for it was necessary for them to stay for the defence

of their territory, lest the English might lay waste their lands in their absence. There came also Mac William Burke, Theobald, son of Walter Ciotach, and though he was not of the Irish, it was the duty of the chief of the district to come, for his ancestors and the family to which he belonged were under tribute to the Cinel Conaill Mic Neill from the time the Burkes¹ came to the territory of Amalgadh, son of Fiachra. Some of these paid a tribute to O'Donnell, and we should not wonder thereat, for Amalgadh, son of Fiachra, was the cousin² of Conall, son of Niall, and his foster-brother besides, for it was Fiachra, son of Eochaidh Muighmheadhoin, who fostered Conall.

His troops were gathered together by O'Donnell in the month of June precisely, and they crossed the Saimer, a stream abounding in salmon, the Drowes, the Dubh, and the Sligeach, until they came to Ballymote, where the men of Connaught were waiting for him. After a while he went with his forces by Corann, through Magh Aoi Findbendaigh, through Clan Conway, through the territory of Maine,³ son of Eochaidh, and through the plains of Clanricarde, without fight or conflict, without wounding any one or any one being wounded by him during that time. He made a halt in western Clanricarde in Oirecht Redmond on the evening of Saturday, and this was the Saturday before the feast⁴ of John, which was on the following Tuesday. Report and warning went before him to Thomond, but they thought O'Donnell would not leave the place where he had stopped until Monday morning. This was not what he did at all, but he rose before the early dawn of the morning of Sunday, and after hearing Mass himself and the chiefs who were with him, he marched with his troops by Oirecht Redmond to the mountain of Baughty the daughter of Urscotach, son of Tinne, of the Cinel Aodha, by Cinel Dunghaile,⁵ and by upper Glancullen, until he crossed the Fergus⁷ westwards before mid-day on Sunday, so that they made no halt on the north-western side of Clonroad⁸ and Ennis. Ennis was burned and preyed entirely and made bare

quin and Aledaun, passes by Ennis and Clare Castle, and falls into the Shannon by a broad estuary fifteen miles below Limerick.

⁸ *Clonroad*.—It was erected for the Fran-

ciscan Order by the O'Brien family and transferred to the Observantines in 1540. See *Annals F. M.*, v. 1455. The church and a part of the monastery are still standing. It is half a mile S. of Ennis.

hnyr co leip & co lomairda lár ah rloz cen mothá an mainirelji na má
 via no hmuasairi úa Doimnail comairce & caóur vo tabairt ino onoiri an
 éoinéod. Ba hann vo mala oiaira Tuadmúian (Donnchad mac Conéobairi
 uí bhain tighina a Tuadmúian) beith ipin ionaimm rin. Vo óeachair
 úa Doimnall cona rlozair ipin ceirich i cclúain Raíatta foh mbfz alla
 éairi omir con úadad rloiz ma ppariáó nari bat lia olctáo dá éeo laoch a
 lion. Ot chíalairóim monzair an mórrloiz & rlróan na rocaróe & tirléhan
 na ttrionburóin & rozairóimian an luachlamairz a gunnaó zlanailne
 zhríadairceacha reachnón a éirre ma éimcheall, 7 na roirloirece roiróire
 foirléhana no líe in zác airvo 7 in zác airceann ma iméacimanz
 na no chumimanz vanacol no oimólzair, ba rfoh vo moine arceann con
 úadad buróne co lionfoilzróe la hoir an foizair ríair cech noiréach reb
 ar inille foir caóimnacairi co raimce zur an ccláir. Ba oia baileib-
 lonzpruiróim an baile ipin, & ba oairzlin oíozglairóe eiróe ce ni bliérim
 cur an lion no baol occa imóroin.

fol. 64. a

Ióméura uí Ohoimnail ó raimce co hnyr no leice rccairleáó va
 rzeniealair imón tíri ma éimcheall. Ar raiririz foirleathan aircead
 ionnroiztead no rccairleé na mlíroionzra mlíra mlímnucha rin ó ar oile,
 ar no cuairzéad & no crieáloircead leó ríá noiróche oá éiriz uí
 Cioiróubain in iochairi na coiciriche itrimocha éeo na noiléin co cathairi
 Muirchaó hi coira baicinn íairéairiz zo oimur chille Muirre & caéirach
 Ruir & an maža ino uib hriacain co oimur baile Eoin zóbanu hi cóira
 moiríad & boithi Néil hi cenél flímaric. Rob ionóa tria oaothain
 oázóime uáirail no tighina tíre vo criecheair & vo chléthair & va zác
 hnoair éoála az buróin cléthairi no chuicéir vo munairi uí Ohoimnail hi
 cumróe tuir no éum, cairzi no coilíó i tuadmúian an oíóe rin, ar noib
 eizlin ooir airreain in zác maizim a tairuirairi cairíóiréa uiróiriz na
 hoiróe iact.

Zabair ó Ohoimnail lonzróir an adairrim foir hriú an foizair ollairáir

¹ *Monastery*.—It was erected for the same Order by Donough Cairbreach O'Brien, about 1240. The church is still standing. See Archdall's *Monasticon*, p. 44.

² *Clare*.—A village on the Fergus, one mile S. of Ennis. The castle was built by Donough Cairbreach O'Brien.

³ *C. Kerriuan*.—A townland in the parish of Cloondagad, 8 miles S. of Ennis.

⁴ *Islands*.—A barony in Co. Clare, S.W. of Ennis.

⁵ *C. Murphy*.—A townland in the parish of Kilmihil, containing a cyclopean fort in a ruinous state.

by the army all but the monastery,¹ for O'Donnell ordered protection and indulgence to be given to it in honour of the Lord. It happened that the Earl of Thomond, Donough, son of Conor O'Brien, lord of Thomond, was with a small force of not more than two hundred in number in the territory at Clonroad, a short distance to the west of Ennis, at the same time that O'Donnell and his force came there. When he heard the roaring of the great army and the shouts of the soldiers and the noise of the large body and the loud report of the quick-firing of their bright, sharp-sighted guns throughout their territory all about him, and the bright, wide-spread fires which extended in every quarter and on every border all round, which he could not defend or protect, what he did was to march with a small body of troops secretly by the bank of the Fergus due west as securely as he could till he came to Clare.² That place was one of his fortresses, and it was strong, difficult to take, even if he had not the number with him for its defence which he had.

As for O'Donnell, when he had reached Ennis, he sent off his marauding parties immediately to spread themselves in the surrounding territory. Far and wide, violently, aggressively, these active, joyous bodies of men separated from each other, for they traversed and plundered before night from Craggykerrivan,³ in the lower part of the territory in the cantred of Islands,⁴ to Cahir Murphy⁵ in west Corcobaiscin,⁶ to the gate of Kilmurry,⁷ and Caher Ross,⁸ and the plain of Hybrickan, to the gate of Smithstown in Corcomroe, and Bohneill⁹ in Cinel Fermaic. There was many a feast of gentlemen, noblemen, and lords of territories made of the prey and cattle and of every sort of spoil, in companies of four or five of O'Donnell's people under the shelter of a precipice or bush, of a rock or wood in Thomond that night, for it was necessary for them to stop in every place when the darkness in the beginning of the night overtook them.

O'Donnell encamped that night on the bank of the Fergus to the west

⁶ *Corcobaiscin*.—This territory forms the south-west of Co. Clare. The O'Gormans, when driven from Leinster by the Anglo-Normans, settled in the northern part of it. Later the MacMahons became its chiefs. See *The Book of Rights*, p. 48.

⁷ *Kilmurry*.—Five miles S. of Milltown Malbay. The ancient church is still standing.

⁸ *Caher Ross*.—A townland in the parish of Kilmurry, containing a ruined castle.

⁹ *Bohneill*.—A townland in the parish of Rath.

of Clonroad. This was a famous castle¹ and princely abode belonging to him who held the chieftaincy of the country. The host rose up (on Monday exactly) steadily, slowly from their tents and huts, and they proceeded to travel over the road diagonally across Thomond in a north-easterly direction exactly through the east of Hy Cormaic and the plain of Cinel Fermaic and the speckled-hilled Burren, till they came at the end of the evening to the monastery of Corcomroe and to Carcair na cclereach. Those of the forces who were unoccupied throughout the day were traversing and preying every place all round, so that they did not leave a habitation or dwelling that was important without being burned and destroyed completely that day. Early on Tuesday they went with their spoils and preys towards Carcair, and though their march was severe and their pace slow, owing to the quantity of cattle and plunder, they left the rocky passes of white Burren behind. When they came to the dwellings of the smooth plain of Maree, they rested at Knockangerrainbane, between Kilcolgan and Galway.

They divided the spoil between them after that, so that each body had its own share of the enemy's cattle, flocks, and booty, and they proceeded the next day to guide and drive their portion of the prey along the roads of the ancient province of Sreng, son of Srengan.² The journey they made on that day was not long, for they were tired after the great toil in coming through the crooked roads of Burren; neither had they eaten or slept during the course of the preceding night, for they thought the Earl of Thomond would come with all his forces in pursuit of them and on their track to attack them, on the crooked, narrow roads by which they marched, though he did not come at all. They made their encampment in the neighbourhood that night, since they had banished their fear. They made neither huts nor buildings, owing to the heat of the summer weather, but they lighted strong, flaming fires, and their attendants and servers, their cooks and people of the household, their servants and their soldiers set to and fell to slaughter and hew the bones of the enemy's cattle in order to prepare their dinner for their chiefs and their nobles, till they were satisfied and had feasted and slept calmly, as they had set aside their fear. The army rose up from the refreshing rest of sleep at the

imteéda. Ro éomáirleice ó Doimnaill vo Mac William cona muinntir 7 von luét vor fáinne a hiaréar an coicéir fo a éozáim foasó via ttiáib. fol. 65. a. Vo leize fliyin fari ceé noíreac h na conairib coicéinna zo manaic ma noeoró láoi co Conmaicne chuile tolaig in eitrimíóón an éoziró. Zabair longróir hiruróu an adáig rin, & airiric ann zo ar abarac. Ro fóicéonáir iarom ó Doimnaill for a muinntir an imile eiriche a mbu 7 a ccléira 7 an euala ar éina vo leigín úaróib via ttiáib, an ziolanaró 7 an aor viaim & zonta 7 arail via rloz vo leiceasó leó. Vo ifzáit zán fúireac feb no hliabá fúú.

Conairleice vía Rúairic cona muinntir tuvéét via ttiáib amail éad. Vo rafza úa Doimnaill coice céo laóé zo reareac maicé vo moizníb a rloiz, 7 no líb forra airiróim ma fochair buóóem, zo mbatarí az cuimrann 7 occ legeasó a réir irin longróir co híarí mlóón láoi. Lotorí ar ar haité & zabairt eiréan coizeasó fairóli co vian veimneoeac & co taoitoélnac vo ló & adáig zo manccarí co loch Riác in voribler na marone miche ar a barach. Va heiróe poré airéachair & ioracó flatha iarla cloinne Riocairó. Vo leiceit a reclinéacra co rzaóiteac va cech leich vob vintreacó na eiriche. Vo ionalat ambarí vo eiró & vo ccléirib ma comfocairib, & vo bléirac leó co haonmáigín combatarí a rfolairéaró rin amomláac & rin amomam leó.

Tiááit reimib iaréam eiréan coiceasó fairéúaró zur zabair longróir inn imeal an tíre rúr an Saca anreac adáig an Doimnag vo rúnaró. Airiric airiróe co matam an luain. Vo comlat ar iarí rram tar Ach líaz rúno forran Saca, 7 tre maá náoi me Allgúba zo manzatarí zur an Sléhair im triacóna. Zabairt forí rúr an abann a tuaró an adháig rin. Vo comlat ar a barach tar comrúliab na Sléhair, 7 rmaran coirann co baile an Mhozáig, conacó airiróe no reaoiré na marí via noúinib & via ttiáir cona eualairb ionóarib.

fol. 65. b. Vo pelice ó Doimnaill réir vía airíarib & vía aor tuarairéail ó Iul co September, zo rúr tocharí chucca vo rúóirí vur an rreoiriré bolfzal for

¹ *C. Cuile Tolaigh*.—Now the barony of Kilmaine, Co. Mayo. It has its name from Conmhac, son of Fergus and Meadhbh, from whom the inhabitants were said to be descended. *The Book of Rights*, p. 100.

² *Loughrea*.—The name of a barony and town in the Co. Galway, 12 miles south-east of Athenry.

³ *Aoi*.—On the origin of this name see O'Curry's *Manners*, &c., ii. 11.

break of day and went on their road and journey. O'Donnell allowed Mac William and the people and forces who had come from the western part of the province at his call to go to their homes. He set out himself due eastwards by the ordinary roads until he came before the end of the day to Conmaicne Cuile Tolaigh,¹ in the middle of the province. He encamped there that night, and they halted there till the next day. O'Donnell then ordered his people to send away to their homes their prey of cattle and sheep and the booty also, and to let the servants and unarmed people and the wounded and others of the army go with them. They went off without delay as they were ordered.

He allowed O'Rourke and his people to go home like the others. O'Donnell chose five hundred soldiers, with sixty horsemen of the choicest of his army, and ordered them to remain with himself, that they might rest and get rid of their fatigue in the camp till after mid-day. They marched away after that and proceeded through the province south-eastwards vigorously, actively, silently, by day and by night, until they came to Loughrea² in the twilight of the early morning next day. This was the chief residence and princely abode of the Earl of Clanricarde. They sent out their marauders scattered in every direction to prey the territory. They gathered together all the herds and flocks in the neighbourhood and took them to one place, so that there was plenty to bring and drive away with them.

They marched on after a time through the province north-east until they made an encampment on the borders of the territory south of the Suck on Sunday evening exactly. They stayed there until Monday morning. They went after a while across Athleague Finn and across the Suck and through the plain of Aoi,³ the son of Allgubha, and reached the Seghais in the evening. That night they rested north of the river. The next day they marched over Corrsliabh of the Seghais and through Corann to Ballymote; then the chiefs separated to their castles and houses with much spoil.

O'Donnell gave rest to his soldiers and his mercenaries from July to September, when he summoned them to him again to see whether he might

na Galluib, ar at euar dórom zup bo zuaibber do zifóhaib na nGall tocht
 zác laoi darran uiriochac baol for ionchaib Doime buó thiaró do
 ingealtriac for feigúir fáraiz baol for anléomáir con úacáó marcfluaiz
 oia pporóiméó. Daoirioim íarim óza rcuracó & niemúecur ionnur no
 beiaó main im na Galluib do zair an eoch forpno, conacó ri aile arpuocht
 lair. Do maéza oirionz móri oia imleacóib & oirum marcacó nat bac luza
 olac re ééo a lion eirir tpaizíteac & marcacó. Do blre lair iatpaué ar a
 haítele co uichealta in uoirchata na horóche zo ior fázaib in eadpauaúe in
 ucht allbpuaz iomóomáir no bai irin maizfliaó do mala for ionchaib an
 Doime a tíaró bail in iobacó rúeapic oib munnli an baile, 7 nac ba
 forpneil do chach írion. Ro lá úacáó mbfz oia marcflóiz in ionatcaib
 ionfoilzúe in aépoccur don baile in lóapauaúe forpna heochuib 7 for an
 olr forpóiméoa cona roruir an eachiaú for ccula do iuduir pecip tan
 tírtair zup an bfergúir ac cúacáomoi. Baatir famlaú co hupicpacó an
 laoi. Ac chiac an íchriaú chuca darran uiriochacat con an alr forp-
 óimléta feó no zuaéaizflé. Acmazate marcfluaiz uí Ohoimáil oib darr
 anéir, & do maracó ammur calma for luét an comléta. Ro zoiat apail
 oib, & acpucacatir apoule úaúóib la veine & ucmoille an epma. Zabac
 munnli uí Ohoimáil occ iomáir eachiaúe na nGall fo accuimang.

Ticc ó Doimáil zup an flóiz tapupitair ina fáriaú oia ccomfupicacé 7
 acnazhat an léiaú niemib. Ro forconzair úa Doimáil for oirumz oia
 marcflóiz oib lár na heocha amáil ar veine conuocpacatir & zan airpim
 pupim írion. Do ionta íarim móir. Anair ó Doimáil fo úeoz &
 an do maéza oia marcfluaiz ina fáriaú & a imleacó & tpaizíteac ar élna.
 Oe eiac na Gall an eocha do ueluzacó ppuú, acnazhat in oibne
 oia tapuacéam & zebite an apmo & do líccéte ino ueacóaró uí
 Doimáil. Ro leablaing an zeneual Henru Docur for a eoch, & no
 leablaingflé an marcflóiz ar élna do neoch óza maacatir eich & ior forp
 in ionatcaib inille 7 na no híttapucacatir ppuú. Do ífzate irin toziam
 amáil ar oline conpangacatir. Oe éonapic ó Doimáil marcflóiz na nGall
 for oiaimupim na ófóharó airpup darr éir a imleacó tpaizíteac cona oioima
 marcflóiz ina fochari co iuccerac marcfluaiz na nGall fáir. Do blmaráúe

fol. 6. a.

¹ *Horses*.—An account of the capture of vi. 2203, and O'Sullivan's *Hist. Cath.*,
 these horses will be found in *Annals F.M.*, p. 218.

not harm the English ; for he heard that it was usual for the horses¹ to go each day across the bridge which was opposite Derry northwards to graze on a grassy field which was opposite, with a few of the cavalry to protect them. He was considering and reflecting how he could make a descent on the English to take their horses from them. This was the resolution he came to. He chose a large body of his soldiers and a troop of horse, so that the number of horse and foot was not less than six hundred. These he took with him very secretly in the darkness of the night, and left an ambuscade in the recess of a steep cliff which was on the mountain slope opposite Derry to the north, a place from which the people of the town could be seen by them, and they could not be seen by any one. He placed a small number of his cavalry in retired places very near the town in ambuscade for the horses and their keepers, lest the horses might return whenever they came to the field of grass of which we have spoken. They were there until the beginning of day. They saw the horses cross the bridge towards them with their guard, as they were accustomed to do. O'Donnell's horse rose up behind them, and made a vigorous onset on the guards. They wounded some of them ; others of them escaped owing to the fleetness and speed of their galloping. O'Donnell's men proceeded to drive off the horses of the English which they had in their power.

O'Donnell came to their aid with the force which remained with him, and they drove the horses before them. O'Donnell commanded the body of horse to go with the horses as fast as they could, and not to wait for him at all. This was done then. O'Donnell remained behind, and the horse he had chosen with him, and his soldiers and foot also. When the English saw that their horses had been taken away from them, they rose up quickly to avenge themselves, and took up their arms and set off in pursuit of O'Donnell. The General Henry Docwra leaped on his horse, and the horsemen, too, on theirs, such as had horses and kept them in safe places and had not been separated from them. They set off in pursuit as fast as they could. When O'Donnell saw the horsemen of the English in full speed after him, he stopped behind his foot with a body of horse by him, until the English horse came up with them. They made a quick, bold

ammutur uioeria uanarúa fori húa nDomnaili uari elinn a ceiriche, & uo éorname an emig uiblinib. Foraiúir ó Domnaili co uéola uuiruiotheach puyin ueabará & fíleáir uoiarúiz ammutur ltoipra ceétari an uá leite combatari an maierluaz ceétarúa mlíic ar mlíic, & uo maabiracé fori uoiuubáó 7 fori uoiuubiaúá arioiie co uoiuúioeria. Uo maia uóó mac uóóha uuib uí Domnaili & an uoiriach Henru Docuiri tul i tul-pui arioiie uiri uoiuúuin. Taplaur an uOluih úa Domnaili an uoza uoablaúe baui ma laim ar ammutur an uoiuiz uo uuaiia hi uuai a euain uan uóiuuill uó co uui uon co haúli. Soair an uuiriach puiuhioie íli na uueghuáó uamlaú 7 uoiat na uaili ar éina uo úela íli nguim an uuieinúiri uaiuiúie & a uuiuiúó cacha & ni uo úllíuac a ueccuac ni ba uuiú. Uighuac uuuiúli uí Uhoimnaili uia uoiuab íari uuai, & auuiúe a nguillúúia uan uuiuiú, uuiúú ar uib ceúuib each ba úú a líon. Rannair ó Domnaili íúe ara haúe uoiuua huaiúib íari na uiáú & uoiuuiú. O Domnaili uia uoiuúe uoiuúuui uoiu na uailiú uan uoiuuiacé ar a uíui co uuiueáú Octobeiri. Uo uuuiúuair auuiúe uol uui an Uuáúuuuiúan uo uúúiri uia huuiú.

Tapucloméa a uioz laiir íari uuiúú a uoiuuiúe & ni uo auui co uuiúe uaiuan Sluceac úiari & uoiuuiacuib Niail ó Domnaili mac Cumu uic an Calbaúúuic Maghnuia uia úeillúúie buó úein uari a éiri uiri uuiú uia uoiuú uoiu na uailiú na uoiuuiú uia huuiueáú ma úuiú. Ni auuair uaili uo uuiú acé uoi uil & uoi auoch úz uuiueacht & uoi uuiúe Néill uí Uhoimnaili co huueiúe huuiúe ma mbaiúh & ma uuuiúuiú buó úein, & uo uaiuiúúúúe uúe 7 elinnu na uuiúe uó uiauuai uoiuúuú, & uo éinúeallíac uó uuiú uieúe uoiuú & mauiúe máua & uuiú & uuiúe uui uoiuúall uac uúe ar éina. Uoiuuiú uan auuiú uúua uoi uoiuúe uui na uoiuúib uoi uo buó úza uúuiú uaii uoi uo uaiú a auuiú uaii uó úeuiú a úluuúúá uil uoiuúe 7 uoiuuiúan la uailiú, & a uuiueáú & a uoiuúeáú la a uuiúeallíuú uoiuú 7 la uaiuiúe uoi uúia uúúh uoiuúallíú uo uuiú 7 uo auuiú uaii an uoiuuiúe huuiú.

¹ *Hugh.*—He is spoken of by our author at p. 55 as being the equal of the greatest of the ancient heroes, and well fitted to rule over the Cinel Conaill.

² *Javelin.*—Dowcra's own account of the encounter, which was so near being fatal

to him, will be found in full in the *Introd.*, p. cxv., *antea*.

³ *Number.*—Docwra says it was but 60, whereas O'Sullivan makes it 168. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 218. In the *Annals F. M.* it is stated to have been 200.

attack on O'Donnell for his prey, and to save what was under the protection of both. O'Donnell met them valiantly and resolutely in the skirmish, and a fierce battle took place between them on both sides, so that the horsemen of both were mixed with one another, and they set to hew and shoot each other very actively. Hugh,¹ son of Hugh Dubh O'Donnell, and the commander Henry Docwra met face to face in the conflict. Hugh O'Donnell cast a forked javelin² which was in his hand at the leader, so that it struck him straight in the forehead and wounded him severely. The leader turned back after being wounded in this way. The English, too, turned back in sorrow that the trusted hero and their captain in the fight should be wounded, and they did not follow their horses farther. O'Donnell's people went to their tents afterwards, and they reckoned the English horses accurately to be something over two hundred in number.³ O'Donnell divided them afterwards among his nobles according to their dignity and deserts. O'Donnell continued to besiege the English, without moving from his territory, to the end of October. He determined then to go to Thomond to prey it.

1660.

He assembled his forces after taking the resolution, and he did not halt till he crossed the Sligeach westwards. He left Niall O'Donnell,⁴ son of Conn, son of Calvagh, son of Manus, of his own family, behind in the territory to guard it against the English, lest they should come to plunder it in his absence. The English did not cease to entreat and implore, to urge and beseech Niall O'Donnell secretly to enter into an alliance and friendship with them, and they proffered him the kingship and chieftaincy of the territory if they were victorious, and they promised him many jewels and great wealth, and engagements and covenants, too, for the performance of everything. He listened for a long time to these proposals which were made to him at their suggestion, till his ill-luck at last made him consent to join and unite with the English and be deceived and circumvented by the lying promises and evil counsels of envious, proud people who incited and urged him to that resolution.

⁴ *Niall O'D.*—*i.e.*, Niall Garbh. At p. cxxv. of the Introduction we have given the motives which, in addition to personal am-

bition, induced him to lend ear to the suggestions of the English and obtained for him considerable support among the clan.

Woe to the mind that conceived, woe to the heart that entertained, woe to the tongue that advised¹ that violent, ruinous, odious, malicious plan that was entered into then! Woe to the kinsman who abandoned his own tribe, and his earthly lord, his friends and relatives, to go plotting and uniting with his enemies and his foes! Alas! that they did not strive and carry on the contest² together, for it was not simple or easy to pierce or penetrate their surrounding or to circumvent them as long as they were in peace and amity with each other. However, his three brothers joined with Niall in that revolt, *i.e.*, Hugh Buidhe, Donnell, and Conn Oge. The English needed, too, that Niall and his brothers should come to them, for they were weary and fatigued with watching and preparing for fight every night through fear of O'Donnell, and they were diseased and distempered owing to the narrowness of the place where they were and the old musty victuals and the bitter salt meat and the want of every condiment which they required, and of fresh meat especially. Niall O'Donnell supplied them with everything they needed, and relieved them from the narrow prison in which they were. He took with him ten hundred of their soldiers to Lifford,³ nine miles due west of Derry, on the bank of the same Lough.⁴ This was a famous residence of O'Donnell; it was not safe then, for there was not a stronghold or castle built of stone and mortar there for a long time, as it had been destroyed some time before, but only a poor earthen fort that had been made of clay and of sods of earth, and a narrow, shallow ditch of water around it to prepare for the re-erection of such another fortress as had been there before.

The guard vacated the fort through fear when they saw the English approaching and that O'Donnell was not near to aid them. Thereupon the English came to the castle and raised huge walls and ramparts of earth and stone for shelter, so that it was safe for defence and attack against their enemies. A certain man of O'Donnell's own people went after him

surprised and slain, and the place taken; yet so as one of them had first put fire into the fort, which consumed all the buildings in it; but the rest of the houses scattered about in the town (which were about 20), were preserved, and stood us in singular

good stead.' Dowcra's *Narration*, p. 246. O'Donnell had entrusted Lifford to Niall Garbh. O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, p. 219.

⁴ *Same Lough.*—The name of Lough was then given to the river Foyle from the sea to Lifford.

n'Domnaill a bpiachair & a cliamiam do foas fairsi dóig ba ní ríur ino Oítha no ba bainlínuirtaró don tí Niall. Iompair ó Domnaill a coiceasó ndílealla úairi ni manac taru baile an Mhothaig ríairi ríur coiceasó an tan puccrat peceala fairi, & iompáit a flogh fhuothioirec feb monuccrat oialaire, aét na má ni puacht la a milísa úa Domnaill do ppeartal aét maó úaasó via marcflóg combui anathfoccur don Leébioir acruibhumaí. Ni contairiuc lar na Gallair epeacha nair oirecne do óenom ie ríu manac ó Domnaill fori ccula aét beith acc uaingnuáa a rcori & occ clairó a múir, & oc chúalatorí ó Domnaill do thuróeacht nír melic an oíhan uoirb uépacn an ríuric ambatarí fori cfinn nac neit no baorí do éiríbaró foriua. Tairiurairi ó Domnaill ino ionasó nair uó hliuicéian ó na Gallair co puccrat úaasó via míleasóib tairiúcheas fairi.

Ba foa la húa n'Domnaill no batari na Gallair gan fuabairt, & ni no airiur ríur an ríóg ni ba ríurú go ríur tairpen an túasó no baorí uona Gallair fori toeb Cruachán Ligín alla anóir ríur an abann a túaró. Oc chisct na Gallair eiríthe do puachtatarí a uocum, & Niall ó Domnaill cona bpiaríub hi uoiriccheét na trossa. Do bfiarct ríurín nuáia ríur ariole cfin nach uonanatar uéabéa an lá rín cftcur, aét blicn anuipoiichill fori a chéile, úairi ni no fairíct na Gallair ó Domnaill do beith in úathasó aínail no baorí, & batari iomoinnairí in bfiúg do éabairt iompu & nír uó harí uóib uol ino iméline on mbairt air aoríthe. A chumbat cftna do múntirí uí Domnaill, ba uichumn uoirbriom uol inlíree a namiat ino iomfoiccri an ríuric an túasó ríuríg batari. Ro eiríuóelíuríct ríur air oile air a aba cenib fo óra & chaonchomiac no rcarírat. Ro uonta air aill úaróib ue fol. 67. b. ríur 7 anall la uuirbriacéib ríuríg & ríurígíct & ríurú ríuríg ríurígíct & uirail méall luaróe, aét na ma ba mo aín no ríuracnairíct munnclí uí Odomnaill air núairt mar na Gallair. Tíuríarct na Gallair via ríurígíct íar ríur, & do uolct ó Domnaill cona múntirí via ríuríar, & ba co ríuríarú & ríurígíct luiró ó Domnaill anuipróe air a méo no la fairi gan a flog via éairíarctan an lá rín uóig ba uearib laríomí via mbíurctir occa

¹ *Niall's wife*. — See *Introd.*, p. cxxiv, ante.

² *Cruachan Lighean*. — Now Croaghan, a hill which gives its name to a townland in the parish of Clonleigh, barony of Raphoe,

three miles north-west of Lifford. See Colgan's *Acta SS.*, p. 782.

³ *More*. — The sense is, O'Donnell's party being less in numbers suffered more hurt than the more numerous one of Niall Garbh.

to tell him the news of the country, and related to him all that had taken place there. O'Donnell wondered greatly, and was surprised that one who was his cousin and brother-in-law should turn against him, for Hugh's sister was Niall's wife.¹ O'Donnell returned from the province of Oilioll, for he had not gone beyond Ballymote westwards into the province when the news reached him, and his forces came back as fast as they could together, but yet his soldiers were not able to keep up with O'Donnell, except a few of his horse, until he came very near Lifford of which we have spoken. The English had not succeeded in making preys or depredations before O'Donnell came back, but they were strengthening their encampment and erecting ramparts, and when they heard that O'Donnell had come, fear did not allow them to go out of the fortress in which they were for anything they needed. O'Donnell halted at a place which was not very far from the English, until some of his foot-soldiers came up with him.

It seemed long to O'Donnell that the English were not attacked, and he did not wait longer for his army, but he displayed before the English the small force which he had on the south side of Cruachan Lighean,² to the north of the river. When the English saw them, they went out to meet them, Niall O'Donnell and his brothers being leaders of the fight. They skirmished with each other, though there was not an obstinate battle on that first day, but they were in readiness for each other, for the English did not think O'Donnell had so small a force as he had, and they were greatly afraid an ambuscade was laid for them, and they did not wish to go very far from the town in consequence. So, too, with O'Donnell's people, it would be unwise for them to go among their enemies in the neighbourhood of the fort, their forces being so few. They separated, therefore, from each other, though it was not for peace and friendship sake they separated. Some of them on both sides were wounded by the discharge of spears and arrows and of very sharp forked darts and of leaden balls, but more³ of O'Donnell's people were wounded on account of their small number than of the English. The English returned to their houses after a while, and O'Donnell and his people went to their tents, and O'Donnell went away in anger and wrath, because he had not his army with him to avenge himself on that day, for he

an ioncharó rin na heinnairitir na Foirill úairthe feb atrióneriot. Rangatar a flog óia raigiríum ar a haréle & mo oluétairitairi mo ionfirúe forpna Gallairb iar mbreic óia inleasairb fairi co leice, & Gabair lonzróite fo ói míle ceimlín do leitébear ionpíaríuríom fori reat mo ólra treabéa co mo hilaíairitir na haribanna batari mo ionfoiceiri do na Gallairb. No laáiríom ólri bairé & tarrocéla forpnan mbairle cech noirúche naé ar melcéó óen anonn nach alle muna moiritir thairran abainn buó ólri, & nír faircáib conairie náite ríehiri náio hriura elúda fo míle cémínn don bairle na mala forairíóha 7 ltairíaríe forpno do éomíle & do fíuóairie forpna Gallairb na tirtair tarírib éan maéúgáó, & fori cloinn Cunn uí Dhomnáill rairííóh & fori a muintir, ar ar forpna ba tuilge lairíom a éhoimíó & ar íate forpnaírlíomat na netíaríaríe 7 mo ólra fíuóairie. Baoiríom ríu mé ríuochate laithe an óú rin éln foéluarát ar co taríuic la bhuéaróib 7 coaróairb na ríeche an arbonna deiríóiríó & do éioiríóiríó, & co taríórat 1 mneclábarb & 1 mnbólecarb tía taríuríó 7 óia nímíóáim fori lehairb 7 hrióiríó co mo lairíle m túmíó thairíuó 7 mo ioncaráib moimlíó na rírtair anáiríate.

feéte nolri do Dómáill me ríu thír faircáib an lonzróite hirin taríuráirí occa dul fori ammur na nGall thír an tirtair thairpna mairíab amach forpnan maígríóh. O do thachatarí muintirí uí Dhomnáill fori ioncharb an bairle mo batari na Gall óga foríeri 7 óga mtríóimáim & mo ríu raigírlé forpno ó moe hriaratarí hri uó do éhuíngéaró nriua do thachatarí.

fol.68. a. Imairíle muintirí uí Dhomnáill ríruithíó na conairie do ríuóiri ó na ríuairíle an ní fori a taríórat íaríaríó. Do hriúle airíuríom fori urí na haráinn allathuaró thairaró ainm an thairíóh nathairíate on mbairle. Tíghairte thriónra móra óioó óia ríóiríab 7 ríu oile do éorccáib ar níri ríóiríuic na Gall óia leannóim an lá rin rairírearó. Oe éonairie Míall ó Dómáill muintirí uí Dhomnáill co heirííóe anríuicé, ac blíre ríur na Gallairb coiri uó hriomairíuóe thóib ammur do éabairie forpno. Gabairte na Gall occ airítein an arim 7 occa nítecéó co fóill ríatáóda (forpna hriáiríuim)

¹ Sons.—i.e., Niall Garbh and his brothers. See *Introd.*, p. xii., *antea*. This Conn had nine sons, five of whom died violent deaths; their names are given in O'Donovan's Appendix to *Annals F. M.*, vi. 2385. Niall Garbh was Conn's fourth son.

² *Deel*.—This river rises in Lough Deel in the north-west of the barony of Raphoe, Athnacarbait, where St. Patrick is said to have foretold the future greatness of St. Columkille, is a ford on this river. Colgan's *Trias Thaum.*, p. 390.

was sure that if he had it then, the English would not escape from him as they did. His army came to him afterwarwards, and he beseiged the English closely as soon as his soldiers came to him, and he made his encampment two miles from Lifford of which we have spoken, for the protection of the husbandmen, that they might secure the crops of corn which were in the neighbourhood of the English. He sent spies and scouts to the town every night, that no one might be allowed in or out without passing over the river to the south, and he left no road or pass or means of escape for a mile from the town, on which there were not watches and ambuscades to watch and observe the English lest they might pass through without being noticed, and the sons¹ of Conn O'Donnell especially and their people, for these he thought more difficult to watch, and on their account he placed so many ambuscades and guards. He was about thirty days there without moving away until the farmers and peasants of the country had succeeded in drying and threshing their corn, and they took it away in small baskets and meal-sacks by removing it and bearing it off on horses and mares and putting it in the strong fortresses and safe places where the enemy would not come.

Once, before O'Donnell left that camp in which he was staying, he happened to go towards the English, to see if they would come outside the walls on the level plain. When O'Donnell's people came before the town, the English reconnoitred and examined them; but they did not sally out against them, for they saw it was to challenge them to fight they had come. O'Donnell's people returned by the same road, as they did not find what they had gone in search of. They made a halt on the bank of the river, which is called the Deel,² to the north a short distance³ from the town. Large parties of them went to their camp and about other business, for they did not think the English would follow them on that day precisely. When Niall O'Donnell saw O'Donnell's people scattered and unprepared, he told the English that they ought to make an attack on them. The English set about getting ready their arms and putting on their armour leisurely and carefully (at his bidding) in the middle of the fortifications, that they might not be

³ *Distance*.—The Deel joins the Foyle a mile to the north of Lifford.

seen by the enemy until they had their arms and armour. When they were ready, they sallied out from the fortifications in battle array. Then they advanced to attack O'Donnell's people in this manner, Niall and his brothers and people being in the van to lead the way.

O'Donnell saw them coming, and he was glad to see them advancing, and he put his soldiers in their proper places opposite, with their weapons of war raised over them, and he did not allow them to shoot till they were on the opposite bank of the river. When they met after that they were mixed together, and a fierce, furious battle¹ was fought by them, though their relationship was very close. The horsemen rushed at each other and dashed at one another with large pikes and green-headed lances. Meantime Niall O'Donnell made a thrust of the long, sharp lance which he held in his hand at O'Donnell's brother Manus, and the spear entered underneath his shoulder and penetrated his internal parts through the armour made of skins which he had on. When Rury O'Donnell, roydamna of the Cinel Conaill, saw his brother wounded in this way, he made a vigorous, bold, merciless attack on Niall, and aimed a forcible, furious thrust of a large spear straight at his breast. But when Niall saw the fierceness of Rury approaching him, and when he beheld the thrust of the lance, he pulled hard the bridle-bit in the mouth of the high-rearing, foreign horse which he rode, and raised his head between them, so that the hard-tempered spear struck the horse straight in the forehead and pierced his brain. The socket of the spear was broken by Rury in drawing it back, and he left the iron head in the horse, and he had but the broken handle in his hand. The horse died finally of this after coming to the town, when the iron was taken out.

It was sad that these heroes did not combine in fighting against their enemies and in their anger against their foes, and were not at peace, for their prosperity was not banished from them while they remained so, and they were victorious in the neighbouring territories they entered, and they would not have been banished from their dear native land by a strange race, as happened afterwards. Woe to the country and fair land, woe to the territory and district in which ill-luck permitted relatives and kinsmen to hew and

ιομηβαδ 7 ιομελαυδβαδ a chéle gan doiccill aínail forcaomnaccai son
 chur rin. Ioméura na nGall (mo amlét batari na hairuž ac iuibramar
 aš compuabairt arioile) vo matpatrué um aigže mo doimfét & m
 ašfabaill fori trairhtecharib úi Ohoimnail co mo roaro meimib biuž, aét
 na má m mo žonta, úaróib aét maó úačáó ar m mo lšnar na žail iatc
 tappan ccačlathairi pčétairi, & ba hairie na mo lšnar po óaž žona a
 ttauirž mo tpežóáó irin tocharirin cori bo hšiccln voib iompuó lar co leičbir
 co ppuairi bar iaritain. Ro lšnar ožiong móri vo munnclri úi Ohoimnail
 iatc, & žabaitc oca noibmažáó 7 clauóbeáó co ttoirémaroi araill voib &
 co mo žonta, & iobáó lanraoileáétam la hošri na tožarima co pparište
 forio via lšnaó an ptož išt co leicc. Aét čna nri melic an aónaire 7
 anaršmele vona hib ppi mo roáó céoammur a leanniam irpuchiri. Iompari
 ó Doimnoill cup na pcoiruib iar mmečét vona žalluib. Ba traimiam
 toipreáó mo boč irin lonžpóit anóažirin po óažin meic a pflacha 7
 a míožóamna beor via maraó a hairle a bparichpuch. Batari mšicri la
 cenél cconail a molaóa búaršha & corccairi vo thabairt or auro aš
 commaoiošni a nečt & anarčlri iar ppaomeáó pšmpa ošóar lamcoimairt
 a loechmaróe 7 baržairie a mbanchuirie aš caomšoh a ccaratc & aš žri-
 chaoi anžerparc žur an taririn vóirž m mo tpoimžonaitc & m mo točparóit
 ón tan mo žab lóšoh Rúaó južhe & pšairiura forio žur an laithi hirin.

fol. 69. a.

Ba heirióe laithe čoirpuch m mo tubáó a ttrairi & m mo cumžaržlšó
 a corccoiri, & aínail nach lann lar an dom Oia trširi voimantó žan
 clrišpuro na amlri žan špema vo beir ppučberit foill fori conach člineoil
 luighóáó mne ššonaš pšatal nairle. Cia atčberitairi alri iomporumaitc &
 omčnuró rooiož 7 lžnač aneipuro 7 eccpaittir coriab vo aithe amšlicceáó
 & a eccora fori ó nDoimnail mo řóit an ppi Ohia poriořóa pari von chupra
 m ppori voib eccm, aét ar airie vo pome Oia moširin nachar pažhbaó úail
 na ionnoččbal accobari na iomčolta lóó úa Doimnail a vpiže a bšicth & a
 čoicceairt aš polšomnucceáó a pšairiura & ar aba a chlri & a corccairi fori

¹ *Leader*.—This was Captain Heath. 'He took a shot in the thigh, whereof he shortly died.' Docwra's *Narration*, p. 246.

² *Chief*.—The reference is to Hugh Roe's father, though he had resigned the chieftaincy to his eldest son Hugh eight years

before, when he was solemnly inaugurated as chief of the Cinel Conaill.

³ *Prince*.—He was Hugh Dubh's third son. See p. 3, antea.

⁴ *Lughaidh*.—He was third in descent from Conall Gulban. Introd., p. x., antea.

destroy each other without sparing one another, as happened then! As for the English (during the time that the chiefs of whom we have spoken were attacking each other), they faced at once and in one body O'Donnell's infantry. These retired before them for a short distance, but yet only a few of them were wounded, for the English did not follow them beyond the field of battle, and the reason why they did not follow was that their leader¹ was pierced through in the fight, so that they were obliged to return with him to Lifford, where he died afterwards. A great number of O'Donnell's people followed them and proceeded to shoot and cut them down with the sword, so that many of them were killed and wounded, and those in pursuit thought they would have been defeated by them if the main body pursued them then, but shame and sorrow did not allow the party which had retreated at first to follow them again. O'Donnell returned to his camp after the English had gone away. Those who were in the camp that night were weary and sad on account of the son of their chief,² who would be their prince³ if he survived his brothers. Up to that time to proclaim aloud the praises of their victories and triumphs while boasting of the deceased and their heroism after victory was more common with the Cinel Conaill than the clapping of hands of their soldiers and the lamentation of the women weeping for their friends and bewailing their champions; for they had not received a severe wound or suffered disaster since Hugh Roe obtained the sovereignty and chieftaincy over them up to these days.

These were the days of the chief when he displayed his power and obtained victories, and yet as worldly successes without worldly reverses and happiness without eclipse are not pleasing to the one God, he permitted at this time a trifling check to the prosperity of the race of Lughaidh,⁴ son of Setna. Even though jealous and envious people may say, through murmuring and resentment, spite and enmity, that it was to punish O'Donnell's transgressions and injustice the great provident God turned away from him then, this is not true indeed; but the reason why God did this was lest pride or haughtiness, covetousness or self-will, should take from Hugh O'Donnell his rectitude, his judgment, his probity in ruling his kingdom, and lest for the sake of his superiority and victory

éoircepmochais, & ná mo laó a uró & a inneéim ma moipe 7 ma chumacéais
 foem, aét in dánaib & in dhlaiactib comve nime & talimain comve
 tuimain na tpein 7 tupeebail na tpeuas, tois aró do gni an taoim Dia
 co mlimic tiomarceasó 7 toemaó a éloinne uilri tolethaisgímaó, 7 do gni
 a nliu & a méim do éelgaó lia a éloinn ninnolir na coimail a éiomna nach
 a peét icir. Ar imne forcolimnaccari d'adó ó Doimnail & via bpaicéub
 do muontá an coimoi via muot mbuaóa & do maó an flaité nliuóa toib
 tari a eiri.

Da ruaitheas ón fori an oitheasóib & fori c'etparó na mac mbéasó &
 na nanamearac neoláe do mala ipheacnaircur a mbair. O paimce ó Doimnail
 don longpóit aihail atpuibiamoi mo hmail fúasapach piche pionnachaolaisg
 óo ólnoim do Mhaígnur ó Doimnail via iomchur tar an mbéimur ríari. Ro
 gnithe an tápach peb mo hliuabó, & do b'letha an tí Maígnur mo ílnoim.
 Tighaitt o'pang buóne aóble lair oia ólri ionimame 7 oia éairtoib ar éna
 co machatatoi Dúin na n'gall. Ro d'liúgaithe a iomóaisg othpaur ópóim
 ainnpóe. Do mata leighe uí Ohoimnail chuga oia choimchur, & in mo
 f'lorac ppeapao óo. At b'lepac gur uó maib. Ro batari me b'leasó
 iomóa tuipio S p'paimper ipim maipitri bai allanaiar mo iomfoccur don
 oúnaó. Dor p'icéte apail don lucht moitari eccnairóe toib via f'aisiópóim
 do hmaróm a chaipóla p'paur an ccoimóio. Gabait occ a thioncorce & occ
 p'poucl'p' noó. Do gni p'aoipóim aóolaisg éln nac noicheil 7 aóoaim a
 tupeebala co leice. Ro ch'p'itair a peacéa fiaó Dia, & bat anaitheé
 ima moocobail 7 ima ínaó m'liman in aip'ite iomair. Ro po maithneach
 beor don tí iur gon, & atb'lit gur uó he buó uem forpuaip a oúeasó oóisg
 aré mo f'ais fori Miall c'etpur. Baoipóim p'ailaio p'paur mé p'léimaine ag
 foicéil écca ceé o'nlaithe, 7 céle Dé don upo p'eimipaitiu fori aip'lnach na
 hionóaisge na foelair do g'p'er via ioméomíét fori m'el'óab Diabail. Do
 b'leipóim acoib'lna via anmeapaitt com'limic p'paur an mé iur, & mo thocharth
 corp an éomóeó íl'p'itam, & mo écc ar'lnasó (an 22. October, 1600) iar
 mbuaóuaccasó fori deamain & toimán. Da p'í c'etparó na mac mbéthasó
 batari ipheacnaircur occa co b'puaipóim élinp'ra an choim'ol'ó aia
 o'ghaip'ill'ó. Atpaónaét íaróim mo o'ap'ib'isg a f'innp'li ipim maipitri
 atpuibiamoi.

fol. 69. b.

¹World.—This is a very common ending of obituary notices in Irish Annals.

over the neighbouring territories he might set his mind and thoughts on his own strength and powers, and not on the decrees and gifts of the Lord of Heaven and earth, who can humble the brave and exalt the needy; for this is what the one God often does, to bestow the possessions and wealth of his faithful children who do his will and obey his rule, on his unfaithful children who observe neither his testament nor his law. So it happened to Hugh O'Donnell and his brothers, whom the Lord checked in the course of their victories, and he gave them the kingdom of heaven afterwards.

He was consoled by the visits and presence of the sons of life and of the learned confessors who happened to be with him at his death. When O'Donnell came to the camp, as we have said, he ordered a litter of woven fair wattles to be made for Manus O'Donnell to take him over Bearna westwards. The litter was made as was ordered, and Manus was carried in it. A great crowd of his companions and friends, too, accompanied him till they came to Donegal. A sick man's couch was made for him there. O'Donnell's physicians were brought to him to examine him, and they could not cure him. They said he was mortally injured. There were many religious of the Order of St. Francis in the monastery close to the castle a little to the west. Some of the most experienced of these people used to come to him to strengthen his friendship with the Lord. They proceeded to instruct and advise him. He made a contrite confession without any concealment, and he declared his transgressions then. He wept for his sins before God, and he was sorry for his pride and arrogance in former times. He forgave also the person who wounded him, and he said he himself was the cause of his death, for he first attacked Niall. He was in this way for a week preparing for death every single day, and the servants of God of the said Order were continually with him at the head of his bed to strengthen him against the snares of the Devil. He confessed frequently to his confessor, and received the Body of the Lord afterwards, and he died October 22nd, 1600, having been victorious over the Devil and the world.¹ It was the opinion of the religious who were with him that he found favour with the Lord on account of his merits. He was buried then in the tomb of his ancestors in the monastery of which we have spoken.

Ro baoi aḡharrionn Aóth mac Maḡnurpa mic Aótha duib ina rínoataraó an tan rín oḡa ḡairie mo occur von máinurtri. At cóar tóiríde a máac vo epilt, peacair fori mairectennacó & murrí ḡo móri mo máac co mo úanacḡ-lyrair fori a écc. O thaimice úóronn ḡur na dñḡlñca vo juomḡairt a anmeharia a úochum 7 vo matc dooirfina & vo ḡní aithreche noioeria rru Dúa. Ro thachamair írri mitchirín mbicc ina úlñhaḡ an 7. vo December iar na beiríomnocht im vilmán ó úlñan 7 o úonán. Ro haónacó irín othairlíḡe cletna hi comfóerab vúa máac co rruíltt a peleci 7 atairi vóblmib irín mainurtri cletna moiu. Baoi an tí clyra anrín .i. Aóth mac Maḡnurpa mic Aótha duib mic Aótha Rúaró mic Neill ḡhairib ma thḡḡlma chñeoir eonairll, mri heoḡham, cheneoir Moam, & iochtairi Connocht, & fori fóirib a ríñ 7 a ríuríri ar élna rru mé re mbliacóan rruichltt co mo hemiremechíó la ḡallair co tairt a thḡḡlruar cona blinnachtain vúa máac Aóth Rúaró írri na éluó ó ḡallair (amair ac cuacóamair), rri rúair tḡḡlruar ḡan rruill ḡan rionḡair ḡan coccaó ḡan comfúachacó an tAóth mac Maḡnurpa hirín írri nécc a úlñbriacóan an Calbac, rri áḡhmarí ionnroḡḡeacó co mbúaró tpuóa & tachairí tḡḡlruar & rrua tḡḡlruar, moiracḡteoirí 7 airceóloiri na cooireruoeh & na coimairran vuarí uó vú airairuccacó occ rairḡó cheirte a chemeoril con vo blite co romamairḡthe vúa rriur, rriur mo lá rriomh & veithitte an tpuóḡair ve írri tairbhite a tḡḡlruar vúa máac, 7 mo bac dñḡ airletró ilerí rru Dúa occ tuillíó rrueracce vúa anmair rru mé ocht mbliacóan ḡori mo écc von churra.

Toméura uí Dhoimínairll iar bporibacó úóronn an tpuochat laithe rru maíóronn í poribairí. rruirna ḡallair, vo comurair rruir veirḡe an rruir imbuí rruar an mé rín & vol co mlñnac narle narí vo herimille, & ba rrua aín biocc ó na ḡallair fori urí na ríinne alla tíair rruirna & an blíruar, úair mo aḡharrairí úacht na ḡairibírne ḡlñmura vúa rrueróirib clch norohce occ rruerma & occ rruothairie rruirna ḡallair rru vuarḡ em ba rri an tpuamair tairruarí mo an tan rín, & ba mitchíó lairionn a rruoḡ vo bñíó lair an ionacó cuiranta írri na móiracóair, oiri ní mo thuirílt hi rruirne rru dñnur rrua. Tocoimlac air rruionn ḡur an maḡhín moirairóronn.

¹ *Fratricide*.—The Irish word *finghal* means the slaying of one's own tribesman. Hugh had succeeded his brother Calvagh, who held the sovereignty of Tirconnell but

a short time. He was killed by a fall from his horse at Balleeghan. See *Introd.*, p. xxxviii., *antea*, and *Annals F. II.*, v. 1607. Calvagh was Niall Garbh's grandfather.

His father, Hugh, son of Manus, son of Hugh Dubh, an old man then in a state of dotage, was living near the monastery. When he heard that his son was dead, he was so much bowed down with the intensity of his grief and distress for his son that he was near dying. When he was coming to his end, he called his confessor and made his confession, and did severe penance before God. He died very soon after, on the 7th of December, after being freed from the bondage of the devil and the world. He was buried in the same tomb near his son, where their remains are, and they are both in the same monastery to this day. He who died then, *i.e.*, Hugh, son of Manus, son of Hugh Dubh, son of Hugh Roe, son of Niall Garbh, was lord of Cinel Conaill, Inishowen, Cinel Moen, and lower Connaught, and of the territory of his ancestors and forefathers also for six and twenty years, until he was weakened by the English, and then he gave up the lordship with a blessing to his son Hugh Roe after his escape from the English, as we have related. He was a man who obtained the sovereignty without treachery or fratricide,¹ war or disturbance, after the death of his brother Calvagh. He was a valiant and warlike man, victorious in battle and fight during his chieftaincy and before it, a preyer and plunderer of the neighbouring territories and those near who were bound to obey him, asserting the right of his tribe until he made them subject to their lord, a man who laid aside the cares and anxieties of the world after giving up his lordship to his son. He was a good earner as regards God, increasing rewards for his soul for the space of eight years² until he died then.

As for O'Donnell, after he had passed the thirty days that we have spoken of in besieging the English, he arranged to leave the encampment where he was during that time and to go to another position, which was not less secure, a little farther from the English on the western bank of the Finn, between them and Bearnus, as he feared the cold of the severe winter season for his soldiers, who were every night keeping watch and guard against the English, for he remained there up to All-Hallowtide, and he thought it time to bring his army to a place of rest after their great toil, for they had not slept at their ease for a long time. They assembled

² *Eight years.—i.e.*, since he resigned the chieftaincy to his son in 1592.

afterwards at the place we have mentioned. They made a camp there in the shelter of a wood very near the river. They made tents and dwellings afterwards, and they set to cut down the trees all round them until they made a strong palisade, intricate to enter, of the thick trees, between them and their enemies, so that it was not easy to cross it. When O'Donnell left off the siege in which he had been engaged, the people of Niall O'Donnell in troops and bodies were going round among their friends and companions prying about and examining the territory, to see whether they might get a chance of a prey or spoil for the English. Their friends used to meet them privately at times, to let them know the weak parts and news of the country also. Some of them were executed by O'Donnell, to make known their deceit and their treachery. Their excursion was of no use to the spies, since O'Donnell did not allow his forces to be negligent, for he was himself with his forces between them and the English to protect them, and it was useless for any one to venture beyond for booty. O'Donnell did not go from that place till the end of forty days; there was no plunder, booty, or attack by either of them on the other, himself or the English.

At that time and season news reached him that a vessel¹ had come from Spain into the harbour of Broadhaven,² in the western part of the province of Meadhbh. His mind and thoughts were roused by this, for it was an omen of success to him, since he supposed that forces and aid from the King would follow. He sent his messengers to the place where O'Neill was, to take the news to him and invite him to come to him. He went himself by the road across Bearnus with a troop of horse, and he left his forces in their encampment with his brother Rury O'Donnell in command of them.

When he crossed Bearnus, he halted but a short time until he passed the Erne, the Drowes, the Dubh, Magh Cettne of the Fomorians, the Sligeach, to Tíreragh of the Moy. As the feast of the Lord's Nativity was very near then, what he did was to write letters to the ship, and these were the contents: to sail with the first wind, so that she might come from the south-west to the harbour of Killybegs in Tír Boghaine, and they would find himself and O'Neill before them there. O'Donnell himself

co mo ǵle lair raohie an coimhdeó daimintmuǵadó. Luroh arf aitheppach
 ǵur an Slieccáe roim vo muíri. At cuar vóroim combui ó Néill irn
 cconaim chucca tpe maǵ cclitene ríam cealé noíreach, co mo víanarhá ó
 Doimnaill irn ríngló ma voohum conur tarla tul 1 tul. Ro fáiltmeclí-
 tair niam. Soait immarion ppoéropce ǵur an Samaoim roim, airíde co
 Dúin na nǵall. Foraiǵit hi ruroe riu mé coice la noécc áǵ ruiarúe na
 luinge meimraite. Ro éionoiríct aihceh 7 úairle coicció Conóobair vo
 neoch baol ró mamur uí Néill ó Loch Feabail co Doimn oia ríaiǵú an oú
 rin. Tangatari ón muó cclitna maíte coicció Meaúba vo neoch batari vo
 ǵpér ró amamur 7 roim a maimn in voohum uí Ohoimnaill vo chumǵló arǵadó
 ǵó & ǵunnadó, aihim, eitciǵ 7 a maimne arí cína va cech línobail éonǵanta
 tpeadó chucu amáil ba ǵnaiéber vóib. Batari tpe na ráorélanna occ
 raimol 7 occ rílvouccáó ruiarin mé rin vo ǵaoime bró & leanva.

fol. 71.a. Tamice an loncc írli ttain co cúan na ceéal mbícc 1 tíri boghaine.
 Tíǵhaint na flaithe oia haitlíéop. Ro baol eppcob amíra roppan luinge.
 Our píccpíthe amach & na teéta arí élna imaroln riu. Ro fáiltmíǵttoi
 na maíthe meimé, & mairan eppcob raimpeadó. Vo mata in araccal roim leiré
 írli ttain, & vo ǵmíthe a ríraóuccáó & a rímotharíleáó con onoir & aihimítm
 amáil mo ba oú, co mo láiríct ríor & mlíreln na maris vóob. At ǵlavatari
 iarom & iarima roacht vóob ehi tucáit rot mo ǵluair, von aríorííct
 vóib on toipe ima tuócatari comba oia nílíatároim in arǵaró anáimat vo
 véachatari ma ríu tallraovar céill oia ceabairi ó Ríǵ na Spainne, & co
 ttaríctat ré míle pont leó cíteur oia éabairt vóibroim a ttuaríuital oia
 namíraib & límaúaib, & our píoccpáó aríccat ba mó aih an ríéct tanairt, &
 conǵnam ríoiǵ reb mo ǵeallta. Teit ó Doimnaill 7 ó Néill ino íomaccalláó,
 & mo élrí mlíma ceétaímae vóob co moim roppan aríccat, oim ba vóib leó
 co lairíct a namáit ríul roppa arí úimíme & vóíroile an éonǵanta our
 raimce, & comba é toipíri vóib a ríaimmíntlí ríiríu & a nolí cottaró &
 comíclímuil onv úair at ǵéntair neimhvóíctíctim muǵ na Spaine in na
 ǵaorvéalaib & naó vóíma déct róbaíl & hucch mbícc vóob, ǵo mo inoúairíct

¹ *Bishop*.—This was Matthew de Oviedo, a Spanish Franciscan, who was Archbishop of Dublin from 1600 to 1610. *Introd.*, p. cxvi., *antea*. In *Pac. Hib.*, pp. 200 and 300, there are two letters written by him from Donegal

in 1601, one to the Earl of Desmond, the other to Florence MacCarthy. He seems to have left Ireland with O'Donnell after the battle of Kinsale. See Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 193.

remained in Tireragh of the Moy until he had completed the celebration of the feast of the Lord. He went back eastwards to the Sligeach again. It was told him that O'Neill was on his way to him through Magh Ccettne, due westwards, so that O'Donnell went on the road towards him, and they met face to face. He welcomed him. They went back together to the Saimer eastwards, and from that to Donegal. They remained there for the space of fifteen days, waiting for the above mentioned ship. They summoned to them there the chiefs and nobles of the province of Conor, whosoever was under subjection to O'Neill from Lough Foyle to the Boyne. There came also the noblemen of the province of Meadhbh, such as were always in subjection to him and in his division of territory, to O'Donnell to ask him for presents of spears and guns, arms and armour, and their share of every kind of wealth too that could come to them, as was usual with them. The nobles were revelling and feasting during that time with the choicest of food and drink.

The ship came soon to the harbour of Killybegs in Tir Boghaine. The chiefs went to confer with them. There was a famous Bishop¹ in the ship. He landed, and the messengers with him. The nobles welcomed them, and especially the Bishop. They were placed in an apartment by themselves after a while, and entertainment and attendance were given them, as well as honour and respect, as was fitting, and they got rid of the fatigue and weariness of the sea. They afterwards called them, and on being asked the reason of their coming, they told them the business on which they had come, that it was to strengthen them against their enemies they had come, before they should give up all thought of aid from the King of Spain, and that they brought with them six thousand pounds first, to give it to them to pay for soldiers and armour, and that more money would come next time, and a supply of soldiers, as was promised. O'Donnell and O'Neill went to converse together, and the minds of both were very ill at ease on account of the money, for they were sure that their enemies would look down on them on account of the smallness and meanness of the aid which had come, and that their own people and their friends and kinsmen would be dissatisfied with them when they learned the disregard of the King of Spain for the Irish and that he did little or nothing for them, so that

the nobles thought to refuse the money at first. However, they did not wish to stir up the wrath of the Spaniards, for there was no one friendly to them to whom they could complain of their sorrow or sufferings, who could aid them in the straits in which they were, but the King of Spain. They took the money for that reason, and not through avarice or a desire of wealth. They thanked the King in presence of his messengers for his gift to them, and they gave five hundred pounds to the messengers themselves. O'Donnell's people put on board the ship for them plenty of flesh-meat of heavy cattle with rich milk, and of white-fleeced crooked-horned wethers. The messengers sailed back then by the same way with the first breeze of wind from the north-east. The princes returned to Donegal, and the money was divided into two parts between O'Donnell and O'Neill, and they gave it to their supporters and confederates, to pay for soldiers and armour. The Bishop of whom we have spoken remained with O'Donnell and the sons of life in the monastery, and spent a long time with them. He was for some more time with O'Neill; he was in this way between both by turns during his visit, till he left Ireland after a while.

1600.

1601

When the princes came to Donegal the second time, the nobles and leaders separated from each other. O'Neill and his people went to their homes. The people of Connaught and all who had come from the province of Meadhbh returned to their districts and castles. O'Donnell himself went through Bearnus and over the Finn until he came to the encampment in which he had left his forces to be in readiness against the English and to prevent them from going to plunder the territory behind him, that it might not be left in danger or neglected. This protection was of service to them, for the English made no inroad or attack on them worth mention during the time that O'Donnell was concluding the above mentioned business, except when the English of Derry made a fierce, merciless attack on Shane Oge O'Doherty,¹ to see if they might find an opportunity of wounding or seizing him. For it was to put one's head in the den of a lion or one's hand in the nest of a griffin to attack him so long as good luck and prosperity were on his side or on that of

1601.

tain dona Galluib acriubhamaí emeach mo ionchais bhí húa n'Uochairtáí
 mo fúadhaí cach a chelí úioib co hainzrú eppocairí co maoinnó dona Galluib.
 Ro murúáíctí rochaisúe úioib imón coimel ba toiriuch ionzóna úioib.
 Rithe aipúóeic eipúe Seir Iohn Chamberlín atacoimnac.

Soair úa Uochairtáí co corccairé. Monúair aín bí heipúthe a corzairí &
 a aipúeí veigínach foim galluib acc coirnáin a athairúa & a úoinnairí bhí,
 air ba zair úair zair mo zúab tlinóm oipulainz & rálthí oipúáirí co mo arcná
 anoinne oipúe an allairí an 27. Ianuarí rairpéad. Ropadú lach & robadú
 oioiníz oioeasú an tí tlinéa ann bhí, oóíz ar inz má mo baosí toirpéach doim-
 tmuocha éeo mo mairí Eipéimón bhí na veirúlnchais mo ba eipútha coimhamaí
 m zmoimáib zóile & zairpéadú moáir, mo ba veach zairt & zmoim, líneach &
 aipúeic, allad & aipúóeicair, ba eipúarú coimnairí bhí cothuccasú, ba haízmaí
 aízmeil bhí hionnhoízéasú an tí taéamairí an tan bhí. Tanzatarí teéa líe
 rcealáib a oioeasú zair an mennat ambaosí ó Uoinnóil.

Ro lá ipmoim 7 ipopúeí veipúe & veilínz foim a inlnman co móirí & tliné
 ró aáirpéom íppairéte, úairí mairí bó fotha cumpana láir a écc. Foirpéacáib
 a rúógh ma lonzúoré aét maó bínz vo bíné ma chaoimééte rādem, & íair
 tparclomá an neich robtairí úairle aipúéda vo fíol Fíamán mic Cimpóaláirú
 (oíairí uó toich oipéachúir mairí h'Éogháin) co haom baile chuga, oipúe aia
 vo na maíeib no oipmoimérfú bí cceannúir an tmuochairé éeo acriubhamaí,
 ba rairí veilínz ocea ífí eepúe a coimhailé tizínma vo zairm vo Felim ócc
 ó Uochairtáí oipúeicairí veí Sealam ócc aebail rēb ionnhoirúaróipm, úair
 ba heipúe ba bhíe air doí naosí 7 ba húairle ífí bhíe, oóíz ba bhí mízín
 uí Uoinnóil (Maízmaí) a maíairí. Roir atcomnairí.

Uo zairair ífíom a zairm rílaéa vo Fhelim maó na maíeib m óízé m
 na tuccairéib eena m airú na tpaoníz imbaile aízfohéaom & vo bhíéa

¹ *Chamberlain*. — Docwra says he was mortally wounded with 16 wounds on the 28th of June, 1600. *Narration*, p. 241.

² *The death*. — 'About Christmas this yeare dyed Sir John O'Dogherty, in Tyrconnell, being fled from his own country with his goods and people; a man that in show seemed wonderful desirous to yield his obedience to the Queen; but so his actions did ever argue he was otherwise minded.' *Ibid.*, p. 248.

³ *Fiaman*. — See *Intro.*, p. xii., *antea*.

⁴ *Phelim Oge*. — 'O'Donnell had at our first coming seized O'Dogherty's son, afterwards called Sir Cahir, and kept him as a pledge. Being now dead, O'Donnell set up in his place one Phelim Oge, a brother of his, neglecting the son, who had been bred and fostered by Hugh Boy and Phelim Reogh (of the sept of MacDavids). These men took it as the highest injury that could be done unto them that their foster-child

his earthly lord. When the English of whom we have spoken came face to face with O'Doherty, each of them attacked the other with merciless hatred till the English were defeated. Many of them were slain, with the colonel who was their leader in battle. He was a famous knight named Sir John Chamberlain.¹

O'Doherty came off triumphant. Alas! this was his last victory and triumph over the English while defending his native land and his home from them, for soon after an intolerable disease and a violent sickness seized on him, and he went speedily to the other world, January 27th precisely. The death² of him who died then was sad and doleful, for there was hardly a chief of one cantred in the island of Eremon in late times who was braver and more active in deeds of war and arms than he. He who died then was great in renown and deeds, in hospitality and profusion, in fame and excellence. He was stern, vigorous in helping, he was active, courageous in attack. Messengers came with the news of his death to the place where O'Donnell was.

He showed great sorrow and grief then, and it lay very heavily on his mind. He set out immediately in consequence of the news, for O'Doherty's death was not a cause of comfort to him. He left his forces in the camp all but a few whom he took with him, and having assembled the principal nobles of the race of Fiaman,³ son of Cennfaeladh (to whom the chieftaincy of Inishowen belonged), to see which of the chief men he should appoint to the chieftaincy of the cantred of which we have spoken, he resolved, after taking counsel, to give the title of chief to Phelim Oge⁴ O'Doherty; he was the brother of Shane Oge, who died as we have said, as he was the oldest in years, and the noblest by blood, for the daughter of Manus O'Donnell was his mother. Her name was Rose.

The title of chief was then given for these same reasons to Phelim in presence of all the chiefs at Ardnataoisig,⁵ in the townland of

should be deprived of what they thought was his clear and undoubted right . . . and thereupon addressed themselves to me, and made offer that in case I would maintain the son against the uncle, they would work the means to free him out of O'Don-

nell's hands, and yield obedience to the State . . . From that day forward we had many faithful and singular good services from them.' *Docwra's Narration*, p. 248.

⁵*Ardnataoisig*.—*i.e.*, the chiefs' hill. The name is now obsolete.

fol. 72. b. úa Docharcaigé dānman fāi. O thairmice lairionn mo rin mo fāi ma
 fhuéling dia rēccraib & mo forēonzaia fori a flos an dāinglānāibe mo
 tēreccat ma momthacmāng do dāingnuigāo & zan fāill do lēgāo ma
 ccāitēfīr nach ma ccāitēttāimāo do lō no doirōche fo dāig nach ar
 meccetir fāill nāro Clann ēunn nī Doimnāill tāira zan māuccāo omōreāo
 no do cpeachōirigān na cpeche. Do monāo eicein fāirgionn mo rin. An
 tan na fūairgōtt fāill nā Mīall cona bhuāitēib & cona munnitir elāng
 na eirfīr forrān bforāire 7 forrān fforicoimēo bāoi forrāa do zrlfī ó úa
 nDoimnāill, nī mo forānūfēttē zan arccnān ilēth nāile lāf an arōilze
 umbātai do cūingēāo acnāimāig 7 ahibfīta biē uirfēola, conāo fāirg dēirō
 leō bhuōlom fīlōig lānmoiri do tēirāigēāoib & do māreirfōg do bhuēē
 dāirān fīnābāinn dāi fīnn hī cenél Eoghān mic Néill. Ro argnātai
 fīnāia ma meimn zō māchtātai co zlēann dāchle hī cenél Eōzān, & mo
 cpeachōiriccān an dū rin co léir leō. Sraoimē bēōf fori clonn an
 fīrōreche mic Eoin mee Doimnāill oc enue buirōb dōirg, & fīgābētai
 Toirgēāibāo ócc ó Coimne la Mīall ó nDoimnāill 7 nī mo leicclō a
 zemūul co mo heirgēāo fīrēatē mārg do arzātē arf. Do zābāo leō ifī
 ttān an bāile nūā & cārlēn na dōirgē (dī dūnāiāf arōēāice iāoirōē)
 zōri mo cpoitēfē monūle māitēf do neoch tāitēātai mntēib. Do tōfē
 Mīall con a bhuāitēib & cona fāllāib ma fīrūēfēo co leitēbiri iāirān
 tūirāf rin.

Doāa nī Doimnāill bāoirōē i for an arfētērin occ coirēēt fīr Mīall
 cona zāllāib, & nī mo fāig cēētāimāe dōib fori arōile. Ambāoirionn an tī
 ó Doimnāill fāimlāo do māchtātai tēēta doochum co lērin leō ó arāill
 dia irūrib 7 ēairōib bātai in zāirfōccur do dthclāē acc coirēēt fīr
 fēēlāib na cāthmāc & an tēfnāo ar ēfna. Bā fīlō tōthacht an fēribenn
 combāoi don dūāirēib na bFionnāill lāithe nānn imo tōrccāib 7 imo
 chāingmēib forēim irin tēgōāir tōzāitē umbātai fēribnōr & fēccētāimōē
 na cōimāitē & co mo lēgīrōē lēir itechumūfēcc arāibi do fēibnēib ann

¹ *Aigedhcaoin*.—Now Balleeghan, a town-
 land on an arm of Lough Swilly, in the
 parish of Ryemoghy, and barony of Raphoe;
 it contains the remains of a beautiful old
 church.

² *Glenelly*.—A valley near Strabane, in

which the old church of Badoney is situated.
 See Colgan's *Trias Thaum.*, p. 181.

³ *Knockavoedcarg*.—A lofty hill over the
 town of Strabane. It has its name from
 Budhbhdearg, a Tuatha De Danaan chief.
 See *Tribes, &c.* of Hy *Fiachrach*, p. 410.

Agedhcaoin,¹ and the title of O'Doherty was conferred on him. When he had done this he went back to his camp and ordered his forces to strengthen the fortifications which they had cut all round, and not to cease watching and guarding night and day, lest they might allow the English or the sons of Conn O'Donnell to go through without being noticed to ravage or plunder the territory. This was done exactly by them. When neither the English nor Niall and his brothers with his people discovered any weakness or neglect, owing to the watch and guard which was kept on them continually by O'Donnell, they could not but go out on the other side, in the straits in which they were, to procure food and supplies of fresh meat; wherefore they resolved to take a large body of chosen horse and foot across the old river across the Finn into Cinel Eoghain Mic Neill. They marched forward until they came to Glenelly,² in the Cinel Eoghain, and that place was completely plundered by them. They also defeated the sons of Ferdorcha, son of John, son of Donnell Oge of Knockavoedearg,³ and Turlough Oge O'Coinne was captured by Niall O'Donnell. He was not set free from his chains till sixty marks of silver were paid down. Newtown⁴ and Castlederg (these were two famous castles) were taken by them later; and they destroyed all the goods which they found in them. Niall with his brothers and the English, returned to Lifford after that expedition.

As for O'Donnell, he was resting at this time hearing of Niall and the English, and neither of them attacked the other. O'Donnell continued so until messengers came to him with letters from some of his confidants and friends who were in the neighbourhood of Dublin and used to hear the news of the town and of the Council also. The purport of the letters was, that some days before one of the nobles of the old English was on his own business and affairs in the appointed house in which the clerks and secretaries of the Council were, and that he read a letter among the number which the clerks had, in which was a covenant of friendship between

¹ *Newtown*. — Now Newtownstewart, 9 miles south of Strabane. Docwra, who captured the castle on the 25th of May, describes it as 'a pile of stone, strong and well built, having before it a large bawn

compast with a good high stone wall, and in the midst of it a fair Irish thatched house, able to hold 50 or 60 men in it.' *Narration*, p. 253. The castle, with the exception of the roof, is still nearly entire.

imbaoi linnaróm cariaomairó uí Concóbaire Sligiz Dónchaó mac Caáil óicc fhuir an Iurteir ar éairceclao 7 ar éairibéiric uí Doimnaill Adótha Ruairé (cúrric eiric, suin, no lriáabail) von Iurteir & von cómairele.

ba trúaig tría lar an daíoume 7 lar an úaral an iunmbéiric 7 an oioichóiaich huirin baoi fori cinto von aihuig & von aroflait zan a aihéiréet 7 zan a fupitacht oia triréao úe eia mo baouiróe cona uile fóirib máoin 7 maiteuir fo rmaéttcham & cumaéta na nḡall, conao lóh vo moime an focél oairneir fo oícléit oíairioile eppocob iurpeao catholcóa mo ba oearbhuir oó Ohoimnaill conao ló moirin toáaet na rcurbhnó vo míacht chuucca von chuir rin. Ro la rocht anbaill fori úa nDoimnaill ílri leḡeao na rcurbenn co maibe fhuir me fóoa zan labria fhuir neach & ni mo éuil & ni mo lomḡ fhuir co haáaró imélin, oisig ba ouilig lair an ḡabao & an ḡuapacht anpóill iuaibe feirín 7 ba tanairi lair oia oíóeao an tí vo maó ma cheill-rime 7 ma muineltuar trua muin 7 fáobair 7 oia tparao arḡaóa mária oia ḡach linnóail & oia ḡach cenél eiricó & cétia 7 arail vo ionniuir vo ionatoet & vo airtpeab a éuche & a éaoimfoiriba, vo éori i rmuébbéiric & i rúarao fhuir i rmuéiri. Arail beóir mo la ihoimó 7 iroirur ó Doimnaill ba hoimán lair aor fóoioim & lḡnaig oia iomchannó ma éccóiair oia nliḡabail ó Concóbaire, & vo éuba fhuir ḡuiri mo feall fairi zan chionaróh. Ba fairi oeilig a mílnma fo oéoió iairan cconatáairic fóoa imboi arioile oia thairuiri & oia ólri ḡnaóa vo fáoiteao co húa Néill (Adó) vo chiuó & vo élrtnucchao na camḡneirin chuucca & oia choimairleccó fhuir eioó vo ḡlao. Iairi nouil voibrióe ippeáenairic na flacha uí Néill at feoratt co lion-póilḡiúe noó an ttoiric ma ttuócaattair. Feirib uá Néill fhuir mé fóoa oḡa ḡeipreiruoao eiri hairle vo beaoó oúa Ohoimnaill iom conatáairic imbaoi, conao lóh mo fáoió chuucca fo oéoió, ó mo ba oenim lair ó na maiteib iurpeachair vo béiric moao 7 aihéiréet noó an tangnachc & an meabal mo heipreallao chugá ḡuiri bo techca 7 ḡuiri bo haóa noó neach oile vo chuimpuuch oíóar a oíóeao fóólin vo tocht trimeit, no ácóri hi ceaircáir 7 a ceunirpeach aihail vo maia oó ara aóiteao 7 ara máe briaáair feb acúaoámoiri co leirḡ.

¹ *O'Conor Sligo*.—The Four Masters give as the reason for O'Conor's treachery, 'that the Lord Justice had promised some time before to obtain again his own territory for him from the Queen, and that the young Earl

of Desmond (whose mother was O'Conor's wife), who was in prison in London, would be let home to his patrimony.' vi. 2248. Besides, O'Conor's son was married to the Earl's daughter.

O'Conor Sligo,¹ Donough, son of Cathal Oge, and the Lord Justice, to spy upon and deliver up Hugh Roe O'Donnell no matter in what way, whether by wounding or capture, to the Lord Justice and Council.

The good nobleman thought it a pity that this wicked plot and evil design should go forward against the prince and chief without giving him help and warning of what was coming upon him, though he was with all his territory and wealth and property under the obedience and power of the English. Wherefore what he did was to communicate it privately to a certain prudent Catholic bishop who was O'Donnell's intimate friend, and this was the purport of the letter that reached him then. O'Donnell was exceedingly distressed when he read the letter, and he did not speak for a long time to any one, and he did not sleep or eat calmly for a very long space, for he was grieved at the danger and great peril in which he himself was, and it was a second time he received this man whom he took into favour and friendship at the point and edge of the sword, and gave him large presents of every kind, and of every sort of flocks and herds and other things, in order that he might come and dwell in his territory and enter on his lands ; yet he placed himself in opposition and in enmity to him again. In addition to the great sadness and grief O'Donnell felt, he was afraid that prudent and wise people would complain that he had omitted to seize O'Conor when it was proved that he had conspired against him without reason. At last, after a great deal of perplexity, he determined to send some of his trusty and faithful people to Hugh O'Neill to consult about and inquire into that business with him, and advise with him as to what he should do. After they had come into the presence of the prince O'Neill, they told him privately the business on which they had come. O'Neill set about considering carefully for a long time what advice he should give to O'Donnell in the perplexity in which he was. The message he sent to him in the end was, that as the treachery and deceit plotted against him was proved to him by the trusty chiefs who had given him warning and help, it was right and meet to imprison anyone else but his own guest who came at his bidding, or to put him in bondage and in chains, as happened to him at the hands of his host and the son of his relative, as we have already stated.

Soat munclí uí Doimnaill oia fáiḡiḡo ḡur na haḡeurecaḡo rin uí Néill leḡ, & acpétepat uile aḡaíl acpueḡamaḡi. O Doimnaill dan so moḡa oḡiem maḡeacḡo so ḡleḡie a ḡarḡarḡe ar ar moḡ a faoileacḡam & a chaḡur, & nḡ meic rḡu hḡon úarḡoib in mo baḡo ma mḡnam an acḡe na má mo foḡeḡḡarḡi foḡḡa comḡar eallḡa rḡu ḡmoḡ an nḡe no chunḡḡeḡe chuca icésoḡi. Ro tinḡeallpat ḡó oarḡeḡe comḡur inḡur.

Ro oiaḡarḡna iarḡoḡ cona oḡum maḡeḡeuaḡḡ ḡan anacḡ ḡan oḡurḡuḡ ḡo maḡacḡe ḡur an nḡḡarḡiḡ i comḡe oḡoma eliac & mo lá a ḡeḡa maḡo so tocḡeacḡo uí Concḡoḡarḡi chuca ḡur an maḡin rin. So ḡoḡe oḡi rḡeḡ mo foḡeḡḡarḡo fari. O so maḡḡataḡi eimeacḡ in ionchaḡoib rḡu ar oile, mo rḡeḡ foḡi a mḡunḡeḡi eḡḡabaḡ uí Concḡoḡarḡi. So moḡacḡo fariḡoḡoḡ fo chéḡḡoḡi inḡur & mo rḡeḡeacḡarḡe na hḡoḡa ḡó ḡan lḡḡnaḡ no eḡromḡo so éabḡarḡe oia urḡ, ar fo ḡeḡeḡo a oḡeḡeḡe oia ḡḡarḡoacḡo rḡeḡeḡeḡe noḡoib & nó bḡacḡ in ḡiallḡur acḡ ó nDoimnaill an oḡeḡe moḡa tol ḡó. ḡeḡeḡe na hanḡarḡo occa

fol. 73. b.

iomchomḡeḡe ḡan nacḡe acḡeall iarḡe ḡam. So maḡḡe inmoḡḡoḡ ó Doimnaill ma rḡeḡeḡeḡe ḡur na rḡeḡoḡarḡoib & mo lá uá Concḡoḡarḡi oia comḡo co loch ilḡeacḡe. Iomḡḡurḡa uí Doimnaill baḡeḡeḡe acḡeallacḡ cona rḡeḡeḡeḡe in chaḡḡeḡeḡe cḡḡeḡe iomḡoḡarḡoḡoḡ cona rḡeḡe baḡḡeḡe ḡona na ḡabála comḡuacḡarḡi ná eḡeacḡoḡeḡe foḡi an oia mḡunḡeḡe ḡarḡoib an oḡeḡe rin, & in moḡ mo laḡarḡe ḡoḡe ma beḡeḡe Niall ó Doimnaill cona bḡarḡeḡe oḡeḡe an rḡeḡeḡeḡe mḡarḡeḡeḡe cḡḡeḡe oḡoḡe oia mbaḡoḡoḡoḡ. So maḡa comḡeḡeacḡo coccaḡo acḡarḡo maḡarḡe ḡarḡe mḡeḡoḡoḡoḡ a ceḡeḡe eḡeḡe iarḡe Cloinne Riocḡarḡo, Uilleacḡe mac Riocḡarḡo Saxanaḡe, 7 comḡarḡeḡe clann Seacḡan na Seacḡarḡi mic Riocḡarḡo Saxanaḡe, Remann, Uilliam, Seacḡan ócc, & Tomar ananmana. Roḡ lion éo 7 eacḡeḡeḡe foḡḡacḡo & rḡeḡeḡeḡeḡe iacḡeḡeḡe rḡur an Uilleacḡe ma oḡeḡeḡeḡe in rḡeḡeḡeḡe & ḡeḡe ḡacḡe rḡeḡeḡeḡe so maḡa lḡoḡḡa o éem mo baḡo eimḡe so éabḡarḡe foḡi aḡo inḡoḡḡa, ḡur mo haḡḡeḡeḡe & ḡur mo hionḡarḡeḡe laḡ an iarḡe an clann rin Seacḡan ó ḡacḡ aḡo oiaḡoile ilḡi venomḡo foḡḡe 7 oḡeḡeḡe oḡeḡeḡe ma nacḡarḡo rḡu aneḡeḡeḡeḡe 7 rḡu ḡarḡoḡeḡe an iarḡe

¹ *Grange*.—A village a little to the north of Ben Bulban.

² *Imprisoned*.—He was set free the following year by Rory, Hugh's brother, and afterwards gave him whatever aid he could.

³ *Lough Esk*.—It lies between Bearnus Mor and the town of Donegal. On one of the islands near the south shore there are the remains of a large building, probably the residence of Niall Garbh at one time.

O'Donnell's people returned to him with the message given them by O'Neill, and they told him everything as we have related it. O'Donnell then selected a troop of horse, the choicest of his troops, in whom he had most trust and confidence, and he did not let out to any one of them what was in his mind, but merely ordered them to be ready to do on the spot whatever he should order them. They promised to obey the chief in that.

He marched rapidly after that with a troop of horse, without halt or stop, till he came to Grange¹ in Carbury of Drumcliff, and he sent on messengers to summon O'Conor to him at that place. He came as he was ordered to do. When they came face to face with each other, he ordered his people to seize on O'Conor. This was done immediately, and the soldiers warned him not to think of employing skill or courage, for he would be slain if he should offer any resistance to them, and he would be kept in bonds by O'Donnell as long as he pleased. The soldiers proceeded to guard him without any concealment afterwards. O'Donnell, however, returned to his encampment, and he sent O'Conor to be imprisoned² in Lough Esk.³

As for O'Donnell, he was again engaged with his forces in the same watch, as we have said, so that there was no danger of wound or capture, of depredation or plunder for any of his faithful people then, and the English and Niall O'Donnell, too, and his brothers did not attempt to leave the fortress which they had first come to, on the side where he was. There took place a great contention of battle some time before that about the division of their territory between the Earl of Clanricarde, *i.e.*, Ulick, son of Richard Sassanach, and his relatives the sons of John na Scamar, son of Richard Sassanach; Redmond, William, John, and Thomas were their names. These were filled with suspicion and envy, spite and hatred against Ulick because he was chosen for the chieftaincy, and because of every old grudge which happened between them for a long time which it would be tedious to set forth now; and the sons of John were driven and banished from one place to another, after committing intolerable trespass and robbery in their native place on their enemies and on the subjects of the Earl

especially, so that they found no place or spot where it was safer for them to go seek protection and resist the oppression and cruelty of their cousin the Earl than with O'Donnell, for they were certain that even if aid and help would come to them from no one else of the Irish it would come from him alone. They went to him then.

A short time after they came to the place where O'Donnell was, the Earl Ulick¹ died in the month of May of this year, 1601, and his son Richard was inaugurated² in his place. A desire and longing seized him in the pride of his strength, through vanity and vain glory, after his inauguration to go and avenge his wrongs and enmity on all the people who were under the authority and sway of O'Donnell, and without delay to go to the bank of the Sligeach if he could. The reason was that it was incumbent on him and his whole territory universally to keep watch on O'Donnell and his people, that they might be able to resist their attacks on them, for his plunderings and visits to them in their territories were frequent.

There assembled to him, by command of the Lord Justice Lord Mountjoy, some of the large bodies which the English had placed in the strong castles and principal fortresses of Munster, whichever happened to be in the neighbourhood, viz., in Limerick, Kilmallock,³ Askeaton,⁴ and in the other strong places besides. The forces which the Queen had in the principal fortresses of the province of Olneccmacht in Galway, Athlone, &c., were also in readiness to meet them. When these chiefs had assembled in one place and presented themselves to the Earl of Clanricarde, to whom the chief command had been given, they determined unanimously to march first with their forces to the monastery of Boyle to see if they could, through the neglect (of others) or with risk to themselves, go from that to Sligo. As for O'Donnell, the first time the news reached him that these great hosts were marching towards him, he sent out wide-spread watches on the usual roads by which he thought the Earl with his forces would come towards him. His conflicts and contests in battle against the

³ *Askeaton*.—16 miles west of Limerick. There is a view of the castle in *Pac. Hib.*, p. 94. A great part of it is still standing, as well as of the Franciscan monastery founded by the Earl of Desmond in 1420, but both

are sadly in need of some sort of care. We earnestly trust the Board of Works will take speedy action in this matter, and so save from absolute and complete ruin a most interesting group of monuments.

chatharóm & a chláé zabalá fhuir hectairicéneú an rímaó & an rcaoilíó
 so bíte fóm a rloighínleadaib in zác maigin im batorí .i. oíechta ófínáma
 ym chaitéaróm 7 yf na rcoraib atrubhamorí mo upóichíll na nZáll
 tairpurairí in Doire & Leithbhirí & Néill uí Ohoimnaill cona bmaithib
 rairíeasó, oíongza móra ma mozhóúmb vía ccoimóa fóm a bioóbaóab airí na
 ruzbatarí in lttairbdozál zán cornam itirí. Aciatt na túme oiléen locha
 harceasí, Dúin na nZáll, Ach Sínaí, Culmaoine, & baile an Mhothaí. &
 ariall vía rlozab ma éaoimíteét radeim tan éirígeas fhu haólaice eizín
 ceoir nach leé.

Ó ramaice an tíarla cona rloz tairran abann vianao amm Suca, ót
 chuála an ruidiuzáo 7 an raimuceasó fómra rabadairí munití uí Ohoimnaill
 reachnón na réorluzó ruidíchnó 7 na cconairíó ccoicéirno, & co taozraó
 buódeim in eallína vía toiríetm vianbaó aige no eiccen voib, ba ríó so
 moime mo tairmcheimníó cona rílózab fóm zác noíreacó oomíníosaib
 maizíerthe machaige máizhe haorí co rianccatarí co hoilímn hí ccoicéirnoch
 maizí luirz & úa mbuam na Sionna cloimne Cathaíl 7 maizé haorí
 an rímbenosaí. O' Ohoimnaill tíra ó mo haríreíreacó óo an tíarla cona
 ríloccab vo éochí an tú rín in táraí 1 foill nac an eiríir, acé mo lírccomlá
 7 mo vianao so ló & vathmaiz zup an lion ar lía fómcaomnacairí vo
 ríoríre ma fáruao zom mo ríuríó a lonzróiré aige in aige fhuirí an lonz-
 róiré naile. No batarí atharó rímlaró líneach in ionchaib fhu ariall. Ba
 ríuleach, ríairíonubíaccéiruch, eíechtach, eíreíreíreacé na hammarí aino-
 íol. 74. b. rínoa 7 na veabéa vuiríge vionzabála mo ríechíe ltoríra vo vób leiríub
 mo baó eimíle vairíerí ma ríeac, acé cína mo muraígeit íle vía nóccabó vo
 maíe & vo maíe annaill 1 ríulaib & a eíechtaib combatarí ríreíhí zomíreí fóm
 vóerí vía airí oile zup uó moíre lár an tíarla cona rílózab íompríó vía
 tírín 7 vía tírín, & vo moíre avohimíleacó & avóbaí ríeríor aítechíe &
 aírba lár an tíarla cona éoíreíreacé av ríeac vóib fóm a níreíreíreí .i. ríeac

¹ *Donegal*.— Sidney, the Lord Deputy, who visited Donegal in 1563, says of the castle: 'It is one of the greatest I ever saw in Ireland in any Irishman's hands, and would appear in good keeping one of the fairest, situate in a good soil, and so nigh a portable water as a boat of ten tons may come within twenty yards of it.' That castle

was burnt by Hugh Roe in 1589, to prevent the English from garrisoning it. Mangan has translated in his own perfect fashion the "Lament" of Mac an Ward, the bard of O'Donnells, on its destruction. Sir Basil Brooke, who in 1609 had a grant of 100 acres from the castle to the sea, rebuilt it. On the chimney-piece of the principal room are

foreign race were weak owing to the division and scattering which he had made of his soldiers in the several places where they were, viz., strong bodies in the ambuscade and encampments of which we have spoken, ready for the English who dwelt in Derry and Lifford and for Niall O'Donnell and his brothers especially, large numbers in the royal castles to guard them against the enemy, so that they might not leave them in danger without any protection whatever. These were the castles of the island of Lough Esk, Donegal,¹ Ballyshannon, Collooney, and Ballymote, and some of his troops were with himself in case he might encounter some special difficulty anywhere.

When the Earl with his army had gone across the river called the Suck, and heard of the position and situation in which O'Donnell's men were along the well known roads and the usual passes, and that he himself would come in full force to assist them if they were in strait or need, what he did was to march with his forces due east by the deep roads of the level part of the plain of Magh Aoi until they came to Elphin, on the boundary of Moylurg and Hybrian na Sionna, clann Cathal,² and Magh Aoi an Fennbendaigh.³ Meantime, when O'Donnell learned that the Earl with his forces was coming to the place where he was, he was not slow or negligent, but he assembled and brought together by day and by night the greatest number of troops he could, and encamped part for part, opposite the other camp. They were for some time like that facing each other. The stout onsets, the fierce attacks, and doleful conflicts in fight which took place between them on both sides, too tedious to relate singly, were bloody, with showers of shot, wounding, pain-causing. However, many of the soldiers were slain at once and others were laid in blood and wounds till they were both weary and tired of each other in the end, so that it seemed time to the Earl and his forces to return to their lands and homes. Great ruin and destruction of the dwellings and crops was wrought by the Earl and his

the arms of Brooke empaling those of Leicester. See *Flight of the Earls*, p. 414.

² *Clann Cathal*.—i.e., the O'Flanagans, who were once chiefs of a district between Belanagare and Elphin. They are descended from Cathal, second son of Muiredach, who was King of Connaught at the

end of the 7th century. See *Topog. Poems* p. xxxiv.

³ *Fennbendaigh*.—i.e., the white-horned. The allusion is to Queen Meadhbh's bull, spoken of in the *Tain Bo Cuailgne*. Her palace was at Croghan, in the north-west of Magh Aoi. O'Curry's *MS. Materials*, p. 34.

ceonóobairi Rúiáó & riol cceallais̄ batop hi mann & hi munitliar uí
Doimnaill.

Тушрөөдтэ Нейлл уй Оһомнаилл cona ólribraitérib & cona ḡallairb,
ó mo cloaḡair leó ó Doimnaill do óul hi coiccló náilealla co tóthacht
a ríóis̄ & an imhri éata imbaoi rin híailla Cloinne Riocairt con a ḡallairb
amail ariubriamuy & an lucht ríéime & foróiméda raitéir 7 ruipeachriar
fórríais̄ ó Doimnaill raiyriom sía forḡas allathoiri don Dhlímyr do
rcaoiréad ó ariote do chumḡeadó acnaimais̄ & ariblíra bích, ba ólrib
laiy muna chinglói con a rianlach don cur rin tarḡan Dhlímyr nar bó
roryb 7 nar bo riéó óó a ionnóis̄ló rēct narle sia mberé ó Doimnaill in
naé mlnmat yri curch uile, conad aripe rin mo foróonḡairi fori ambaoi fo
a imamuy do ḡallairb & do ḡhaoróealairb arḡnam co neimllíḡ neamfáóal lai
ḡur an mDhlímyr nooiaró moomtéeta baoi rilmia. Do monad an aripe rin
raiyriom fo élttoi, & mo chinglíte ílriom ina mburórib trioma toirclmíla
& ina tuunylmóib tuḡha tothachtaca rheimriḡe na conaie ḡur an
mDhlímyr mbreacriolbeach.

Ro la Niall rihem marcach rēmēib do thairélaó & do rēmiméyri
na conaie curchumḡe baoi fori a ceunro ruy an mbiaó eatarmaróe no
iomóimlé ó na rcaoirb imbatari munitli uí Oһomnaill ruiyie rēb mo ba
ḡnaitébér roib ityri. Ni rcaoi éccin aét maó úaéad rois̄ mo rihieróioct
imón ceurich ina ccomróeairb lai an aóailḡe loim ríadḡat íarí noul
uí Doimnaill úaróib i cconnachtairb amail rēmēreirtar. Do ríala eitey
an úaéaríri & an toli raipeclna mo oróais̄ Niall ó Doimnaill rēme.
Ro ríaoimeadó forḡia in ucht Neyll cona munitli 7 mo muróis̄it arail
roib. O mo ríadaiḡriut na foricoimeois̄e úaite mo iomriaróriom do imunitli
uí Doimnaill na baoi bá roib cornam na conaie riy an rocharóe & ó mo
lárlíte ariomlí fori an ariyriolann batari occ mallarceanam ina noochum, ba
fol. 75. a. ríó mo chinriute ḡan a corḡuyi 7 ḡan a naréir do éabairt sia mbioóóóairb
& oírpuccadó na conaie roib ḡan comtríall a cornamia ríuú in baó riyú
& aniomḡabail don curyri, ḡo ríamee Niall cona ríomróis̄líteal amlaró rin
ḡan arióó ḡan oiyriomí, co ríais̄baiḡe lonḡróite i maneriyri Oһúinn na nḡall
maḡlín imbíer na meic beaéad 7 na ríuicthe ríairlmécltclacha do uro S.
Ríonreyr riy huyro & oiyrieanm éln foḡluaracé do ḡrey lá ḡall nó la

¹Monastery.—See Introd., p. cxxviii. antea, for an account of its condition at this time.

army on their way back upon their enemies, *i.e.*, the family of O'Connor Roe and the tribe of O'Kelly, who were united with and friendly to O'Donnell.

As for Niall O'Donnell and his brothers and the English, when they heard that O'Donnell had gone into the province of Oilioll with the main part of his army and the battle strife with the Earl of Clanricarde and the English, as we have said, and that the soldiers and guards, the timid and slow, whom O'Donnell had left to keep guard for him to the east of Bearnus, had separated from each other to obtain food and the means of living, he was sure that unless he went with his forces then through Bearnus, it would not be pleasant or easy for him to go there at any other time, when O'Donnell would be in every homestead in the whole territory ; whereupon he ordered all the force under his command of English and Irish to march very actively and swiftly with him to Bearnus, intricate and difficult, in front of them. This plan was executed for him immediately, and they went away after that in large, powerful bodies and in dense, strong crowds along the direct road to speckled-hilled Bearnus.

Niall sent a body of horse in front of them to reconnoitre and examine the crooked road which was before them, whether there were ambuscades or watches on it from the camp in which O'Donnell's forces were, as was their custom always. There was needed but a small body of them, for after O'Donnell had gone away into Connaught, as we have already said, they scattered about the neighbouring territory in search of food which they wanted. This small body and the guard which Niall had sent on before him met. They were defeated in the presence of Niall and his people, and some of them were slain. When the outposts of that small party of O'Donnell's that we have mentioned saw that they could not hold the road against the crowd and put away their pride, owing to the great force which was marching slowly towards them, they determined not to give a victory or a triumph to their enemies, but to yield the passage to them without coming to an engagement with them further, and to retire then, so that Niall came up with his large force then without halt or stop, and they made their encampment in the monastery¹ of Donegal, the place where the sons of life and the psalm-singing elders of the Order of St. Francis used to say the divine office and offer Mass without leaving it ever

Ἐπιτομὴ ὁ πο δέσποδ ἀν τῶν Ρυαθῆρα ὁ Δοιμναίλ πλαιτίου ζυρ ἀν τανρα, & οἶν na πο hachchunnead & na πο lionnaghabad maññ arñ mññoczym on ἐστῆνα πεῖτ πο hñobnarò an bñcòbari bñnoacht ipñ lap an Reclam Rioghòra peimèlphantaò Δοῦ Ρύαδ mac Néill ἕαυῖβ mic Τοηυῖδεαλβαῖζ ἀν Phiona, ἀετ mād an mitchym mbicc πο peimairneròpionñ ma noiponlò an Δλòha Ρύαδò deòlñnaῖζ in aipòclñnar a atharòra. Βα ζαρ ἰάιρ con το bñtponñ ma bhutchnng oia noipèiζib òlñyctib & oia ccubaclaib clarpuaῖzte combatai occ poζnann co uocpa oon comòto ζαν τλῖβαρò nñè φορρα ma peimlñ eitiy bpat & buò ζυρ ἀν laiche hupñ. In mād ionnúa πο ζñnarì on eclamnyemh connairt, & òn uoy oion, & òn ail nñmchunpccatì, & òn upo hroipccene bhuiti bioòbad .i. ὁ Δόση Ρυαδò mac Néill ἕαυῖβ το μαδ ἀν lòbarit poimlñmlyñ το Όηία & το naom upo S. Phairtey το πατ a anma buòòem & a bunapñeime ipñ pearchmatad & a clamniacene ipñ τοòochairò & oianpoi hi τοicèlñ atabairt an τανρα oon aipme eòtair- èlneol & oon bioòbadòib bunarò batoy aζ pñmlyocht Ἐπιτομὴ Ἐλαῖρ mic Muil ὁ ἐlñ maip anall.

Ο πο pñche la Miall cona bhairib 7 cona Gallair tocht ζυρ ἀν mainyeyi apubnamoy, ba pñan laip a mñma ap mochtam hupuròe fo biè ba òaingean muil an tionad atairpuyay, & ny bo heicclñ oia mñleòdòib muip naict pccopa το clairhe ma momèacmang ap batay apòlaryenarò ann clna. Βα ζapfoccur òò òan epochad & moipead na epuche iccoitcimne chuccu ζad tan ba tol oon cummupccylòζ tecomnacay ma pñmāò ὁ na baol nñit pñòῖζ aζ ζabat pñy no mnompuroe pñy. Ro lá apail oia muuyey & oona Gallair ζυρ ἀν machairt mblñz allaῖay το Όῖν na nḡall, eccluy oile ipòe το ματροτ a pñnyyupionñ peèτ pñmñ oi apoule pñnoyongz oon upo ἐστῆνα & ba hñmlypòhe pñy poꝛucchad mnti òn muò cclῆna.

fol. 75. b.

Ἐπιτομὴ ὁ Δοιμναίλ ἰαρ nofòal òòpion & το laipla clomne Riocayp pñ apoule peb at cūadamooy co leicc, paime poy chucca Miall ὁ Δοιμναίλ cona ḡhallair το tocht òaypñ mblñmāy naippòlñic co Όῖν na nḡall, 7 ionnuy oon anḡatay, & an το μḡlñyac iccay. Βa pñomñ adòbal laip na πο chumang biè ma bhomòion & ma nuyfoichill aζ moètam ooiò tñpñan mblñmāy

¹Magherabeg.—It was founded by one of the O'Donnells about the middle of the 15th century for a community of the Third

Order of St. Francis. Archdall's *Monasticon*, p. 103. A considerable part of the buildings is still standing.

either for English or Irish since first this Hugh Roe O'Donnell assumed the chieftaincy up to that time ; and, moreover, they had never before been driven or banished from that dwelling, from the first moment that blessed conical roof had been given them by that royal star that was prophesied, Hugh Roe, son of Niall Garbh, son of Turlough of the Wine, except during the very short space of time of which we have spoken already, before the last Hugh Roe was inaugurated in the chieftaincy of his native country. It was short, for he brought them back to their retired dwellings and to their cells of well-fitted wood, so that they were serving the Lord fervently, not wanting anything during his reign, either clothing or food, up to that time. There was no descendant born such as he from that vigorous stem, and bush of shelter, and fixed rock, and hammer of crushing ruin to his enemies, *i.e.*, from Hugh Roe, son of Niall Garbh, who made, a long time before, this comely gift to God and to the holy Order of St. Francis for the welfare of his own soul and of the souls of his ancestors in the past and of his descendants in the future, even though it turned out a help to the foreign race and to the enemies of the ancient race of Gaedhel Glas, son of Niall.

When Niall with his brothers and the English succeeded in coming to the monastery of which we have spoken, his mind was at ease at coming there, for the place where he dwelt was a secure fortress, and it was not necessary for the soldiers to erect walls or shelters around, for there was enough of them already. It was a convenient place, too, from which to ravage and plunder the country generally whenever the mixed troops which were in it pleased, since there was not a strong force to oppose them or to besiege them. He sent some of his people and of his English to Magherabeg,¹ to the west of Donegal. This was another church which his ancestors had built some time before for another body of the same Order, and it too was safe to take shelter in.

As for O'Donnell, after he and the Earl of Clanricarde parted from each other, as we have just said, news reached him that Niall O'Donnell with his English had gone through the famous Bearnus to Donegal, and how they had gone and all they had done. It was a great grief to him that he could not be before them and prepared for their coming through Bearnus

mbelechumanz & tmuaran cconairi nnoiriad nnoimteeta tmuara tpuochatari, toisg mo ba lanfaoiseactain lair flán a mhnman uechtib & uairbhnais ofagbail foirria oia mbeit in eirlaimie foiri acciuuo. Ari doo so móme foóail 7 bpucc mbicc uona rccélaib mo haijneróeasó uó & mo zab foiri uiamluzáo ina mbaoi so zálaru ina mlóónchais, ar ba ber bunaró uó nach tan no clumfóh ní no laasó irmoim no hitoimur ni contairealbás nach comairós nnoimhna itti, acé ba znuir fubaé fofoirpaoilró uon airpenasó iffoilliri fiaó clch naon no bioó ina éltaró. Aiaill uan so blit comóioóuad móri oia toimur fo bit ba fúail blz ambaoi oia fannmuntiuim oia ceisó nach oia ceftiuaib alla éuaró uon tSamhaliri inn ionbaró rin, úairi ba cian iuafan tanrin ó mo hliubasó úasó foiri a muntiri toóomláó cona nuile folais & muille hi coiceasó Measóba .i. hi ceimch Cairbre mic Néill & hi tíri Fiaórach múairé zuri mo zábrat ionatocht & aittreabás ir na tíubrim ció iuafan tan uir fanzataru an tarceuri muicóblaisg iemecuoóchatari co loch Feabail mic loctain. Acé élna ba nlnasó móri lair Míall cona zállaib so bit zan fúabairt úasóib, & na mo lezbasó uoib tocht rectari ar na poruab iuazbairtet uo chumzlv eieiche na oieene, conasó lvh aymocht lair fo éltoriri a flóisg uo tariclomaó uairan Eirine fo thúaró co mo eillziortari a longzporit in zarifócur uona mhnaccasib mbataru na zóill, 7 mo oiruasg foirairlvá flitlmieacha fobairtacha & áli iomcomlta áithe éttroma foiri lnaizib hruáta & foiri blinaóuib baogail cona helairlvó cúana naitt caibólna úairuib in uoricha oiohce no itarohce folais uo chumzlvó an adailze no uo thabairt fuilllvó lom ina llnmian ar na poruab in mo zábrat hi toirac, zuri mo far uochma 7 tlvuce móri i longzporuab Néill uí Doimnoill 7 na nzáll ueiróe. Ro paoróhite lrvie la haoingille mo láirlet úairuib co hionfoilzrvó zur an Doirne nairivólvic, aym hi iuazhbairtet porit ceitur oia arlvuch foiri aimechais an choóblaisg batari beóir an uáirin longz uambaoi leó uo thóóori oia rairzrvó ar in Doirne atmuóramori la hoiri an tuairceirte zach noirneach zur na hairóme mo pa tlvbaró poruab eiriri aym & buó, ó uo iairimurcc ó Doimnail iomparib

fol. 76. a.

¹ *Territory of Cairbre.*—This district is now the barony of Carbury in the north of Co. Sligo. It was called C. Drumcliff from a famous monastery erected there in the sixth century by St. Columkille, to

distinguish it from several other places called by that name. *The Book of Rights*, 130 n. See *Introd.*, p. xv. *antea*.

² *Gaps of danger.*—*i.e.*, a perilous pass where the chief usually placed the most

of the narrow roads and through the difficult, intricate way by which they had come, for he was quite sure that he could inflict as much hurt and injury on them as he pleased if he were fully prepared to meet them. But yet he paid little or no heed to the news which was told him, and he proceeded to conceal his sorrow in his soul, for it was his constant practice whenever he heard anything which caused sorrow or sadness, not to exhibit any signs of his thoughts at all, but his countenance was merry and agreeable when he appeared in public before all who were in his presence. Moreover, it was a great satisfaction to him in his sorrow that there was but a small number of his people and but little of their property and cattle to the north of the Saimer then, for long before he had ordered his people to go with all their goods and flocks to the province of Meadhbh, *i.e.*, into the territory of Cairbre,¹ son of Niall, and to Hy Fiachrach of the Moy, and they proceeded to settle and dwell in these territories even before the fleet of ships came, which had already reached the Lough of Feabal, son of Lottan. But yet he thought it a great misfortune that Niall and his English should not have been attacked by them, and that he would not allow them to go outside the strong places which they had seized to look for booty or plunder, so that he determined to collect his army immediately at the other side of the Erne to the north, and he entrenched his camp very near the dwellings in which the English were. He placed his strong, vigorous watches and his nimble, light-armed guards on certain roads and in the gaps of danger,² in order that rogues and thieves might not escape in the darkness of the night or secretly to provide for their wants or carry additional food after them from the harbours to which they had come at first, so that there sprung up ill health and great scarcity in the camp of Niall and the English in consequence. Letters were sent by one of the servants, whom they let out secretly, to the famous Derry, the place where they had encamped first, to persuade the chief men of that fleet who were still there to bring the ship which they had from Derry, of which we have spoken, to the coast of the north straight with the supplies they wanted, both arms and food, since O'Donnell restrained them from going

reliable of his guards to prevent an enemy territory. Sometimes it denotes a forlorn
 from making sudden irruptions into his hope.

about or visiting the territory at all, to seize on plunder or booty for their subsistence, and if this was not done on their behalf, that it would be necessary for them to leave the camp in which they were or forfeit their lives to their enemies. What they asked was not neglected, for the capacious ship was got quite ready, and she sailed by the force of the wind straight to the north-east, until she stopped in the deep part of the lading-place opposite the monastery where they were. The time which both armies spent in the contentions of which we have spoken was not happy or pleasant, but the wrathful, vindictive, fierce attacks were cutting, sharp, destructive, venomous, wound-giving, bloody, and the conflicts were firm obstinate, injuring mortally, hostile, which were fought between them on both sides, so that it would be tedious to relate the skirmishes and devastations of each day here, but only that large bodies of soldiers, recruits, and warriors were slaughtered and slain between them on this side and that at once, and others were laid in blood and gore, in gashes and wounds which were never wholly cured, so that they were wasted away to death.

They continued both of them in this way prepared for each other till the last days of the month of September, 1601. At that time the Lord displayed his power against the people who dwelt in the cells and homes of the sons of life and of the guileless Orders, and by whom they were driven out and scattered about in the woods and winding glens as if they were wolves and wild beasts. The first vengeance, then, which God took on them, however it happened, whether from heaven or the earth, was, that fire¹ seized the barrels of powder which they had in the monastery of Donegal in preparation and readiness for the war in which they were engaged continuously against the Irish, and against O'Donnell in particular, so that the powder exploded in the air on high, and the smoke was not higher than the red glare which reached to the loftiest whitened summit of the windows and loopholes of the wall and to all the buildings of stone and wood of the blessed church above that were near the powder, and it consumed the well made rood-screen and the cells formed of wood, and the firmly-jointed beams too, which were joined skilfully below. The stones and the wood and the

of victuell and the very barrells of powder they had in store. Captain Lewis Oriell

commanded in chief.' Docwra, *Narration*, p. 255.

cmaro & an t'aine ina óighe & ina iomláine gan comhionn a corpr iteiri i t'iechumurcc foiri líelgail 7 iomláiniaman l'taribuar úairtib f'ru mé f'osa conour fuititir foiri talíamain ina t'tamhnaib' d'ubdóite & a'iaill' d'ib'riúe hi c'lnnaib' an lochta batari f'ochair' a'g roa'd' f'ruoth'ioircc co talíamain, g'oir' mo b'ieob'ar'igea'd' f'ochair'úe' d'ioib' an t'ueht' f'ru.

O mo ma'ar'ig'it' an lu'ait' f'lic'ime & f'oir'choim'it'ta batari ó'ua n'Dom'nai'll' foiri na g'allai'b' an f'muic'céo' d'ia'd' & d'f'ohai'g'he d'f'lim'á'ie in'g'naic'he an'ac'ln'ta' d'o ma'la' ú'ar' an ma'uir'it'ir, mo g'áb'ra'tt' a'g' d'ia'n'oi'u'ra'g'a'd' in' ub'ail'le'meall' l'ú'air'úe' & a'c'ca'oir' t'tar'ó'leach' t'cl'ln'it'úe' d'o é'og'h'air'm' uí' D'om'nai'll' cona' f'lo'g' ina' n'oa'it' i' t'ra'it'iu' d'o f'u'aba'it' na n'g'all', d'á'ig' e'm' mo'btari' i'at't' na' t'oir'aim' d'uib'raic'úe' t'ar'laic'it' t'ea'ch'ta' mo'btari' e'all'na' é'f'ce'úe' d'ia' h'if'ú'ag'ra' d'ó'roim' t'uir'ea'c't' ina' t'toir'it'hin'. N'iu' uó' h'iom'é'om'á'ir'ce'ach' mo' f'rie'ac'c'ia'd' an' u'p'ó'g'ra'ir'm' la' h'úa' n'Dom'nai'll' cona' f'lo'g', a'ri' mo' é'm'g'it' co' d'ia'n' d'eim'm'ne'd'a'd' f'eb' mo'nu'g'ra't' d'ia' a'lo'it'e' ina' n'oir'ion'c'ca'ib' & ina' n'oir'io'm'á'ib' co' d'ú' im'ba'tari' a' mu'it'cl'i' o'cc' an' ma'ine'f'cl'i'.

Ro' d'ain'g'ln'ol'ú'ar'ig'it' an' d'e'ab'a'd' d'o' d'ib' l'e'it'ib' l'toir'ra' í'ar' t'tam'. Rob'tari' a'ig'ú'í' na'm'at' im' ma'e' & n'ir'tari' a'ig'ú'cl'i' ca'ia'd' im' é'oir'm'aim' d'o' na'ir'f'én'ra't' na' co'ib'd'e'al'c'á'ir' & na' co'm'f'u'it'úe' d'ia'p'oir'e' d'on' ch'uir'm'. D'a' d'u'it'ig' d'ic'h'um'á'ing' d'o' mu'it'ir' uí' D'om'nai'll' f'rie'ar'tal' d'uib'raic'úe' na' n'ó'c'e' batari' i'ru'n' ma'uir'it'ir' la' d'ain'g'ean'm'ille' na' m'ú'ir' ina' mo'm'é'ac'm'ang' o'g' a' n'om'ó'it'cl'i' f'oir'ra' & la' f'ra'ir' d'uib'raic'úe' na' n'g'al'g'at' d'o' i'ec'caim' all'an'air' d'ioib' hi' ca'ir't'iall' d'ú'inn' na' n'g'all', & b'e'oir' la' co'm't'e'al'g'a'd' na' c'ca'oir' mo'm't'io'm' ma'ir'm'lu'air'úe' no' la'it'e' f'oir'ra' la' f'oir'm' na' l'um'g'i' l'uch't'm'á'ie' ba'oi' inn' i'om'ú'oi'm'ain' an' ch'ú'aim' f'oir' an'ion'ch'air'ib' all'an'air'. A'd'e't' a'ia' d'oi' mo'btari' i'at't' mu'it'cl'i' uí' D'om'nai'll' ba't'tari' f'oir't'ille' i'ru'n' i'om'g'um' co' l'e'ic'c'. O' mo' a'ir'ig' m'á'ill' ó' D'om'nai'll' a' mu'it'cl'i' & na' g'á'ill' o'g'a' f'f'oir'ra'ach' i'ru'n' f'f'oir'ie'ig'ln' d'o' ju'm'm' in'a' m'ln'm'oir' i'onn'ur' uo' f'oir'f'ea'd' í't'e', con'a'd' l'ú' d'o' i'ó'ime' e'l'ú'ú' co' h'inc'l'e'it'he' co' c'ri'os'ha' c'lin'm'it'cl'm'á'ir' la' h'oir' an' ch'ú'aim' f'í'ar' c'e'd' n'ó'ir'ie'ac' g'ur' an' ma'ch'á'ie' m'bl'g' a'ir'm' a'm'ba'tari' f'ian'la'd' mó'ir' d'ona' g'allai'b' (f'eb' a't'ru'ib'ra'm'á'ir'), 7 d'o' b'f'it' l'á'ir' i'at't' i'ru'n' con'á'ir' é'l't'e'na' d'f'ur'it'ac'ht' a' mu'it'cl'ie' 7 na' n'g'all', & mo' g'áb'ra't' f'oir'm'no' na' l'um'g'e' i'e'm'p'e'r'it'm'á'ir' a'c'c' u'p'f'ec'l'á'ir'úe' & a'c'c' d'e'ab'a'd' d'ar' a' c'c'enn' co' mo'ch't'aim' d'ó'ib' t'ar' na' m'ú'ir'á'ib' m'f'ó'd'ón'ch'air'ib' in'unn' i'f' in' ma'uir'it'ir'. D'at'oir' an'e'm' d'ó'roim' & d'ia' mu'it'ir' a'n'l'uch't' f'ru' d'e' b'e'it'

¹ Then.—*The Annals F. M.* treat of this event very briefly.

men, wholly and completely, without any separation of their bodies, were mixed up in their flight and motion upwards for a long time, and they fell on the ground charred corpses, and some of them fell on the heads of the people beneath when coming to the ground, so that many of them were consumed by the fire then.¹

When the sentinels and guards which were set by O'Donnell over the English perceived the dense cloud of vapour and the strong, unusual, extraordinary smoke, which was rising from the monastery, they set to shoot vigorously their leaden balls and bright-firing flashes in order to summon O'Donnell and his forces to come in haste and attack the English, for it was the noise of the shots that was employed as the readiest messengers to tell him to come to their aid. That summons was not answered very mercifully by O'Donnell and his forces, for they advanced as fiercely and rapidly as they could in crowds and troops to the place where their people were near the monastery.

They came to close quarters in the contest on both sides after that. They were the attacks of enemies in the field, and they were not the attacks of friends in the strife, which the kinsmen and the relatives made on each other then. It was difficult, impossible, for O'Donnell's forces to withstand the fire of the soldiers who were in the monastery, on account of the great strength of the surrounding walls protecting them and the showers of shot of the soldiers who were to the west of them in the castle of Donegal, and also the throwing of the heavy bullets of iron and lead by the crew of the well manned ship which was in the deep part of the opposite harbour to the west. But yet O'Donnell's people had the best of it in the fight then. When Niall O'Donnell saw his people and the English who were aiding him in such great straits, he reflected how he might relieve them. Wherefore, what he did was to make his escape secretly with courage and speed by the edge of the harbour due west to Magherabeg, where there was a large body of English (as we have said), and he brought them with him by the same road to the aid of his own people and of the English. The crew of the ship of which we have spoken proceeded to support them and fight in their defence until they passed within the inner walls of the monastery. The force he brought with him were to him and

fol. 77. a. ԾԻԱ ՔԱՅԻՉԻ ԲԻ ԵԱՅԻՐ ՄԱՍՆԵՐԻ ԱՅ ԾՈՒՆՆԱԻԼԼ յՈՒԵՏԱՐ ԵՐՅՅՄԱՅՑ ՄԱՆԱ ԵԻՉՈՒՄՈՐԻՆ. ԱՆ ԵԱՆ ՎՈ ՔԱԾԸ Օ ԾՈՒՆՈՒԻԼԼ ՎՊԱ ԱՐՈՒՆ ԾԱՆԿՆԱՆՈՒԼԼԵ ԱՆ ԻՈՆԱԻԾ ԱՄԲԱՍԻ ՈՒՅԻԼԼ ԵՈՆԱ ՃԱԼԼԱՆԵ Ե ԱՆ ՔՈՒՐԻՈՆ ՔՆՈՒԵՇ ՔԱՆԿԱԾՈՐ ՎՊԱ ՔՈՅԻՅԻՍԻ ԵԱ ՆԼՄԱՍԻԱԵ ՈՒՐԻ ԼԱՐ Ե ՈՒՍՆԵՐԻ ՎՈ ՈՒՍԾԽԱԿԱԾ ՈՒՍ ԵՇՇՈՒԼԱՆՈՒ ՈՒ ԵԱԾ ՈՒ ԱՄԻ, ՃՈՐ ՈՒ ՔՈՒԵՈՆԾԱՐ ՔՈՐ Ե ՈՒԼԾՈՒՅ ԾԵՐՅԻՆ Ա ԾԵԱԽԵԽԱ Ե ՔՈՒՉ ՎՊԱ ՔՈՒՐԱՆԵ. ՎՈ յՈՆԱՍԻ ՔՈ ԵՏԵՏՈՐ ՔԱՅՅՐԱՍՈՒ ՈՒՐՈՐԻՆ.

ՐՈ ԽՈՒՔԱ ՔՈԵՒԱՐՈՒՆ ԿԱԾԻԵ ԱՍՈՒ 7 ԱՆԱԼԼ. ԵԱ ՎՈՆԱ ԽԱՅԻՆԵ ՎՈ յՈԵՒԱՐԻ Օ ԿԱ ՈՒՍՈՒՆԱԻԼԼ ԻՐԻՆ ՎԵԱԵԱԾ ԵԱՍԻՅ ՄԱԵ ԵԱԽԱԻԼ ՕՐԵ ՄԱԵ ՎՈՒՍՄԱՍՈՒՎ ՎՈ ՔՈՒՐԻԵԼԱՆՈՒՆԵ ՔԼԵԱԵԾԱ ՄԱՍԼՄԱՆԱՐՈՒ Ե ՄԱՅԻ ԼԱՐԵԵ ԵՈ ՈՐՄԱՅՈՒՅ ՕՐԵ ԵՆ ՈՒՍԻՅՈՒՍԻ. ԵՐՅԵՒԱՐԻ ՎՈՆ ԼԵԻԾ ՕՐԵ ԵՈՆՆ ՕՐԵ ՄԱԵ ԵՈՒՆՆ ՎԵՐԵԵՐԱՅԱՐ ՈՒԵԼԼ ԱՅ ԾՈՒՍՈՒՆԱԻԼԼ ԵՈ ԵՐՄԵ ԵՇՎԱՆ ԻՄԱԼԼԵ ՔՅԱՐ ԵԻՐԻ ՃՄԱՆ Ե ԼՈՐԵԱԾ. ԵԱ յԱՆՆ ԱՃԱ Ե ԽԻՅԻԱՐԵ Ե ԵԱ ՃՆԱԾ ԵՒԱՐՈՒ ԵՇԽԱ ԵՐՅՅՄԱՆԵ ԱՅ ԱՆ ԵՇՈՒՐԱ ՎՈ ԵՆՔԻ ՎՈՆ ԵՍԻ ՔՅԱՐ. ՐՈ ՎԼԱՐՈՒ ԻՔՈՒՍ Օ ԾՈՒՆՆԱԻԼԼ Ե ԼՈՅՅՐՈՒՄ Խ ԵԱԾ ՃՈՒՐՄԵ ԵՈՒԵՇ ՎՈՆ ՈՒՄԵՐԵՐԻ, Ե յՈՐ ՔԱՐՈՒ ԱՐԱԼԼ ՎՊԱ ՈՒՍՆԵՐԻ ԻՔՈՒԵԱՐԻ ԻՐԻՆ ՄԱԽԱՐՄԵ ՈՒԼԵՅ ՎՈՒ ՈՒ յՈ ՔՈՒՐԱՅԻՆԵՇ ԵՇԵՐԻ Ա ԽԱԼԼ ՎՈ ԵՐԵՒ ՈՒՅԻԼԼ ԼԱՐ ՎՈ ՔՈՒՐԵԱԽԵ Ա ՈՒՍՆԵՐԻՔԵ ՔԵԵ ԻՄՈՅԱՐՈՒՐՄԱՍ. ԽԻ ՔԵԼ ՄԻՇԻԼ ԱՐԽԱՆՅԻԼ ԱՐ ԱՐԻ ԼԱՐԵ ՔԵՇԵՄԱՆԵ ՎՈ յՈՆԱԾ ՈՒՍ ՔՅԱՐ.

ԵԱՐԻ Օ ԾՈՒՆՆԱԻԼԼ ՔԱՍԻԼԱՐՈՒ ԻՐԻՆ ԻՈՄՅԱՐՈՒՇ ԵՇԵՆԱ ՔՈՐ ՈՒՅԻԼԼ ԵՈՆԱ ՃԱԼԼԱՆԵ Ե ՕՃԱ ԵՒԱԵԱՐԵ ԻԵՆՈՒԾԱ 7 ԱԵՈՒՄՅԵ ՎՈՒՐԱԽԵԽԱ Օ ՎԵՐԵԱԾ ՏԵՐԵՄԵՐԻ ՃՈ ՎՈՒՐՈՒ ՕԿԵՒԵՐԻ ՃԱՆ ՈԱԾ ՈՅՄՈՒՍ ՈՒՐՄՈՒՐԻՔ ՈՒ ԵԱԾ ՎՈՐՈՒ ՎՈՐԱԽԻՄԻՆԵՇ ՎՈ ՎՈՆՈՒՍ ԼՐՈՅՐԱ ԱՆ ԱՐԻՆԵՇ ՔՅԱ ԵՈ ԵՈ ՔՈՒՐԱԵՇ ՔՈՐՔԵԵԼ ԵՒԱԵԱ ԱՆ ԵԱՐԵՍՐԻ ՄԱՐԵՇՈՒԵՐՈՒՇ ՎՈՆ ԱՆՅԱԾԱՐ Օ ՐԻՅ Ա ԵՐԱՆԵ ՎՈՒՆԻՔԱԾ ՈՒ ԱՃԻԱՐՈՒ ԱՆ ԵՇՇԱԵՇ ՔԵԻԵ ՎՈ յԱՆՅԵԱԼԼ ՎՈՒՆ Օ ԵՆՈ. ԵԱՐԻՉ ԻՈՆԱՍ ՈՒ յՈ ՃԱԵՐԱԾ ԱՆ ԵՈՒԼԱԾ ՏՐԱՄՆԵԱԽ ԵԱԼԱՐՈՒՄ ԽԻ ԵՒԱՆ ԵՈՒՆՆ ՏԱՐԵ ԵՇՇ ԵՈՆ ՃԼԱՐԼԱՆՆԵ ԵԱՆՎԱՆ ԻԵՇՈՒՅՐՈՒՇ ԵՒԻՇԵ ԵՒՐՄԵԱԽ ՎՈ ԵԱՐՈՒ, Ե ԵՆԵԼ ԱՎՈՒՎԱ Ա. ՎՈՒՅԱՅ ԱՆ ԵԱՐՄԱՅՑ ՕՐԵ ՎՈՆ ԵԱՐՈՒ ԱՆ ԱԼԼ. ՎՈՆՆ ԻՈՒՆ ՎԵ ԱՅՈՒՆ ԵԱՐԵԱԾ ԱՆՄԱՍՈՒ ԱՆ ՃԼՈՒՐԱԼԱ յՈ ԵԱ ՔՈՒԵՈՆՅԱՐԵԱՐՈՒ ԿԱՐԵԻԵ. Օ յՈ ՃԱԵՐԱԾ ԵԱՐԻ ԱՆ ՎՈՐՈՒ ՎՈ ԵՐԻՔԱԾ

¹ *Maclruanaidh*.—The tribe name of the MacDermots of Moylurg, who are descended from Maclruana, eldest son of Tadhg an eich gill, king of Connaught from 1014 to 1036. *Top. Poems*, xxxiv.

² *Conn Oge*.—He was the ancestor of Manus O'Donnell of Castlebar and of the O'Donnells of Spain and Austria. See *Annals F. M.*, vi. 2400.

³ *Fleet*.—Six of the ships intended to bring

men and materials of war to Ireland were scattered by a storm while convoying some galleons with treasures from the West Indies to a safe port. During the delay caused by this mishap the number of men destined for this expedition was much lessened by sickness and desertion. O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, p. 223.

⁴ *De Courcy's*.—For an account of John De C., the founder of this family, see the

his people of great advantage, for O'Donnell's people would be victorious if these were not there. When O'Donnell perceived the great strength of the place in which Niall and his English were, and the great force that had come to them, he thought it very wrong that his people should be destroyed in the unequal contest any longer, and he ordered his soldiers to leave off fighting and to go to their encampment. They did this immediately at his bidding.

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Many of them were slain on this side and that. Of the nobles who fell on O'Donnell's side in the fight were Tadhg, son of Cathal Oge MacDermott of the noble family of the Sliocht Maelruanaidh,¹ from Moylurg, with a large number besides. There fell on the other side Conn² Oge, son of Conn, brother of Niall O'Donnell, and three hundred besides, whether by wounds or by burning. This Conn who fought then was a bulwark in battle and fight and it was his usual boast that he gave the first wound. O'Donnell afterwards made his camp a little nearer the monastery, and he sent some of his people to take possession of Machairebeg, to which place the English had first come, whom Niall took with him to the aid of his people, as we have said. As for the day of the week, this happened on the feast of Michael the Archangel.

O'Donnell continued in this way blockading Niall and his English and reducing him to intolerable straits and extremities from the end of September to the end of October, without any important deed which should be recorded having been done between them during that time, until news came to him of the arrival of the fleet³ which had come from the King of Spain to aid them against their enemies, as he had promised them long before. The place where the Spanish fleet put in was in the harbour of Kinsale, at the mouth of the Bandon river, on the confines of De Courcy's⁴ country on the one side, and of Kinelea, *i.e.*, the patrimony of Barry Oge, on the other. Don Juan de Aguila⁵ was the name of the general who was in command of them. When the people came there, they put the fortress of

Book of Howth in *C.C. MSS. Miscell.*; London, 1871. His son Miles was granted the barony of Kinsale instead of the earldom of Ulster, which had been conferred on De Lacy during the imprisonment of

De Courcy. Archdall's *Peerage*, vi. 138. But see *Annals F. M.*, iii. 143, for an account of this family.

⁵ *Del Aguila*.—O'Sullivan says he was skilled in the art of war. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 223.

uínad chinn Sáile fo a noighneirí & fo amamur buó úein. Ro mannat a nahuig & a níahle a ceóndais & a ceairtne foimíon gnádaib ólhpceairthe an baile, & a brianlach áigh & iongná foimíon a bhlmaib baogail & foimíon a éblmaib cormaina fhuí fatchuip 7 fhuí focuicóiméto ina feach íar nuip foib do muoncoircepuut a cefhnpurta foib. Do macrat chucea ífhoimíon hi tír ar a longaib gac naíóilgi baol leó eioipiam & oipoonár, púoap & líaroe, biaó & oig. Imraipfe á longa ina bhpuithing oia teipib & oia cefhnaohachais fo úein, oáig in chajpocra ina mlfhman atahmuomachui inoib in oibne,

fol. 77. b.

Ro baol ar oile baile allathoirí do chúan chinn Sáile oap uó coimainm Rinn choipiam hi fflhonn an bhpuig óicc 1 cceenél Altha fainpcaó. Ro chuipfe na Spainnigh aiaill oia naipcahais 1 foicóimífe & 1 foibairi ipm mbaile pin. Gabait ífhpain foimíon oaingnuigad a focoi & acc claidé, ag fainuigad & ag foilpuiduigad an oipoonair foimíon an eipho máim ina muicéadmanag ina ceairtachais cobpaothe coimnaita, úairi pob líoalca leó go teipcaó an iurpí co nahmal na bhainpoghhan ina noochum oia fflúabairt an tan po foipiuó focéla chuceu. O po hainpnoeáó ífhoimíon don iurpí gabail foib an oú pin, & na huile do puífhpac, do muonail an lion ar lía conanagairi gan fhnádaó gan ionfpupieach co puacht hi cefhnn conairi fhuí combatai eimeach in ionchais fhuí aiaill. Do muoch ann beoip pheripoeny oá choicceáó Muimán ón muó cefhna cóna toichlípa. Don aiaice íarla cloimne Riocairt con íochpaittí, & níu uó hiaopóe na má acé gac cefhnn íloig & gac teigfina típe do neoch baol inn umla & inn aipitití don bhainpoghán 1 Muimán, 1 Laiginib, 1 Míche, & hi Connachtais, do puachtatapai, gupí po chomfpuidóipfe a ceampia tul 1 tul fhuí cimó fáile & fhuí Rinn choipiam fainpcaó. Hi po leicceáó tathainná tionnabpaó, aohall ná ionnfoigfó dona Spainneachais do eccainí 1 Rinn choipiam, acé oeaótha oiana oibpuaictheacha & ammuip flhpíóá fupleacha foipia do ló & oáóai, go po hepaileáó foipia fo úeioí tocht oipceipí oiaipm foimíon eimeach & íolpam an iurpí, & ó do muigéal a fnaóáó po muon aipitírothe foimíon aipobailtí

¹ *Troops*.—O'Sullivan gives 2,500 as the number of Spaniards who landed at Kinsale. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 224.

² *E. of Clanricarde*.—See *Introd.*, p. clxiv., ante.

³ *Obedient*.—Carew did not trust his Irish

allies. On November 7th he wrote to the English Privy Council: 'At O'Neill's coming the provincials will discover themselves against us, or neutrals (as they are), for better we do not expect from them.' Moryson, *Rebellion*, p. 162.

Kinsale under their own obedience and power. They distributed their commanders and the nobles, their chiefs and their captains in the well furnished forts of the town, and the troops¹ for battle and fight in the passes of danger and at the points needing defence, to watch and keep guard all round, according to the orders which their officers enjoined on them. They then landed from their ships all the supplies they had, both arms and ordnance, powder and lead, food and drink. Their ships returned to their own country and to their merchants, for they did not conceive that they should be carried back in them so soon.

There was a certain castle to the west of the harbour of Kinsale named Rincorran, in the territory of Barry Oge, in Kinelea exactly. The Spaniards put some of their distinguished men to guard and garrison this castle. They then set about fortifying their camp, and digging trenches, arranging and planting the ordnance close all round on steady, strong carriages, for they were certain that the Lord Justice would come with the Queen's army to attack them as soon as the news would reach them. When the Lord Justice was told that they had landed there and all they had done, he assembled all the forces under his command without delay or stop until he came to meet them, so that they were face to face with each other. The President of the two provinces of Munster also came with his forces; the Earl of Clanricarde² came with his troops; and not these only but every head of a host and every lord of a territory who was submissive and obedient³ to the Queen in Munster, in Leinster, in Meath, and in Connaught. They came and pitched their camp⁴ opposite Kinsale and Rincorran exactly. Sleep or repose, visit or entrance was not allowed to the Spaniards who were within Rincorran, but there were violent shooting conflicts and fierce bloody attacks on them night and day, so that they were obliged at last to come out unarmed⁵ under the protection and security of the Lord Justice, and when he promised them protection

¹ *Camp.*—Moryson gives 11,800 foot and 857 horse as the total of the army before Kinsale on November 20th. A month later the number was reduced to one-half. *Ibid.*, pp. 169 and 176.

⁵ *Unarmed.*—'Nov. 1, the Commander

offered to surrender the place if the garrison was allowed to go to Kinsale. This being refused, he resolved to bury himself in the castle. But his company threatened to cast him out of the breach. So at last he yielded.' *Ibid.*, p. 149.

móira na Mumhan co bflrad cionnur no biaó a litiuigléoó fpu an lucht naile do arpuarai hi ciuno Sáile.

101. 78. a. Baol immoio an iurair cona flócchaib & zuir an lucht naile batari i foibairi foir Rinn éorriain zó rin foir an abairt éitna accairéim & acc comóuubriagad na Spainnead batari hi ciuno Sáile an éitna feacht. An feacht tánairi occa náil & oga nleatrigluirthe tria chaoinbriatáib & milirámuirceab iméocht foir iocht & eimead an iurair feb tuóchataru an lucht naile don anzagora Rinn choiriain. Aebhriatariuim narí uó zuaibéir do mileaduib an tíne ara tuóchataru feall foir an eimeach nach foir a coomóuó talmanua, & narí bo ióuainz a ttozaoatú tria timgelltib zan tóthacht no tria cealzeliomáothaib céuluitheacha, & na tlfirair tarí a mbriéithu fpu an bhioifláit ffoirglibe dia ffozgnatarioi la moir faoohit i toiruthin ná níaral batari imn imniri chocearó & chacha fpuíuim az cornam a nuyri & a nachairda mo ba mliúaire leóuim do zoro foirua arí zád ló. Batari triá an tuchetrim comibtarí rziéhuigh toiruirigh ceéatrimae uioó dia aloile la a iméline leó bith irin caiféir comfuaabairtaiz zan coúlaó zan coétoimaitur, zan airli, zan doibuir, áet ead uioó ipomóim & i foichill aróile do ló & daúaz, acht éina ba móo uoiliz foir an iurair cona flóz bith an ionnur hirim oúar foir na Spainneachaib, uoiz ba hiaruioe ba mo am mo zuaéaziflet iomruioe foirua & úairib, & ba mmoi mo fpuimad m zád nliuóail do lhuóailib an éoccaró, úair ba fpuirthe mo hoilead 7 mo lfráizlé eimioi an élineoil éorriainiaiz dia mbatariuim co taruorat tíne 7 trieaba, emocha 7 éhóuóacha ile fo amamur 7 fo accuimachtarib allor iuyri, amamur, 7 imtelecta, arí aoi ériuóáeta, calmatair, 7 eathbúada, conair bo foirib fpuithbhir fpu muna baó amfén foirran ead lár conzuitir. Conadh aipe rin mo baol foir mliuman don iurair foad do muóiri zo hadh eiaé & a míleaóa do rccairlé foir puimóuimib fpuimóuimib leite Moza Núadad éen co toiruaét larla Tuathmúian la foiméonria na hainmozhan a Saxaib uocum nErienn do conznam lar an iurair co ceélfóiaib míub do zlíne zlanfioiz lair zuir mo zúabtarí don leit ambaoi an iurair do chinó Sáile.

¹ *Leth M. N.—i.e.* Munster. See *Introd.*, p. x., *antea*. On the origin of the name

Mogha Nuadat given to Eoghan Mor, see *The Battle of Magh Leana*, p. xix.

he divided them among the chief towns of Munster until he should know the result of the contest with the other party who were in Kinsale.

The Lord Justice with his forces and the others who were besieging Rincorran up to that were at the same business at first, playing on and shooting at the Spaniards who were in Kinsale. Then they begged and besought them by fine words and nice promises to come under the clemency and protection of the Lord Justice, as the others had done who came out of Rincorran. They said that it was not usual for the soldiers of the country from which they had come to break their promise or to deceive their temporal lord, and that it was not easy to cheat them by means of unmeaning promises or deceitful devices, and that they would not violate their promise to their true prince whom they served, by whom they were sent to aid the nobles who were in the hardship of the fight and battle against them, defending their faith and fatherland, of which they wished to rob them daily. Meantime they were in such a state that both parties were tired and weary, owing to the long time they were expecting the attack without sleep or food, pleasure or enjoyment, each of them waiting and prepared for the other day and night. But yet it was more severe on the Lord Justice and his army to be in this condition than on the Spaniards, for these were more accustomed to sieges against and for themselves, and most of them were trained to every kind of war, for most of the warlike race to which they belonged were reared and brought up in it, and they gave up many lands and dwellings, territories and lordships under their authority and power for the sake of their faith, virtue, intelligence, valour, bravery, and success in war, and opposition to them was not easy unless ill-luck befel those whom they aided. For this reason the Lord Justice thought of going back to Dublin and scattering his soldiers throughout the principal strongholds of Leth Mogha Nuadat,¹ if the Earl of Thomond had not come by order of the Queen from England to Ireland to help the Lord Justice with four thousand² choice troops, and they landed on the side of Kinsale where the Lord Justice was.

²*Four Thousand.*—*Pac. Hib.* p. 382, gives the number brought over by the Earl of Thomond as 1,000 foot and 100 horse. See

Moryson, *Rebellion*, p. 151. Very probably the besiegers exaggerated the number to induce the Spaniards to surrender

Ba ínn mé inn do b'fitearac na Spainneí ionnroígead ainneuo aib'fiteach
 a'nn na noíche ann, 7 mangatarí re'ctairí ar a múisib co campia an Iurteir &
 sur an maigin ambaoi an toíuanár móri no bio' acc blaíóiread 7 as
 boirbbiuread zach laoi na múichearceol, na n'gíom' cloch, & claiar' mo
 cum'vacht leó ma mom'acmianz, conad e aif'z armanzatarí aiaill do na
 zonnar'uib' zut'ar'uib' do zuior'lonar', do clochar'ib' c'innz'ar'uib', do
 íonnar'ib', do íar'uib', 7 do zinnar'ib' í'f'í muvuccad an íanlar'z batari occa
 mom'c'om'ie'. Ro ma'ar'zic í'f'íom' oc on uíobair'inn 7 im'ar'f'c' mu'ic'f'í an
 Iurteir f'ó'ar'ib' 7 mo z'abar'ac as z'um' & as z'ear'oi'ileach ar'oi'le a'char'í f'oda
 von or'ó'ce z'um' mo ch'ing'f'ic' na Spainneí co cob'ar'í ce'm'uz'ín f'ino'ch'io'f'ce
 via f'ear'uib' fo ú'eo'í, 7 mo ho'it'ar'it f'ochar'íe leó & ú'ar'ó'ib'. Do ion'ar'c
 b'uz' mb'icc via t'ear'ar'íe o' do mu'z'f'ar'ac an co'ib'f'í inn do ch'uit'cead a
 mb'io'ú'ad. In ba'oi or'ar'í laoi na o'io'che í'it'ir an da camp'ar'inn ó con
 mangatarí f'íu ar'oi'le z'an to'ar'íl c'íó 7 inn'íe f'ola ar'oi' 7 anall & ar'ia z'ur
 an laithe ú'f'í'f'í'ar'z da t'ar'ar'ic an ion'f'ear'ar'íe & an n'í'it'ir'z'leó'í.

fol. 78. 4.

Ion'ar'ar'íe ú'í O'ho'm'ar'ill, ó mo har'ner'íe ad ú'ó an cob'lach Spainneach
 inn do z'abar'íl chal'ar'ó'ru'ic' i ce'inn'íe Sá'ile f'eb' ion'f'io'ar'ar'í'ím, f'or' ma'z'ar'ib'
 an ion'f'ur'íe mb'ar'í f'or'í n'í'all ó O'ho'm'ar'ill cona z'h'allar'ib' batari i man'f'ar'ir'
 O'ú'ín na n'z'all (ar'í'ar'íl ar'ub'í'ar'ar'oi) & do mo'ne f'or'ar'íl 7 o'imb'uz' do nach
 can'z'ean it'ir' ac'it' f'och'tar'ín in ar'íl na Spainneach, ú'ar'í ba har'ar'ir'íe cona
 R'íz ar'oin'ne'f'í'ím & ar'oi'ar'oi'le'ar'ar'ín bá'oi occa via to'ir'í'ím, & ba ar'á lo'f'f'
 con'ar'ar'íe ad a ch'oc'ar'íe c'f'ur'. R'or' líon lan'ne 7 lan'z'ar'í'ar'íe ad h'ur'íe
 ar'oi'ar'ar'ín, & ba o'imb'uz' la'ir' z'ar'íl do ar'í'ar'oi'ím no do ar'í'ar'íe ad h'ur'íe
 ar'oi'ar'ín i ma'z'ar'í'ar'íe ma' ar'í'ar'íe, ar'í'ar'íe ba ar'í'ar'íe la'ir' no el'ar'í'ar'íe in ar'í'ar'íe
 ar'oi'ar'ín la' z'ar'oi'le'ar'íe 7 la Spainne'ar'íe ad co'f'ce'ar'íe í'ar'í na min'ar'íe ar'í'ar'íe
 an Iurteir in ce'inn'íe Sá'ile von ch'ur'íe inn, conad f'í'ar'íe do mo'ne t'ar'ar'íe na
 f'or'ar'í'ar'íe ad h'ur'íe ar'í'ar'íe & a f'í'ar'íe ar'í'ar'íe via mb'ar'íe f'ó a ma'ar'íe f'or' a
 ch'um'ar'íe ad ó to'ar'í'ar'íe an t'ar'ar'íe ar'í'ar'íe co h'ur'íe ar'í'ar'íe ó Ma'ine, ó
 Sp'ar'í'ar'íe ad h'ur'íe ar'í'ar'íe in ar'í'ar'íe. Ro ar'í'ar'íe an ar'í'ar'íe co t'ar'ar'íe ar'í'ar'íe
 co ha'oin'ar'íe ar'í'ar'íe co ba'ile an M'ho'ar'íe. Ro ar'í'ar'íe an ar'í'ar'íe co t'ar'ar'íe ar'í'ar'íe
 la'ir' f'í'ar'íe na Sa'í'ar'íe, & con do me'cl'ar'íe ar'í'ar'íe a f'í'ar'íe ma' ar'í'ar'íe ma
 no'ion'ne'ar'íe,

¹ *Attack*.—2,000 men were engaged 'in this brave sally, and continued their resolution with exceeding fury.' *Ibid.*, p. 165.

² *Castles*.—When O'Donnell drew off to the relief of Kinsale, Docwra marched to Donegal, and Diggs, with two companies,

One night then the Spaniards made a fierce, vigorous attack,¹ and they came outside the walls to the camp of the Lord Justice and to the place where the ordnance was which was breaking and dashing down the battlements, the stone works, and the mounds erected by them all round, and the plan they adopted was to fill some of the loud-voiced guns with sharp stones, beams, blocks, and wedges, after killing the soldiers that were guarding them. They were observed at this work, and the forces of the Lord Justice attacked them, and they proceeded to wound and slaughter each other for a great part of the night, and the Spaniards returned victorious and steady to their camp at last, and many were slain by them and of them. They thought little of their loss as they had done so much to grieve their enemies. There was no cessation day or night between the two camps since they came near, without death-wounds and flowing of blood on one side and on the other, and slaughter to the last days when the final separation and the decisive battle came round.

As for O'Donnell, when he was told that the Spanish fleet had entered the harbour of Kinsale, as we have said, he left the siege in which he was engaged against Niall O'Donnell and the English who were in the monastery of Donegal, as we have said, and he made little or nothing of every business whatever except to go meet the Spaniards, for they and their King were of one mind and one idea with him to aid him, and it was through him that they first began the war. He was full of satisfaction and joy at their coming, and he thought it of little importance that the English should remain or dwell in the castles² which they had seized in his territory, for he was sure they would abandon them at once if the Irish and the Spaniards were victorious in the contest with the Lord Justice at Kinsale then. Wherefore, what he did in consequence was to send his proclamation and summons to those who were under his control and power from Tory in the north to the uppermost part of Hy Many, and from Srubh Brian, in Inishowen MicNeill, to Erris³ in the west, and to assemble them to him in one place at Ballymote. He waited there until the feast of All Saints was celebrated by him, and all his forces assembled to meet him in crowds and

took Ballyshannon, 'a place much coveted by the English.' Cox, *Hib. Anglic.*, i. 442.

³ *Erris*. — Now a barony of the same name in the north-west of Co. Mayo.

& ina n-oiriomaib co inlennuch miadach moraigintach zach tighina t'ipe 7 zach taoiruch t'iaithe ma donbriom for leith ag mallargnaim ina reach gur mo forf'ó leó tairéalbaó atcionol ar n'iaim do aróf'laicé.

Doi fanzatarí c'ltur fo a thogairimíom cenél Conaill Sulban mic Néill uile nóg acé Miall ó Doimnaill na má cona b'iaic'ub. Don anzatarí ann na teoira tuairccm'óe cacha no bioó lairimí & la a cenél do g'uir .i. no t'iu mac Suibne do riol Eoghain mic Néill, a Fanaitt, a t'iaithaib Tomairge, 7 a t'iu Bozain. Do maichtatarí ann beoi in iob aif'z'óa do riol b'riain mic Eachróac Muigim'óhoim cona míóir'etionol cen motha ó Conc'obair Slicciz, Donnchaó mac Caíail óicc baoi in zemieal occaróim feb memerep'it-mair. Donaoí ann ó Ceallair 1. F'liwop'ichae gur an lion ar lia co nanazair do uib Maime immaile p'ur. Do mocht ann oim na hi mo aic'p'eb'at 1 Connaé'taib do riol Corbmaic zail'ng mic Tairz mic Clin mic Ailella Auloim cona muin'p'iaib. Doi p'icc ann ía Dub'oa do riol F'iaé'p'ac mic Eachróac Muigim'óom co t'ioich'it'at ía F'iaé'p'ach Muair'óe ma f'air'iaó.

fol. 79. a.

Taimic ann ón muó celt'na mac Uilliam buic Teaboit' mac uaterí mic Seann mic Olu'f'iair co lion a'p'oc'p'aitte. Ba'air doan ip'ochairí ui Ohoim'ail an tan p'in na h'iair'le don anzatarí a h'it'p'ib for a'chehurí & ionnar'baó dia ion'p'oir'p'iomí 'acaome ino imniz & in eccuim'airz p'ur oir an t'ireadó óe a b'ur'p'acht nach a p'p'oi'p'chin on an'p'p'olann 1 ma'brat ag zall'iaib & ag a'p'ail dia ccen'é'laib. Ro ba oib'p'oe clann Seann a buic .i. Seann na S'f'mair, mic Riocair'p' Saxanaiz, Remann, Uilliam, & Tomair.

Ba oio'ó don mac Muir'p' c'is'p'air'ghe Tómar mac P'air'p'c'ín mic Tómar mic Emann mic Tómar, & Riop'ie an z'leanna, Emann mac Tómar, & Tath'g caoch mac Toir'p'óe'al'baiz mic Maé'g'aim'na & Dia'p'mat' máol mac Donncha'óa mécc Cár'p'haiz. Ba hin'p'uz t'ioichim & tuair'p'ec'baíl an t'oi-é'it'at t'p'om'p'lóiz ba'air la h'ia n'Doim'naill an o'p'rim o'ia'naó lann lar an p'p'ia'óa p'p'oi'p'ia'óa n'p'ic & c'innur do z'abail o'óib. Ar o'f'ib oemim co ma'z'air'p'ic ar aill do mo'g'air' E'p'inn ma'ím In'p' U'ghoim la p'och'p'ait'it' p'loiz iob'tairí íaite ol't'ait' an p'ian'laé p'p'aoch'air'g'm'eil do p'ic'clama'tairí ip'ur'óe

¹ *FitzMaurice*.—See Archdall's *Peerage*, i. 14, for his descent.

² *K. of the Valley*.—Now of Glin. He was descended from Maurice FitzGerald.

³ *MacMahon*.—This was Turlough Roe,

who became chief of Corcabaiscin in 1594. *Annals F. M.*, vi. 1947.

⁴ *D. MacCarthy*.—He and his base brother Donough were then at variance about the chieftaincy of Duhallow. See *Life of F.*

troops, with spirit and magnanimity, each lord of a territory and each chief of a district in one body separately, marching slowly in their order, until they succeeded in showing all their forces then to their prince.

The first who came at his call were the descendants of Conall Gulban, son of Niall, in all their strength, except Niall O'Donnell and his brothers. There came the three leaders in battle whom he and his tribe always had, *i.e.*, the three MacSwinys of the race of Eoghan, son of Niall, from Fanad, from the districts of Tory, and from Tir Boghaine. There came also the most illustrious of the race of Brian, son of Eochaidh Muighmheadhoin, with their great gathering, all but O'Conor Sligo, *i.e.*, Donogh, son of Cathal Oge, whom he had in chains, as we have said. O'Kelly came too, *i.e.*, Ferdorcha, and the greatest number that could come from Hy Many with him. There came also those who dwelt in Connaught of the race of Cormac Gaileang, son of Tadhg, son of Cian, son of Oilioll Olum, and his forces. O'Dowd of the race of Fiachra, son of Eochaidh Muighmheadhoin, came with the gathering of Hy Fiachrach of the Moy. MacWilliam Burke came too, *i.e.*, Theobald, son of Walter, son of John, son of Oliver, with all his forces. There were besides with O'Donnell then the nobles who had come from many districts in consequence of their expulsion and banishment, having come to complain of their sufferings and hardships, to see if aid or help would be given them by him in the straits in which they were held by the English and by some of their own people. Of these were the sons of John Burke, *i.e.*, John na Seamar, son of Richard Sassanach, Redmond, William, and Thomas.

With them was FitzMaurice¹ of Kerry, Thomas, son of Patrickin, son of Thomas, son of Edmund, son of Thomas, and the Knight of the Valley,² Edmund, son of Thomas, and Tadhg Caoch, son of Turlough MacMahon,³ and Diarmuid Maol, son of Donough MacCarthy.⁴ The great assembled host which O'Donnell had there was blameless in discipline and repute, if it were pleasing to overruling Providence to give strength and supremacy to them. It is, indeed, certain that some of the Kings of Eire took possession of the island of Ugaine⁵ with a smaller army than the fierce, vigorous force which

MacCarthy Mor, p. 351, and *Annals F. M.*, vi. 2331.

⁵ *Ugaine*.—He was ardrigh from A.M. 4567 to 4609. Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 183.

assembled here together, even if the active, joyful crowd of heroes assembled by O'Neill on that numerous, gladsome hosting which he had following him did not aid them. After that the large forces marched on the second day of the month of November by very slow marches, advancing from Ballymote to Ballynafad on the shore of Lough Ce, to Elphin, through the county of Roscommon, the east, of the county of Galway to Sil Anmchadha,¹ to Belansama, to Athcroch² on the Shannon; then from that to Delvin Mic Coghlan.³ That territory was plundered and spoiled entirely by them, and they produced a heavy cloud of fire throughout it, and they burned MacCoghlan's own castle.⁴ The territories through which they had come up to that were obedient to them. After that they went through Fercall over the upper part of Slieve Bloom⁵ to Ikerrin.⁶ O'Donnell and his forces encamped on the hill of Druim Sailcach⁷ in Ikerrin, and remained in that place for a month waiting for O'Neill, who was marching slowly and steadily after him. The forces did not cease going about searching and seeking, plundering and exploring the territories all round during that time wherever they were guarded against them, and were submissive to the English, especially those who acted like them. He came on the feast day of Andrew exactly to the Holy Cross of Uachterlamhan⁸ for a blessing and protection to the community of monks of the monastery of Holy Cross who brought him, and he presented them with oblations and offerings and alms, and they were thankful.

They could not leave that place readily, owing to the extraordinary ice and to the heavy slippery snow which fell then. When the Lord Justice of Ireland heard that O'Donnell and his army were marching that way, he was greatly afraid and anxious lest he might be placed in straits and great difficulty between the Spaniards and the Irish, and he ordered his people not to give them entertainment or lodging, or anything that they

Roscrea along the boundary of the King's and Queen's counties.

¹*Ikerrin*.—Formerly the territory of the O'Meaghers, now a barony in the N.W. of Co. Tipperary,

⁷*Druim Sailcach*.—A hill five miles S. of Roscrea.

⁸*Uachterlamhan*.—*i.e.*, of the eight hands.

The legend which has given rise to this name will be found in *Triumphalia Monasterii S. Crucis*, p. 27.

⁹*M. of Holycross*.—Three miles south of Thurles. It was founded for Cistercians by Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick, in 1169. For an account of the Relic from which it takes its name see *Ibid.* p. lx.

an neith mo ba toirceite úoib' oia raigir, combo heiccl'n oóib' ecc la húaacht 7 zoirta ó fótt maimecceti iompaib' biaó & tene so thabairt chucca, nó aiaill san a noilruigad & a traibhite buó úein oia mbioú-baóab' & tocht fori a rnaoab' 7 comairce feb' our pangatari na Spainnig' batari í Rino éorriuan fori an ionchaidhriom' feét ruamh, conab' aipe rin mo eib' fori pperioenr' dá éoiccl'ó Muimian Sui Seoipir' Caui' oul co ccl'theoirab' milib' so gléipe galzatt & dócebaró arimtha inn eanach iomcumang' & mo moitiuch inoill fori ciuno uí Ohoimnail' our an ceaoim'raó a cloó oia éonari nó a l'ighaire vona huiperiallab' mo baoi ma iúimom. Ot chuala ó Ooimnail' an pperioenr' zur an mboib'rluaig' rin so thocht hi com'foeoirab' Caipil' m' r'ghinn na r'gáth' epiochnugaó na epioib'nbár' mo our zab', acé' tairmdeimnuigaó meime r'iaí' zác' noípeac' ouáchtari Uimimian, so cloinn William b'ruaig' na Sionna, la' ourur' Luimnicch' raipólr' illó & m' aolhaig' zan anab' zan oip'riom' co maing' tari Máig' irteac' m' uib' conaill' zabra. O' so bhite an pperioenr' oia úr' an meimveicir' 7 na huiperialla mo hairecete' laipriom' & lar' an iurtir' so oul' fori neipri' & ó Ooimnail' cona r'locch' so oul' tairur' ir' na conairib' nari bo' ooi'g' laip' a' toip'riaé'tam' iteip', iur'ia' ma' r'rué'ling' co' haipim' ambaoi' an' iurtir' combaó' oaoimleic' no' r'li'ouar' ambaig' ar'ln'ao.

fol. 8o. a.

Ba' son' éur'rim' mo' raioú' ó Ooimnail' b'rioolom' r'loig' & o'iechta' o'f'imaia' oia' m'uin'cipi' hi' toip'it'hin' meic' Muip'ur' Ciap'iaig'e' baoi' ma' fáip'iaó' r'ru' pé' na' bliá'ona' fo' anail' (a'niail' mo' iom'paró'p'riom') & ari' aill' so' m'uin'cipi' mic' Muip'ur' fo' úein' so' eolur' meamp'a' t'ria' oué'raig' cloinne' Muip'ur' our' an' b'ruig'betir' elang' no' eatar'ibaog'al' fori' aiaill' so' baileib' meic' Muip'ur' & mo' l'iaíl' ó Ooimnail' fori' mac' Muip'ur' bu'v'oeim' aip'riom' ma' fo'ch'air' co' b'f'ir'raó' cionnur' no' biaó' iom'p'cearaí'ab' an' f'ianlaig' rin' fóir' melec'p'io'ce' ú'ar'uib' r'ru' na' h'ib' our' raip'mectatari' fori' acc'ino. Ró' é'ar'imm'naig'f'ó' so' m'uin'cipi' uí' Ohoimnail' an' tur'ur' so' o'e'ach'at'oi' ari' mo' e'ie'ach'ab' & mo' leip'p'io'raó' fo'ó'ar'ib' leó' so' l'ice'air'uib' mic' Muip'ur' so' neoch' i'ob'tari' fo'ó'a' oia' to'ch'air'p'riom' fori' lon'zur' & ion'na'ir'baó' co' h'úa' n'Ooimnail', 7 mo' z'abaó' leó' t'ri' caip'teoir' so' o'agh'ioim'ib'

¹ *Upper Ormond*.—The district between Nenagh and Borrisoleigh, now a barony bearing the same name.

² *Clanwilliam*.—There are two districts, now baronies, of this name near each other,

one in Tipperary, the other in Limerick. The latter is meant here.

³ *Maigue*.—This river rises to the west of Charleville, Co. Cork; and entering Co. Limerick, it passes by Bruree, Croom, and

needed when they came, so that they should die of cold and hunger, as long as it was forbidden them to give them food or fire, or else they should humble themselves and give themselves up to their enemies and come for protection and security, as the Spaniards who were in Rincorran had come into his presence before. Wherefore, for this reason he ordered the President of the two provinces of Munster, Sir George Carew, to go with four thousand chosen champions and armed soldiers in close array and in a secure body to meet O'Donnell, to see whether he should make him change his course or prevent him from the journey which he intended. When O'Donnell heard that the President with that haughty army had arrived in the neighbourhood of Cashel, neither fear, nor dread, nor death-shiver seized him, but he marched on due west by Upper Ormond,¹ by Clanwilliam,² on the bank of the Shannon, by the gate of Limerick south-eastwards, day and night, without stop or halt until he crossed the Maigue³ into Hy Conaill Gabhra.⁴ When the President saw his progress and that the great marches⁵ made by himself and the Lord Justice had come to naught, and that O'Donnell and his army had passed them by the roads which he thought he would not come at all, he returned to the place where the Lord Justice was, so that both might unite together.

It was then that O'Donnell sent choice troops and strong bodies of his forces to the aid of FitzMaurice of Kerry, who was with him during the past year (as we have said), and some of FitzMaurice's own people to guide them through FitzMaurice's territory, to see if they could find any weakness or neglect in some of FitzMaurice's castles. O'Donnell ordered FitzMaurice himself to remain with him until he knew the result of the sending away of the party which they had sent against the force that opposed them then. The journey they went was made use of by O'Donnell's people, for they plundered and preyed many of FitzMaurice's enemies who were the cause of his having come in exile and banishment to O'Donnell, and three of the chief castles of the territory were captured by them

Adare, and falls into the Shannon, five miles below Limerick.

⁴ *Hy Conaill G.*—Now the baronies of Upper and Lower Connello.

⁵ *Marches.*—See Introd., p. cxxxix. and

Pac. Hib., p. 377, for a detailed account of the wonderful march of O'Donnell and his forces on this occasion. Moryson says he took advantage of a frost, so great as seldom had been seen in Ireland. *Rebellion*, p. 163.

an tíre .i. Leacínnaí, Cairlén Zerru Arpa ílta, & baile uí éada, & for-
 maíbhíte thionsc oia muinntir occa monchoiméso. Impairíte co ceorzar &
 co frior rccél leó go húa n'Domnaill & co mac Muirur. Ar fon ionann
 celtua do mala dúa Concéobairi Ciarrmaíge, Sealan mac Concéobairi, zur mo
 zababó lair a baile & a pmoimóin feirín .i. Carrmac an rúill baol rúillléo for
 bliadóan ag Gallair & do veacharó fein cona baile í combairg uí Dhomnaill,
 & mo eimairóm a chupa & a charaíaró fpu. Baol imoimio ó Domnaill fpu mé
 reáctimaine i nuib Conaill gabra ag clunruígo & ag cúiracharó zác áoin
 do ríghaín i ceombairg gall zur mo forchonghairi forpua dáir & olíglín
 vóthair fpu 7 coét daoin leít fpuimó & fpu Zaoiréala ar chlna. Ro
 frcóimla ílroim ó Domnaill cona rlog do munnchimo Slebe Líachra, do
 cloimn Amílaib, do Mhuirparóe, co banóan i ceairpreácaib. Dur pangatar
 ímíomí Zaoiréol Muimán uile ro doimínimain oia raigió, & mo naróimrué a
 ceupa & a ceottach fpu rma biche, & ba haimur & ba huirgairuigáó
 argenta leó aróchtam chuca vacóimál a ceairpararó fpu & mo timgeallpat
 óo zan adáó do gallair nach do óanarair, & zan congnaim fpu mbaró
 rpuú. Acht élna ní éanaic Mag éirrehoig maabac .i. Domnoll mac Coirbmaic
 na home, má dan tíglíma Muirparóe .i. Cóirbmac mac Oisrimatta mic
 Taróe ro chóira chuzaróim feb dur pangatar an lucht narle.

Dala uí Néill .i. Adó mac Fiuíorícha mic Cumn bacairg mic Cumn mic
 Ennu mic Eoghain, mo aipuróe atharó coirbo hírlaín lair zác naróairge mo ba
 toirceithe óo do bpeith for an rloigléo nuccat, ó & do rreclamiríte a rloig
 ma dochum co lionnairi leiréionóite in hmuiréirí a nuntééta co pangatar
 tarí Dóimn. Ro aipur reatal ipm maigimín ag cheachlorzác euche
 birlg & Míóe. Suró ílroim cona rlog rma ílreáir Míóe & rma oiréirí

¹ *Lixnaw*.—Ten miles north of Tralee. There remains of this castle still. In the ancient church close by there is a monument to the 3rd Earl of Kerry.

² *Ardfert*.—Four miles north of Tralee. There is no trace of this castle. Tradition says it was close to the entrance of the demesne of Ardfert Abbey. There are several interesting remains here still.

³ *Ballykealy*.—In the parish of Rathronan and barony of Shanid, Co. Limerick.

⁴ *O'Conor Kerry*.—The territory of this family, Iraghty O'Connor, lay in the north of

Kerry. After this war and that of 1641, it was confiscated, and planted with English settlers. Several of the name achieved distinction in foreign countries. See *D'Alton's Army List*, ii. 325.

⁵ *Carrigfoyle*.—In an island in the Shannon, two miles west of Ballylongford. There is a plan of the castle in *Pac. Hib.*, p. 121.

⁶ *Slieve Luachra*.—A range of mountains on the borders of Kerry, Cork, and Limerick.

⁷ *Clan Auliffe*.—This territory extends

i.e. Lixnaw,¹ Caislen Gearr of Ardfert,² and Ballykealy,³ and they left some of their people to hold them. They went away victorious to give news of them to O'Donnell and FitzMaurice. On the same occasion it happened to O'Connor Kerry,⁴ John, son of Connor, that his dwelling and chief castle, *i.e.*, Carrigfoyle,⁵ was captured by him, which had been more than a year in the possession of the English, and he and the people of his dwelling-place made an alliance with O'Donnell and entered into peace and friendship with him. O'Donnell was for the space of a week in Hy Conaill Gabhra, reducing and harrassing everyone who was in alliance with the English, so that he enjoined upon them obedience and submission and separation and to unite with him and with the Irish in general. After that O'Donnell marched with his forces by the upper part of Slieve Luachra,⁶ by Clann Auliffe,⁷ Muskerry, and the Bandon in the Carberies. There came a great part of the Irish of the whole of Munster, being of one mind, and they entered into friendship and alliance with him for life, and they were glad and their minds rejoiced that he had come to them to make friendship with him, and they promised not to bow down before the English or the strangers, and to help them no more. However, MacCarthy Reagh⁸ *i.e.*, Donnell, son of Cormac na aoine, and the lord of Muskerry, *i.e.*, Cormac,⁹ son of Dermott, son of Tadhg, did not come for peace to him, as the rest had come.

As for O'Neill, *i.e.*, Hugh, son of Ferdoragh, son of Conn Bacagh, son of Conn, son of Henry, son of Eoghan, he waited till everything was ready which he needed to bring on the expedition on which they were going, and after his forces assembled to him in their full numbers their marches are not told of till they crossed the Boyne. He remained some time there preying the territory of Bregia and Meath. He then marched with his army through

from the river Alla to the Co. of Limerick. Castle MacAuliffe was near Newmarket.

⁸*MacCarthy R.* — The father of the famous Florence. His residence was Kibrittain Castle, six miles south of Bandon on an inlet of the sea. See *Life of F. MacCarthy*, p. 3.

⁹*Cormac.* — His residence was Blarney

Castle. The last of this family who held the estate was Lord Clancarty, who had an important command in the army of James II. Later he was pardoned, and would have been restored to his estates but for the interference of Sir Richard Cox. He died at Hamburg in 1734. See D'Alton's *Army List*, ii. 115.

Muinnan tar Siuir ríarí gan nach nglóin noimíochic mo baó úioir oíomaiachímléte
 oo venoim oia ríóghaibh co mochtain ooib co banóain bail ambaoi
 ó Domnoill cona thoióclíral.

fol. 80. b. O conriangatoirí Saoróil an tuairceic in aoim máigín ba rí aiple aghuocht
 leó & la fíóndelais an veircicic (oo neoch tuir pangatarí ma ecombaig)
 a lonzboic oo fúioigadó alla éúaró i mbeul gúala i ccenél Aethia real
 blé ó champa an Iurcic. Ro batari atharó amílaró emeach in ionchaib fíu
 arí oile, cona mo leicceíte Saoróil atharóiró na aóall amach nach munn
 gur na Gallais, con oo beircic hí cumige oofulachta i cínnta & hí teicce
 aibróill. Níu ríelgíó úaiman na Saoróeal ooib a ngleadó máite a neachíadó
 oo leigín foirí feircicic nach foirí mgealtíadó ríclhatarí na múiaib amach,
 gurí mo occracíle oibíróe & rocharóe oia míleadóib imáille fíu la húaét &
 góirta ílí na tabairic in aóailge feoirí & uirce, lcha 7 aríba, tuigíó 7
 temíó, & gac neith mo ba teairbáó foirí, cona baoi ma ecománz euirra an
 rianlaig no epláó úaróib óaónacal ríéatarí na múiaib, go mbioó abach an
 eich & coir an tuine maib hí cumuic fíu na beoib reachtón na foirí
 etairí arí míóoi, gurí ro fáir bíentáó oifúlaing veiróe la hiongáit
 anailoirí ltaibuar íarí nuclatarí no lígíó anailíre oona habóab, oon
 oirach, 7 oon clchairí ílí mochtairí. Ba rí toimíe 7 ceirpáó rocharóe
 úob buó óem conepeláó an líuoirí oia lectí ooib in áonairí gan ríáigéó
 foirí la rílaig & clómaim, & no elarórfó an lucht baicir beoa oia
 ecomparatarí líuuir no conairí eluó óragbail eiríníur. Na Spairníz tíra
 batairíróe in eccumanz & inn eccomínairí míoí tíuairí ionfuiróe baoi áz
 an Iurcic cona toichlíral Gall 7 Saoróeal foirí, & ní antairí áét áz
 arlach na nSaoróeal ma toiríclhí, oíóz ba fíu leó amúóugáó oo maíé
 cíó ma ríú no fo oemóairí táirí no taricupal ó a mbioóbaóab nó ó nach náon
 náile írín eirínne 7 no foiríarí foirí ecc in áonairí la húaicht & góirta.
 Níu bo ríamílaró oona Saoróealí, ba imne batari co mbíuig & boirpáó,
 con uail & ionnocbail gan clírbáó neit foirí, arí in baoi líghairíe
 ltoirí & a ríolairíaró oo áigíob iontríomáib & oo clíhnaclíob clumáillíob,
 & óa gac líuoirí uiríeola & óa gac cenél tuairí áta veach baoi inn Eirí
 oo éabairíe éuca ar gac áirí & ar gac áiríclín i cclín & inn occur. Batari

¹ *Suir*.—This river passes through Thurles, Cahir, Clonmel, Carrick and Waterford.

west Meath and east Munster over the Suir¹ westwards without any remarkable deed worth mention being done by his troops, until they came to the Bandon, where O'Donnell was with his army.

When the Irish of the north had come together, the plan adopted by them and the Irish of the south (who had joined them) was to make their encampment to the north in Belgooly in Kinelea, a short distance from the Lord Justice's camp. They were for some time in this way face to face with each other, so that the Irish did not allow recourse or resort in or out to the English, and they placed them in intolerable straits and difficulties and in great want of food. The fear they had of the Irish did not allow them to send their mares or horses to the pastures or for grazing outside the walls, so that many of these and numbers of the soldiers also died owing to cold and hunger, having been reduced to the want of grass and water, corn and grain, straw and fuel, and every thing they required, so that they were not able to bury outside the walls the corpses of the soldiers who died, and the entrails of the horses and the corpses of the dead men lay among the living throughout the tents in the midst of them, so that there arose an intolerable stench in consequence of the great blasts of air mounting up which arose throughout the camp from the filth and the dirt of the lower part. It was the idea and opinion of many of themselves that the greater number of them would die if they were let alone without being attacked, owing to the contagion and sickness, and the people who were alive would go away if they could find any means or way of escape at all. Meantime, the Spaniards were in great straits and helplessness, owing to the blockade carried on against them by the Lord Justice with the forces of the English and Irish, and they did not cease asking the Irish to assist them, for they preferred to be killed immediately, though before this they would not endure an affront from their enemies or from anyone else in the world, and their death was imminent through cold and hunger merely. It was not so with the Irish, for they were vigorous and fierce, proud and courageous, not heeding anything, for there was no prohibition for them to take from any place or any quarter far or near plenty of heavy beeves and long-fleeced sheep, and every kind of fresh meat, and every sort of provision, the best that was in Ireland. They were in that state up to the feast of the

an tucht rin co feil glime an tSlamóir 1081, & mo shabrat fori hroach na rollamain & an liélaíthe amáil mo ba oioi na maíthe ima reach a5 fol. 81. a. pleavuccaó & o5 aifz tuile o5 arioile a5 aifz & a5 uifzairiuifz mfnman & aifzeta, feb no beittir ma mo5óúnaib moimóiaib 7 ma nairpoytaib oipeachair fo ólin zeri uo hifichian úiaóib iatpíthe.

Monúair am ba zar úair na zarperuba & ionínman vo biltcha ór airoaca rin liélaíte rin combatari ma nzarub tuba & o5aifz o5 lttairpeccairó riu arioile voib cióó ifi tpmoll ifi na melachtenugaó la ambioúbaóaib & an lucht mo batari fo imúé mfnman, tacha & i teipce nach rayaró nor riuifzó zuri bo leo baoi a ppolairtairó & a noaotham ifi tocht voib aran ceimánz cuimbreach iabtaru acaroim an tan rin. Ba ir na laithib rin vo maclitataru litpe leioiaimia & agallomí mclerthe ó Donn Iohn (ó general na Spainneach rin chimo Sáile) co húa Néill co húa nDomnail & zur na maíteib ari éfna oia aiflach formo ionnpoifzgaó vo éabairt aon na noitóce rainpcaó fori champia an lurtir an pperívenp 7 na maifzó batari ma rrayairó & no foibfmaórom cona Spainneachaib iatc von leit oile vur an ceaoimraó ceáctaruae úiaóib eipom cona Spainneachaib oioiméin arin ceul chumainz in mo congbaite. Vo veacharó oim o Néill & ó Domnail & na maíthe vo eimó accoimairle imon aifzifrim an zenerala.

O Néill tpa acbifepíthe zur uó harólfrec lair na foill vo fuabairt ari oainzimmille na múri noainzín noithoglaíthe vo peccaim ionpa ima ceuairt ifi na rpeithlionadó vo zonnadóib zuchairua zompetuibraictiucha, 7 acbifit oim ba rfiyi zan faill zo legeaó yimvo ionfuirthe congabrat fori na zalluib coneplirir vo zompa amáil oó hifblataru ari aill oioib éfna, 7 co toioifzó in nob aifzta óioib fori a bpaoraímom 7 comairce fo deoíó, 7 nari bo ní lair a nairzifz vo éabairt oia bioúbaóaib oóifz nobaó lamne leo cathuccaó vaimélin an anma 7 amairbaó vo maith oíóar an ecc vo theómam & zomtu. O Domnoill imoimio ba ri a éomairle na zail vo fobairt cipinour, úair ba haohnári & ba meabal lair a éuba riu an tífzín anpóill imbaoi Donn Iohn cona Spainneachaib zan ammur vo éabairt fori a bfuircaó oia tpircaó a oioeaó

¹ *Hunger*.—‘If Tyrone had lain still and not suffered himself to be drawn to the plain ground by the Spaniards’ impotunity, all our horse must of needs have been sent away or starved.’ Moryson, *Rebellion*, p. 178.

² *Died already*.—Of the 15,000 troops which the English had at the beginning of the siege, 8,000 had died of cold, hunger, and disease. Of the remainder but 2,000 were English, the rest Irish or Anglo-Irish,

Nativity of the Saviour Jesus, and they proceeded to observe the feasts and the holidays, as was meet, the chief men in turn feasting and rejoicing together in delight and gladness of mind and soul, as if they were in their own great royal castles and in their chief residences, though then they were very far off from them.

Alas! soon these cries of joy and pleasure, which were raised so loud in those days of festivity, became cries of sorrow and anguish when they were separating from each other after a time, after being defeated by their enemies, and the people who were in sadness of mind, in want and scarcity of every kind of food, found that they had full and plenty after coming out of the narrow prison in which they were put by them at that time. In those days there came mysterious letters and secret communications from Don Juan, the general of the Spaniards in Kinsale, to O'Neill and O'Donnell and the chief men in general, requesting them to make an attack on a certain night precisely on the camp of the Lord Justice, the President, and the Earls who were with them, and that he himself would help them with the Spaniards on the other side, to see if both of them could rescue him and the Spaniards out of the great straits in which they were kept. Wherefore, O'Neill, O'Donnell, and the chief men went to take counsel in reference to the wish of the General.

O'Neill then said that he would be slow to attack the English on account of the great strength of the firm, impregnable walls which were all round, filled with loud-sounding, straight-shooting guns, and he said it was better to continue the siege carefully which they had begun against the English till they should die of hunger,¹ as many of them had died² already, and that would turn out best for their relief and protection in the end, and that he did not wish to gratify his enemies, for they were better pleased to fight for their lives and to be killed immediately than to die of plague and hunger. O'Donnell's opinion, however, was that the English should be attacked somehow, for he felt it a shame and disgrace that the great straits in which Don Juan and the Spaniards were should be witnessed by him without making an attempt to relieve them though it cost him his life; and besides,

who intended to come over to the Irish camp. A very considerable number of these had come over already. O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, p. 228.

the Irish would be thought little of and contemned by the King of Spain, if they suffered his soldiers to be in hardships and straits¹ from their enemies without being aided as they had requested. But yet this was the agreement which they made in the end ; to attack the Lord Justice and the English as they were asked. They separated thus till the night on which they were ordered to attack the camp. They took in the very beginning of the night their weapons of battle and their implements of war silently, and they went in order and array as their chiefs and nobles, their lords and counsellors directed them.

It was a subject of dispute² and a matter of contention between the two principal chiefs who were over the Cinel Conaill and the Cinel Eoghain that neither of them would allow the other to march in front of him to attack and assail the English owing to the nobility of mind and pride of strength of both, for each one of them thought it a reproach and disparagement to himself and his tribe for ever to allow the first place on the road and the position on the way to the other force before his own. The ill-will and the thoughts which grew up in their hearts towards each other for this reason were full of harm and ruin, of treachery and danger, so that there was not the desire of battle nor anxiety to attack nor the firm obstinacy in their army, owing to the jealousy and envy against the other army, and they were timid, languid, slow, cowardly, even before they entered on the great labour and work in the danger and peril of the close encounter with their enemies, so that it was almost unnecessary for their enemies to employ arms against them where they contended in the battlefield. What happened to the two Hughs then was a great omen of evil to them. With good reason, for never had the like or so much taken place as then between them as long as they lived, for they were of one thought and of one mind always from the beginning, though they were not in each other's presence, for it was not usual that there should spring from their original stock together two more loving towards each other than they. They spent much time in the beginning of the night in the dispute and contention which took place between them. These two noble hosts and the two armies marched at last side by side and shoulder to shoulder together, when they happened to lose their way

nach a ttoirig fliúth foy an cconairi ccoíri ciai bo cianfosa an
 zhamasohais & zey bo zayfoccur doib an longpoyt foy atparoyat
 ammyr co folurtrae hyshe ay na barye zuy uo zlanuyittheae an zman
 oy oyeich an calian tuimthe conao ann foy fúayyle roeyave uí Néill
 a leathaoe fo uein fuy campa an Iurtyr, & mo tuallyat roao biuz cen
 co mo foyfo léo an inneall & an oiyozao do moíy ay mo élyccyle an
 cftna hinneall in mo hynnit lay an iompol 7 la doychata na horöche.

fol. 82. a.

Doala an Iurtyr cona fochyave maime maao & meimfioy da foyzro ó
 oymuz fanyveoea a longpoyt na zayoeal co byoyerytha iact an dohayzryn,
 combayryoe cona flözhayb hy cathyeyr foy na horöche co mayan foy
 an eanayzayb hfoalta & foy an blymaoayb bayzay 7 foy a tpaylyb troya
 ma moonayb ay cona huilyb ayomyb cathyeythe & coyama inn eplymie
 occayb conur facacayoy ó Néill cona flözayb foy an ionayb foy an abayit
 ayrybmayoy. Ny uó cían doib occa moemay an tan tarylaccyle cftna
 comyeyayra cympyley (oya byayuccha) a moíygonayayb zlamayllye
 zleyfoiboythe & a muzayctyb mooyuyimneacha moíychoyayr & a zlayzoy-
 nayayb zeyaympeacha zleyfoibne, & mo tleyccylet foyayb cech cenél
 oybyayctuy 7 mteyze naye cen motha mo fuy. Ro byuchtoyrytyle
 aylyaoe oay na múyayb amach ma celyn ooyomaöa ohyrye do ionzabala
 do mayfloy múlyra moíyoyayz lay ay bymcyan zuy mo comaylyeceaö
 oylyb lyé aneae ayoyeymae do élytuzao foy mayzhyer zó fuy. Ro leyct
 a tpayzhyteacha ma leanyan ayoy, ay ba olyb leö zoy mo byoye ayaymayz
 na coyuympyley & oayfuyabyt an ooyoma blymayoy byaympeba meampa
 foy ambioöbayayb. Bayay na flöz ceayoyra mlyz ay mlyz oeyoe acc
 comchoyrybaö & acc epyechtuzao ayoye zuy mo moayzryt fochayoe
 ctayra do oy leylyb. Ach ély mo meayao fo oeyo foy mymtyy uí Néill
 feb moy ammyc leö, zuy mo lyathacuytton layay, conao ry conay
 mo zoytyr an tynnyur iact comoyryae iclyn roeyayoy uí Doímayll do
 meaymh all anay doib zan moctayn co layay amoyaycc beoy. O do

¹*Warning*.—'23rd December, information was given by one of the chief commanders in Tyrone's army having some obligations to the Lord President, who sent a messenger to him for a bottle of usquebagh, and by a letter wished him that the English

army should that night be well on their guard, for Tyrone meant to give upon one camp and the Spaniards upon the other, meaning to spare no man's life but the Lord Deputy's and his.' Moryson, *Rebellion*, p. 176.

and to go astray, so that their guides and leaders of the way could not bring them to the right road, though the November night was very long and though the camp on which they made the attack was very near them, till the time of sunrise on the next day, so that the sun was shining brightly on the face of the solid earth when O'Neill's forces found their own division at the Lord Justice's camp, and they tried to go a short distance that they might regain their ranks and good order, for they had left their first order in which they were arranged owing to the mistake and the darkness of the night.

As for the Lord Justice and his army, there had come to him warning¹ and foreknowledge from certain persons² who were in the camp of the Irish that they would be attacked that night, so that he and his forces were watching throughout the night till morning in chosen spots and gaps of danger and on the war battlements with their war accoutrements, with all their implements of battle and defence in readiness, when O'Neill and his forces came opposite them for the purpose we have said. They had not long to meditate when they poured on them a strong shower of globular balls (to entertain them) from their great cannons with polished barrels, and from their straight-firing, costly muskets, and from their sharp-aiming, beautiful lock-guns, and they fired down on them every other kind of shot and missile besides. Then the nimble troops burst out over the walls to lead on the active, steady cavalry, to whom the order had not been given for a long time before up to that to make a trial of the speed of their high-galloping horses on the plain. They allowed their foot to follow after, for they were certain that the flame of the spherical balls and the fierce attack of the troops would make destructive gaps in front of them among their enemies. The armies on both sides were pell-mell in consequence, maiming and wounding each other, so that many were slain on both sides. But yet in the end O'Neill's forces were defeated, an unusual thing with them, and they hastened away from the place, and their haste made them take the road confusedly to meet O'Donnell's forces, who happened to be to the east of them and had not yet come to the field

² *Persons*.—The author of *Pac. Hib.* says the information was given by Brian Mac-Mahon, a principal commander in the Irish

army, who had been present at the council when the plan of attack was agreed on, to Captain William Taffe. p. 414.

μύαχτατορ αν ρηαονηλμαδ ριν υί Νέιλλ & ροχημασε αν λυρτιρ μα λεανηαμ
 occ a λύαθηεταρζαμ ιαρι να ceulaib 1 ml'pcc μυντιρη υί Θhoimailл nor
 zeib uomaile & ανβραυσε αν όccβαδ ρύαρζαρι 7 ρηηρζέν a ηζιλ'σα, & ζεμαδ
 cothugaδ na caclaiópaiz buδ vutchaacht leo & mo vleaacht vob ni
 chaomnaζατορ, úari naρ bo tol lap an ccoimtoló corccuri vo bplie vob
 von éuri ρin, & na mo tolcanaiζil'et apéosa óo mo éall Dia ρopi an va
 éaomchenél ceopaóada cpoáa ρin na ραζβαλα ριορα μαóναcha & na
 búasa ha bhuozhmaia buanmaρéanna ρορμαζαib naomí Paττμαice (via mboi
 fol. 82. b. aζ blinnachtaim Epenn ριορα mna maca 7 ηζil'na) ρopi na vob bpaithuib
 oipil'zóa aζmaia & ρopi a clanniaicne via néir .i. ρopi Conall ζloimníρi
 ζulban & ρopi Eozhan aζimari ionpαιζteaé. Itil'et na ραζβαλα .i. buaró naiz
 7 ionnpoiζiró ρopi Eozan, buaró ccorccari & coéaiζée cathlaiepeach
 ρopi Conailл, ari a doι tpa mo v'pimaitt'le na ριchenéla a p'pαζβαλα
 appeacht'pa ζuri mo choim'pccuch'patt an ói foépaicte mo aenpabalл ma
 plóζaib an λυρτιρ, & mo μαρβαιττ & mo μυóaiζitε ρoéaice uaróib.

Soait μυντιρη αν λυρτιρ ιαρι mbuaró ccorccari & ιαρι melacétnuζaδ
 a mbioóbaδ amlaió ρin an tan ap luza mo paoil'le. Va pollur an amfen
 ρopi cenél Conailл & ρopi cenél Eozhan mic Néill ipm laite ρin in moa
 techta vob & in baδ moo mo baoi úaróib ρopi chalma vo óenom (ó mo
 pccarpat an va chaoméenél choim'pamáca ρin p'p' ari oile aζ an Riζ Nialл
 nitcheach naoiziallaiz) an tan na tapopat via nuδ cathuccaδ p'itpuch
 ponaipε viochpa vup'epoídeaé vo óenom vo choρnam a n'p'p', a natch'p'osa, 7
 a nanma, vo éopnam a nemiz a núairle 7 a noip'p'ó'p'icari, co b'p'p'ccbaieí a
 p'laicthe ρopi p'ó'paib p'aoimlize, ζomba t'p'ccζonta a t'p'p'com, ζomba taob-
 thil'p'zhoaiζéi a t'p'aoip'iz, ζomba enamathchuméa a ceu'p'aró, ζomba μυóaiζ-
 the a mileaóa c'p' ma ρiu mo melachtnaiζitε ón μυóρin ní na má ip'p'ó'naip'i
 a mbioóbaδ batari ina cconicé'et'p'aró, acé ab'p'p'p'acnaip'cur na loimz'p'adé &
 na vob'p'p'icacé ec'p'p'p'p'lineoil von angatari ρopi app'p'oraim & com'p'p'ice
 p'ecé maím il'p' na nath'curi & ιαρι na monnaip'baδ ap a t'p'p'uib & ap a
 t'p'p'p'baib con'p'p'p'zenpat il'p'p'taim b'p'iz mbiz vona hap'p'p'laieib & vona
 hap'p'p'achaiib mo'p'tari vop' v'p'om & mo'p'tari coilл p'p'p'ccaró vob ζo ρin,
 ζo mo beanpat ceill via cco'p'ari & via t'p'p'p'p'chm úaróib a p'p'p'osaδ co

¹ *Battle*.—An account of this fight by Mountjoy, the Lord Deputy, is given in the

Trevelyan Papers, published by the Camden Society in 1862.

of battle.¹ When these defeated forces of O'Neill and the troops of the Lord Justice's army in haste behind them came into the midst of O'Donnell's people, wavering and unsteadiness seized on the soldiers, and fright and terror on their horses, and though it was urgent on them to remain on the field of battle and it was their duty, they could not, for it was not the will of the Lord to give victory to them then, and they did not follow the rules which God marked out for the two noble, clever, warlike tribes, the true, lasting gifts, and the firm, long-enduring victories which St. Patrick² (when blessing Erin, its men, youths, and maidens) left to the two famous, warlike brothers and to their posterity after them, *i.e.*, to the glorious Conall Gulban and to Eoghan the warlike and aggressive. These were their gifts, victory and vigour in attack to Eoghan, victory in battle and valour in the field to Conall; yet the famous races forgot their gifts on that occasion, so that the two hosts were defeated together by the forces of the Lord Justice, and many of them were slain and slaughtered.

The Lord Justice's forces returned after the victory in battle and the defeat of their enemies when they least hoped for it. Ill-luck was evidently with the Cinel Conaill and the Cinel Eoghain MicNeill on those days when it was their duty and they needed most to act bravely (since these two noble stocks separated from each other in the time of Niall, the warlike, of the Nine Hostages), when they did not resolve to fight bravely, courageously zealously, mercilessly in defence of their faith, fatherland, and lives, in defence of their hospitality, nobility, and splendour, so that their princes were left lying on the earth, their champions wounded, their chiefs pierced through, their heroes had their bones hewn, their soldiers were massacred, though before this they were not defeated in this way, not only in presence of their enemies who were looking on, but in presence of the banished and exiles of foreign race who came for safety and protection to them before this after they were expelled and banished from their territories and dwellings, and soon they made little account of the princes and of the chiefs who were trees of shelter and woods of refuge for them up to that, and they gave up all hope of help from them to the end of the world.

² *St. Patrick*.—The blessings which the Saint promised to the posterity of Conall will be found in Colgan's *Trias Thaum.*, p. 192; and to that of Eoghan, *Ibid.*, p. 145.

Yet, though there fell but so small a number¹ of the Irish in that battle of Kinsale that they would not perceive their absence after a time, and moreover, that they did not perceive it themselves then, yet there was not lost in one battle fought in the latter times in Ireland so much as was lost then.

There was lost there first that one island² which was the richest and most productive, the heat and cold of which were more temperate than in the greater part of Europe, in which there was much honey and corn and fish, many rivers, cataracts, and waterfalls, in which were calm, productive harbours, qualities which the first man of the race of Gaedhel Glas, son of Niall, who came to Ireland beheld in it, *i.e.*, Ith,³ son of Breogan, in opposition to the last kings who were of the Tuatha de Danaan over Ireland. There were lost, too, those who escaped from it of the free generous, noble-born descendants of the sons of Milesius and of the prosperous, impetuous chiefs, of the lords of territories and tribes, and of the chieftains of districts and cantreds, for it is absolutely certain that there were never in Erin at any time together people who were better and more famous than the chiefs who were there, and died afterwards in other countries one after the other, after being robbed⁴ of their fatherland and of their noble possessions, which they left to their enemies on that plain. There were lost besides nobility and honour, generosity and great deeds, hospitality and goodness, courtesy and noble birth, polish and bravery, strength and courage, valour and constancy, the authority and sovereignty of the Irish of Erin to the end of time.

When the forces of the Lord Justice went away with the joy of victory and glory, as we have said, the Irish retreated westwards to Inishannon that night, and they set to consult hastily, hurriedly, blaming and reproaching each other. Some of them said that they ought to resume once more the siege of the Lord Justice's camp and not raise it at all on account

⁴ *Robbed*.—MacFirbis wrote sixty years after: 'It is no doubt a worldly lesson to consider how the Gaels were at that time conquering the counties far and near, and that not one hundred of the Irish nobles at this day possesses as much of his land as he could be buried in, though they expect it

in this year.' *Tribes, &c. of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 321. How cruelly they were disappointed, even those who had served the King most faithfully at home and abroad may be learned from Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement*, London, 1870. The spoliation was completed after the war of 1688.

of those of their people who had fallen, and that their implements of war would not be wanting to them, for there was plenty of materials of war scattered about, if fate and good-luck favoured them. Other parties said that it was best that each chief and each lord of a district should return to his own native place and protect it against the English as long as he could, O'Donnell, however, said he would not go back to his own country, and he would not continue longer at the siege,¹ and he promised in presence of the chiefs of the men of Erin who were there, that he would not go a step in the fight or in the battle to fight any battle with the Irish alone, and especially in the company of the party which was first defeated then, for rage and anger had seized on his soul, and he would have been pleased if he was the first who was slain on that field before he witnessed that calamity which the Irish met. His people were greatly afraid that he would bring on his death, through the suffering which he endured, and he did not sleep or rest for three days and three nights after. It was on the 3rd of January, 1602, the defeat of Kinsale took place.

1601.

1602.

The plan² which occurred to Hugh O'Donnell in his great grief was, to leave Ireland and to go to Spain to complain of his distress to King Philip III. and to ask for more forces and soldiers. When he had determined on this plan, those whom he chose to accompany him on that voyage (in addition to a number of his own faithful people)³ were Redmond Burke, son of John na Seamar, and Captain Hugh Moss,⁴ son of Robert. When this resolution became known to all publicly, the great clapping of hands, and the violent lamentations, and the loud wailing cries which arose throughout O'Donnell's camp the night before he went away were pitiful and saddening, and there was good reason if they knew it at the time, for

1602.

him F. Maurice Ultach (Dunlevy), 'a poor friar of the Order of St. Francis from the convent of Donegal.' *Annals F. M.*, vi. 2191.

⁴ *Moss*.—Probably Hugh Mostian, whom Moyson calls 'a famous rebel.' *Rebellion*, p. 181. O'Sullivan says he was the son of

an English father and an Irish mother. He and his brother had been in the English service, and had taken part in an engagement near Ballina against Mac-William on his way to join O'Donnell. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 169.

via rúinib é ó rin alle, & diamaó deimn leó moirin nri bo machtnaó úoib
 tpmoðera epó vo rinóe pectari vaí a ngruaóuib.

Do úeachaíó ífionn ó Domnaill illunn hi cían an Cairlem cona
 chaoiméaétoib imaille rruí an ó. la Ianuari, & po voí mo gluaí timpé na
 céoúaoithe vuy fanaic tmaran bpaíyge ppuochoaigmeil, 5o mo zabrac
 calaópoie an 14. la von níí cftena hi compociaib von Ciumne. Dúnaíar
 epófic epíóe i mooghacht na Gaílyí ym Spáinn. Ba hanníróe baol toí
 bpeoíham via nraíar bpuíantia mo cumvacht peét maí la bpeoían
 mac bpaéa, & ba haíyíróe tanraar mic mleaó Epypame mic bile
 mic bpeoíam vo céoúabail Epenn foí Thuachab ve úanann. O vo
 puacht ó Domnaill i tíy ym Ciumne zebavó foí tairteal 7 taóall an
 baile & vo thaot vo veíúam tuy bpeoíham. Do blit comúoíóuaó
 móí úofoí mochtam hi tíy an úíym, ar ba úoíg laí gúí uó celmame
 móímaíthuyra úo achochar gúí an maígín ar mo zabrac a ímíyí neaie &
 cumhachta foí Epunn pecht maí, 7 no zebavófoí vo moíyí foí a luyz. Iar
 mbeíé acharó mbicc oce leccéó a feíyí ym Ciumne vo choíth co haíym
 umbaol an Rí ym Cairtilla, ar ba hann vo mála úó ablíé an tan ym (íar
 ttmcealleáó a flavéuyra) ym cathmaíz vianao anm Samóia, & ó vo
 úeachaíó ó Domnaill i maónaíy an Ríú vuy melic foí a glumib ma
 ppeachnaie & mon gúíth a éfoia hítche faíy. Ba rlvó an élvna haéchuínglvó
 armaíl vo éoy laíy co hEíymn cona cconraib comavay & cona naíómb
 teéta. An achchuínglvó thanaíy zan aoin neach vo paopélanvaib Epunn
 ce m beíé via úaíle vo choí i nlyíe nach hi ceumáétaib úara, na van úar
 foí a ionav tma bíéu vaíngabaó moíóacht an Ríú nlyíe & élmuy foí
 Epunn. An tlyíy itche zan élyíe a ímíyíoy vo laíghougaó no vuyíblímaó
 faíy fein no foíyan tí no bíav ma ionav vaíó m vaíó m zac maígín i
 taryuyraíy nlyíe & cumáéta ó élm aca inn Epunn maíyan tan ym. Do
 muígeall an Rí úó moíyí uile & mo foíéonraíy faíy epge vía glumib &
 fóí rvaíy maóúgaóh & aymííttm moíy úavha conav ar ímpeétam nach
 rruíay aoin neach vo Gaíóvéalaib maí ó naé Ríú vaile coibeíy no cutpoma

fol. 84. a.

¹ *Ship*.—‘The 28th of December intelligence was brought to the Lord Deputy, that Pedro Zubiaur was lately landed at Castlehaven, and hearing of Tyrone’s overthrow he made no stay, but set sail for Spain,

taking O’Donnell, Redmond Burke, and Hugh Mostian with him.’ *Pac. Hib.*, p 424.

² *Castlehaven*.—A village five miles south-west of Skibbereen. The castle from which it has its name is standing still.

those whom he left behind never again set eyes on him, and if they were aware of that, it is no wonder that large tears of blood should flow down their cheeks.

O'Donnell and his companions then went on board a ship¹ at Castlehaven,² the sixth of January, and when the first breeze of wind came, they crossed the boisterous ocean. They landed, the 14th of the same month, near Corunna. This was a famous fortress in the kingdom of Galicia in Spain. Breogan's tower,³ called Brigantia, was there. It had been built long before by Breogan, son of Bratha, and it was from that place that the sons of Milesius, son of Bratha, son of Breogan, had first come to take Ireland from the Tuatha de Danaan. When O'Donnell landed at Corunna, he went to visit and view the town and to see Breogan's tower. It gave him much satisfaction to land there, for he thought it a great omen of success that he should have come to the place from which his ancestors had obtained sway and power over Ireland formerly, and that he should have returned on their footsteps. After remaining a short time at Corunna to get rid of his fatigue, he went to the place where the King was, for just then, after making a circuit of his kingdom, he happened to be in the city called Zamora.⁴ When O'Donnell came into the King's presence, he went on his knees before him and made his three requests of him. His first petition was that an army should be sent with him to Ireland with suitable engines and with the necessary arms. The second petition was that he would not place any of the nobles of Ireland, unless he was of his own nobility, in power or authority over him, or over his successor so long as they lived, if the King obtained power and sovereignty over Ireland. The third request was that he should not lessen or impair the rights of his ancestors as regards himself or whosoever should succeed him in any place where their power and sway existed long before that time in Ireland. The King promised him all this, and bade him rise from his knees, and he received entertainment and great respect from him, so that I think no one of the Irish ever before received so much and so great respect and

³ *Tower*.—A detailed description of it will be found in *The Ancient Lighthouse of Corunna*, by Rev. Dr. Todd, Dublin, n. d.

It is mentioned also in Wilde's *Voyage to Madeira*, I. 13; Dublin, 1840.

⁴ *Zamora*—55 miles west of Valladolid.

abruadhriomh tairmhoim & doimhir úaduib. Deitibhir on úair do maíne a ghuir a alad & eilabna, tothact a aithrecc 7 a aithreccbuaéar comóir furr. Ro líb an Rí fori úa n'Doimnaill roadh tar a air don Ciuinne & aithreom aithrecc comba fuithe gac ni mo ba toirceide do bhríe lair ag tuideacht ina fuitheing. Do moineomh inoim, & baor ipfor co leicc feb nob ainmlic lair íamí fpu mé an eairiaig 7 an eairiaid co ttaitte foghmair ar ceim, fecc ann occ aithre tuite & occ aithre an tan do bhríe oia uró an eabair & an fuitheim do iungeall an Rí óó, fecc naile fo muidh & doibhir ar a fso lair bit ino iongnair a athairóa & ar a iméline moir ba an airmail mo geallaó do occa hlietmáil, úair ba ead cride & ba galair mlinman lair an tan do bhríe ina mlinman an iondur maadair gaoiúil gan fuitheacht gan fuitheim oca fuitheom.

fol. 84. b. Baomíomh fainlaíó cori mo eimall do iúoir do úil do lachair an Rí g oia fíor eire an eirreacáó no an eimreicéac baor fori an roémaro 7 fori an airmail do maingefíe do, & ó do maicht don baile dianao ainm Simancas (oá lege ó Ualladolio do chuic an Rí g) ba fíol mo deonaig oia mo chearaig a hainfen & a heconách a mairé & a amallacht oim eireamíom & do gaoidealaib glanfoia ar éina gair mo gab galair a écca & lírlante a oideáó ó Doimnaill, & baor fpu me fecc la noecc ina licche, co nliéal fa deoió inn eáemang na mee huir an IO. Lá do September do fonnraó íair ceaoi a eionad & tuigabal, íair nairenghe oiochra ina peacthoib & doailchib, íli ttabairé a choibfín gan oiocht oia ainmchaitoib ppoimataita, íair ceaitéim cuip CRIST & a fola & íair na ongaó amail mo ba techta al lamail a ainmchaité & a fuithele eclairtaéoa buó deim no bioth in a chaomitheacht do grier co halt na húaire fin. Ba huirin ticch baor ag Rí g na Spáinne foéim ipin mbaile fin Simancas ac bathíom. Rucaó van a éoirp go Ualladolio (go cuic an Rí g) hi ceith-

¹ *Waiting*.—Much of what is set down here is taken almost word for word from this work by the Four Masters and inserted in their *Annals*, vi. 2291.

² *Prepared*.—We have given in the Introduction, p. cxlviii., O'Donnell's letter to the King, asking permission to go to the Court in order to make known his wishes

and his wants. From the language of it he would seem to have but little hope of aid from Spain just then. A facsimile of his letter will be found on the opposite page.

³ *Simancas*.—See Introd., p. cxlx. It is ten miles to the south-west of Valladolid. This palace was given by the Admiral of Castile, Don Alfonso Enriquez, to the

honour from any other King as he received. With good reason, for his appearance, his fame, and his eloquence, the extent of his wrongs, and his lordly language impressed him much. The King bade O'Donnell return to Corunna, and wait there until everything which he wanted to take with him on his return should be ready. He did so, and remained at rest there, an unusual thing with him until then, during the spring and summer up to the beginning of the following harvest, one time in delight and joy when he thought of the aid and help which the King promised him, at another sad and sorrowful at the length of time he was away from his native land and the great delay in the departure of the army promised to him, for he felt anguish of heart and sickness of mind when he reflected on the state in which the Irish were, without aid or help, while waiting¹ for him

He was in this condition until he prepared² to go into the King's presence again in order to learn the cause of the delay and procrastination about the troops and the army promised to him. When he came to the town called Simancas³ (two leagues from Valladolid, the King's palace) God permitted, and the ill-luck and misfortune, the wretchedness and the curse attending the island of Eremon and the Irish of fair Fodla too, would have it that O'Donnell should catch his death-sickness and his mortal illness. He was for sixteen days on his bed of sickness. At last he died at the end of that time, the tenth day of September exactly, lamenting his faults and transgressions, after rigid penance for his sins and iniquities, having made his confession without reserve to his spiritual confessor, and receiving the Body and Blood of Christ, and being duly anointed by the hands of his confessor and his ecclesiastical elders, who were in his company always up to that time. It was in the palace of the King of Spain himself in the town of Simancas he died. His body was then taken to Valladolid, to the

Crown, in 1480. It was enlarged in 1540 by the famous architect Herrera, and made the depository of the State Archives by Charles V. It continues to serve the same purpose still. See Sanchez's *Guía de la Villa y Archivo de Simancas*, p. 13; Madrid,

1885. Señor Sanchez has been for many years the chief official in charge of the archives. We take this opportunity of expressing our thanks to him and the other officials of Simancas for their very great courtesy to us during our visit.

King's Court,¹ in a four-wheeled hearse, with great numbers of State officers, of the Council, and of the royal guard all round it, with blazing torches and bright flambeaux of beautiful waxlights blazing all round on each side of it. He was buried after that in the chapter of the monastery of St. Francis² with great honour and respect and in the most solemn manner any Gael ever before had been interred. Masses, and many hymns, chants, and sweet canticles were offered for the welfare of his soul, and his requiem was celebrated as was fitting.

Alas! the early eclipse of him who died there was a cause of sorrow to many, for he had not yet completed his thirtieth year when he died. He was the head of council and advice, of counsel and consultations of the greater number of the Gaels of Ireland both in peace and in war. He was a mighty, bountiful lord, who upheld good government and enforced the law, a lion in strength and force, with determination and power of character so that it was not allowed to contradict his word, for what he ordered to be done should be done on the spot, a dove in meekness and gentleness towards those in dignity of the clergy, and the learned, and every one who did not oppose him. A man who impressed fear and great dread of him in everyone far and near, and who had no dread of anyone, a man who drove out rebels, destroyed robbers, exalted the sons of life, and executed the sons of death. A man who suffered neither wrong nor defeat, contempt nor insult, without being avenged and atoned for immediately, a determined, fierce, and bold invader of districts, a warlike, predatory, aggressive plunderer of others' territories, a destroyer of any of the English and Irish that offended him, a man who never omitted to do what was right for a prince to do so long as he lived, a sweet-sounding trumpet, with power of speech and eloquence, sense and counsel, with a look of amiability in his face which struck everyone at first sight,³ a prophesied chosen one whom the prophets foretold long before his birth.

Roe, describes him as being of middle height, ruddy, of comely face, and beautiful to behold. His voice was like the music of a silver trumpet. His morals were unimpeachable. *Flight of the Earls*, p.

149, n. The Four Masters say the look of amiability on his countenance captivated everyone who beheld him, vi. 229. Both O'Clery and the Four Masters speak of his great powers of command.

Pitiful, indeed, was the state of the Gaels of Erin after the death of the great prince, for their characteristics and dispositions were changed. They exchanged their bravery for cowardice, their courage for weakness, their pride for servility. Their success, valour, prowess, heroism, exultation, triumphs, and military glory vanished after his death. They gave up all hope of relief from any one, so that the greater part of them were forced to seek a refuge among strangers and enemies, under pretence of peace and friendship. And some of them were dispersed¹ and scattered not only throughout Ireland but throughout Europe universally in troops and bands, poor and miserable, engaging themselves in the service of other countries for pay and hire, so that many of them were killed and others of them died, and the graves in which they are buried are unknown. But, however, it would be tedious for me to relate the great woes which sprung up and took root in the island of Ugaine in consequence of the death of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, of whom we have spoken hitherto.

FINIS.

diers maintained for service in Flanders, aventurados, soldiers receiving ordinary pay, poor people in this city, students, Irish widows, young girls, those who are receiving a pension. There are in all about 230 names in this list. The names are nearly all those of southern families, O'Sullivan, O'Driscoll,

MacCarthy. After several there is a short account of their former condition in life. It is signed Florence Conry, who evidently employed his influence at the Court to obtain some way of living for these poor Irish exiles from the king and the royal officials.



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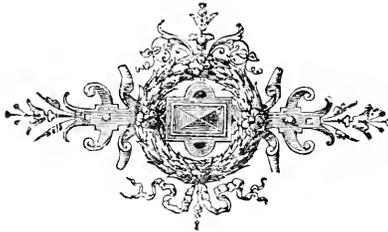
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